KARL MARX FREDERICK ENGELS

Collected Works

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Volume 24

Marx and Engels

1874 -1883

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KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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Preface

Volume 24 of the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels covers the period between May 1874 and May 1883.

These years were an important stage in the development of the international working-class movement that began after the Paris Commune of 1871. The Paris Commune enriched the proletariat with the invaluable experience of class struggle, but at the same time demonstrated that the objective and subjective conditions for the transfer of power to the working people were not yet ripe and, above all, that there was a lack of independent mass proletarian parties armed with the theory of scientific socialism and capable of leading the working class in the struggle for the radical transformation of society. After the defeat of the Commune the working class was faced with the task of rallying its forces and preparing for new revolutionary battles, and the need to form proletarian parties in individual countries came to the fore. The period of the spread of Marxism began, a "period ... of the formation, growth and maturing of mass socialist parties with a proletarian class composition" (V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, pp. 295-96).

In the works in this volume Marx and Engels continue their analysis of the historical experience of the International Working Men's Association and the Paris Commune. They show that, in the new historical conditions, the organisational form of the International no longer corresponded to the aims of the proletariat's class struggle. Thanks to the International, the understanding of the idea of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the working class's aims and tasks had risen to a new level. "The social democratic working-men's parties," Marx wrote, "organised on more or less national dimensions ... form as many international groups, no longer single sections thinly scattered through different countries and held together by an eccentric General Council, but the working masses themselves in continuous, active, direct intercourse, cemented by exchange of thought, mutual services, and common aspiration" (see this volume, p. 239). Marx and Engels skilfully related the tasks of the workers' parties in separate countries to the aims of the whole international working-class movement.

The formation of the socialist parties took place at a time of bitter ideological struggle waged by the representatives of the Marxist trend against alien class influences and petty-bourgeois views, fostered by the socially heterogeneous composition of the working class, and against reformist, opportunist and anarchist trends in the working-class movement itself. The fight for ideological unity on the basis of scientific socialism forms the main substance of Marx's and Engels' theoretical and practical activities as leaders of the international working-class movement in the period under review.

London, where Marx and Engels were living at that time, was still the ideological centre of the international working-class movement. Prominent figures in the workers' parties appealed to Marx and Engels, as acknowledged authorities, for help and advice. Their correspondence, their contributions to the working-class press, the publication of their new and republication of their old works, propagated the ideas of Marxism in the international working-class movement.

The experience of the Paris Commune called for a thoroughgoing elaboration of the problems of the state and revolution, the fundamental propositions of Marxism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the role of the party, and the problem of what allies the proletariat should have in the fight for the radical transformation of society. Of prime importance was the task of providing an integral and systematic exposition of Marxism, defending its theoretical principles, revealing the universal character of its dialectical method, and teaching revolutionary socialists how to apply the theory creatively, how to work out scientific programmes and tactics for their parties and rebuff the opponents of Marxism.

The present volume includes a considerable number of works written by Marx and Engels specifically for the German proletariat. This was explained by the fact that during the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) the centre of the European workers' movement had been shifted from France to Germany (p. 211). As Engels wrote, "the German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war" (p. 68). Analysis of the achievements and mistakes of German Social-Democracy enabled Marx and Engels to examine the general problems of the theory and tactics of the whole international working-class movement. Indisputably, the most important of their works on this subject are Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and Engels' letter to Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, both responses to the draft programme for the Gotha Congress. This congress united the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (Eisenachers), the first mass party based on the principles of the First International and led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, and the General Association of German Workers led by followers of Ferdinand Lassalle.

Marx and Engels had maintained that this union should have taken place only if the Lassallean leaders were ready "to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid, and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869 or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere" (see Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875; this volume, p. 67).

Marx and Engels saw the draft of the Gotha programme as an unacceptable ideological concession and surrender to Lassalleanism. They regarded as totally inadmissible the inclusion in the programme of the proposition that in relation to the working class all other classes were reactionary and of the "iron law of wages", which was founded on false theoretical premisses (pp. 68-69). They also condemned the programme's virtual rejection of "the principle that the workers' movement is an international one" (p. 68), the brushing aside of the problem of the trade unions, and much else. They argued cogently that these propositions, by dragging the party backwards in the theoretical sphere, would do grave harm to the German workers' movement. In his letter to Bebel, Engels stressed that "a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it" (p. 72). The Gotha programme, he showed, was a step backwards in comparison with the Eisenach programme.

Critical analysis of the draft Gotha programme gave Marx a handle for expounding his views on the crucial theoretical questions of scientific socialism on the basis of his previous socio-economic research and, above all, on *Capital*. The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* is mainly concerned with the Marxist theory of the state and socialist revolution. In contrast to the Gotha programme, in which the state was treated "as an independent entity" (p. 94), Marx revealed the class, exploitative nature of the bourgeois state. He also examined the role of the state after the victory of the socialist revolution and stressed that a relatively long period would inevitably be required to carry out the immense creative work of the revolutionary remoulding of society. "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*" (p. 95).

In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx elaborated new aspects of the theory of the future communist society as a social formation developing according to its objective laws. It was here that he first set forth the proposition on the two phases of communist society, the two stages of the great transformative process embracing the sphere of production and production relations, the distribution of material goods, people's political and intellectual life, morality and the right. In the first phase, under socialism, we have to deal with a society "just as it *emerges* from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society" (p. 85).

Marx criticised the Lassallean thesis of the programme that under socialism every worker would possess the total product of his labour, the "undiminished proceeds of labour" (p. 84). He pointed out that even after the abolition of private property in the means of production, before becoming available for individual consumption the total social product would have to reimburse the funds set aside for the replacement of the means of production, for its further expansion, and for public needs. The first phase of communism presupposes the equality of the members of society only in the sense of their equal relationship to the means of production that have become public property, their equal obligation to work, and their equal rights to various social goods and services. This form of distribution embodies the social justice of the socialist society: "The individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it" (p. 86).

Only at the next stage, with its very high development of all the productive forces and of the productivity of social labour, would radical changes take place in people's material standard of living, in their labour conditions and consciousness. Marx draws a picture of communist society in which the individual, freed of the struggle for his daily bread and fear of the future, will be able to realise all the abilities of his personality, its harmonious development, and be able to shed the possessive instincts and nationalist prejudices inbred by centuries. "Only then," Marx wrote, "can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!" (p. 87).

The *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was aimed not only against Lassalleanism, against opportunist trends in the German working-class movement, but also against vulgar socialism as a whole. It exposed its inherent basic methodological defect—failure to understand the determining role of social production, the desire to shift the centre of gravity, both in criticism of the existing society and in projects for social transformation, into the sphere of distribution. "The vulgar socialists ... have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution" (p. 88).

The rapid growth of Social-Democracy's influence in Germany, its sweeping advance among the mass of the German workers, and the successes of the Socialist Workers' Party at the elections to the Reichstag (see pp. 250, 251), were a cause of grave concern to Bismarck. On October 19, 1878, using as a pretext two attempts on the life of William I, in which the Social-Democrats were in no way involved, the government passed a "Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy", which remained in force right up to 1890. This so-called Exceptional Law Against the Socialists, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, virtually proscribed the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany.

In September 1878, even before the law was introduced, on the basis of the minutes of the Reichstag sitting at which the government Bill was debated, Marx outlined an exposé entitled "The Parliamentary Debate on the Anti-Socialist Law" in which he resolutely repudiates the reactionaries' attempts to accuse revolutionary Social-Democracy of terrorism and identify it with the anarchistic elements; he unmasks the provocative police methods Bismarck's government resorted to in the Reichstag to cast a veneer of legality over its actions. "Indeed," Marx wrote, "the government is seeking to suppress *by force* a development it dislikes but cannot *lawfully* attack" (p. 249).

In this article Marx poses the question of the dialectical relationship between the peaceful and non-peaceful forms of the proletariat's struggle. He emphasises that in countries where the conditions are favourable the working class can count on the peaceful acquisition of power. But even in this case it must be aware that this peaceful path may be blocked by forces "interested in restoring the former state of affairs" (p. 248). The choice of path, peaceful or non-peaceful, is determined not by the subjective desires of the movement's leaders or their doctrines but by the line-up of class forces, the behaviour of the ruling class, the form in which it resists the maturing social changes. "An historical development," Marx writes, "can remain 'peaceful' only for so long as its progress is not forcibly obstructed by those wielding social power at the time" (ibid.).

At a difficult time for the German Social-Democrats, Marx and Engels helped them to find new forms of activity, to evolve a correct tactical line. A special role was played by the "Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and others", written by Marx and Engels in September 1879. This is one of the key documents of Marxism against opportunism in the working-class movement. Marx and Engels sharply criticised the opportunist programme of the party's reformist wing (the so-called Manifesto of the Zurich Trio—Karl Höchberg, Eduard Bernstein and Karl Schramm). These are, the Circular Letter said, "the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should 'go too far'. Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved" (p. 267).

In a situation when Marxism had begun to spread widely in the mass working-class movement, its ideological opponents no longer dared openly to declare themselves its adversaries. Instead they tried to revise Marxism from within, by peddling an eclectic hotch-potch of vulgar materialist, idealistic and pseudo-socialist views as scientific socialism. The Circular Letter was designed to scotch this danger. It exposes the class and ideological roots of opportunism and proves the need to clear the ground of them. Marx and Engels noted that this phenomenon was due to the influence of the petty bourgeoisie on the proletariat, the penetration of non-proletarian ideology into the working-class movement. Repudiation of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie was being preached under the flag of Marxism. "On paper," the Circular Letter stated, "it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated" (p. 267). The authors of the letter urged the German Social-Democrats to dissociate themselves from the "adulterating element" in the workers' party (p. 269) and to strengthen its class character. "For almost 40 years," Marx and Engels wrote, "we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement" (p. 269).

As Marx and Engels stressed, with the Anti-Socialist Law in operation the position of the party organ became especially important. It should "crowd on sail" (p. 262), educating the proletarian masses in the spirit of revolutionary class struggle, defending the interests of the working class. The working-class party could play its vanguard role only if it clearly understood the revolutionary aims of the proletarian movement, and remained unshakeably loyal to them.

Under a regime of police terror the party must learn to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, to use the parliamentary platform, to work out a consistently class-oriented stand for the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, and to maintain strict party discipline. Marx and Engels warned the party of the danger of the "parliamentary disease" (p. 261). Triumphs in parliamentary elections, as Engels wrote in his article "The Anti-Socialist Law in Germany.—The Situation in Russia", had "made some people believe that it was no longer necessary to do anything else in order to obtain the final victory of the proletariat" (p. 251).

The articles Marx and Engels contributed to the workers' press did much to spread the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary theory of class struggle, and to strengthen the ideological platform of the Social-Democratic parties which were being set up. They also enhanced their prestige as the acknowledged leaders of the international working-class movement and strengthened their personal ties with the leaders of various parties. In these years, as Marx's health declined, this journalistic work fell more and more on Engels.

Especially important were Engels' contributions to the German workers' newspapers, the organs of the German Social-Democratic Party, *Der Volksstaat*, *Vorwärts*, *Die Neue Welt*, and from 1881 to *Der Sozialdemokrat*, and others. Expressing a standpoint he shared with Marx, Engels actively opposed all attempts to identify Social-Democracy with the anarchist trends existing in one or another guise in the German and international working-class movement. Both men set out to explode the false thesis that the very doctrine of scientific socialism prompted people to commit excesses and terrorist acts and inclined them towards voluntarist decisions. In *Refugee Literature*, which opens the present volume, Engels made a detailed study of the programme drawn up by Blanquists forced to emigrate after the Commune. He took apart their thesis that a revolution could be made by an insignificant minority "according to a plan worked out in advance", and that it could begin "at any time" (p. 14). Emphasising that one could not "play at revolution", he countered the Blanquists' misconceived thesis on the ruling out of compromises. Engels wrote with irony: "They imagine that, as soon as *they* have only the good will to jump over intermediate stations and compromises, everything is assured" (p. 17). In his own name and that of Marx he was equally firm in condemning the sectarian-anarchist trends that had emerged among the German Social-Democrats since the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law, and that were most patently expressed in the statements of Johann Most and the London émigré paper, *Freiheit*, which Most had founded (pp. 478-79).

In his works "Semi-Official War-Cries", *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* and "The Vicar of Bray", Engels showed the reactionary aggressive character of Bismarck's empire, the socio-economic roots of the political influence wielded by the Prussian "Schnapps-Junkers" and Prussian militarism (see p. 124). Engels' series of articles on Wilhelm Wolff, the closest friend and associate of Marx and Engels, Marx's epilogue to the second edition of *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, and the speeches by Marx and Engels on February 7, 1876 at the German Workers' Educational Society in London, acquainted the new generation of workers with the history and revolutionary traditions of Germany's proletarian movement.

Besides the articles about Wilhelm Wolff, Engels' essay *The Mark*, which showed the evolution of agrarian relations in Germany from the ancient community (the mark) up to the 1870s, was of great importance for determining the tactics of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party with regard to the German peasantry. Engels here traced the main stages in the transformation of the peasants from free members of the communities into serfs, and exposed the true nature of the half-hearted reforms introduced in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century (see pp. 454-55). He stressed that the small-scale peasant farming had become "a method of production more and more antiquated, less and less capable of yielding a livelihood" (p. 455). For the peasantry the future lay in reviving the mark, "not in its old, outdated form, but in a rejuvenated form", that would enable the peasants to use the advantages of large-scale farming and modern machinery, but "without capitalists by the community itself" (p. 456). In this the peasants would find their natural allies in the workers and the proletarian party (ibid.).

Marx and Engels contributed to the French socialist newspaper, *L'Égalité*, founded in 1877 on the initiative of Jules Guesde. In March 1880 it printed two articles by Engels entitled "The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck", attacking social demagoguery of the Bonapartist variety. With specific examples from Bismarck's policies, Engels demonstrated the illusory nature of the ideas of state socialism current among some of the French socialists, their belief that the bourgeois state could carry through social reforms affecting the bedrock of bourgeois relations.

The theoretical section of the programme of the French Workers' Party formulated by Marx at the request of the French socialists ("Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party") was of particular significance. The party was founded in October 1879 at a constituent congress in Marseilles. This preamble, published not only in *L'Égalité*, but in a number of other papers, contained, as Marx put it in a letter to Friedrich Adolf Sorge on November 5, 1880, "a definition of the Communist aim" (see present edition, Vol. 46). The preamble regarded the emancipation of the proletariat as "that of all human beings without distinction of sex or race". In setting the workers the task of taking over the means of production and bringing them into collective ownership Marx stressed that "this collective appropriation can only spring from the revolutionary action of the producing class—or proletariat—organised as an independent political party" (p. 340).

The development of theory in the French socialist movement was deeply influenced by a work written by Engels at the request of Paul Lafargue, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* which Marx described as an "*introduction to scientific socialism*" (p. 339). First published in the French magazine *La Revue socialiste,* it was issued in the same year 1880 as a separate edition. Written with a notable clarity of style, this pamphlet, which Engels based on three chapters from *Anti-Dühring,* became available to a wide circle of working-class readers. In Engels' lifetime the pamphlet appeared in authorised German and English editions, was translated into many other European languages and played an important part in propagating the ideas of Marxism throughout the international labour movement.

In this work Engels set out to arm the vanguard of the proletarian movement with an understanding of the relationship between utopian and scientific socialism. This was a counterstroke to the attempts that were being made to obliterate the difference between them and to present Marx's teaching as a variety of the socialist utopias. Acknowledging the historical role of utopian socialism, Engels treated it as one of the theoretical sources of Marxist theory. He gave a systematic account of the genesis of scientific socialism, which, as he pointed out, had emerged as a logical phenomenon, conditioned by the whole course of history. Called into being by the need to explain the proletariat's revolutionary struggle, to build a scientific theory for the movement, Marxism was the result of a synthesis of the achievements of previous science and culture. "Like every new theory," wrote Engels, "modern socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in the material economic facts" (p. 285).

From the overall achievements of Marxist thought Engels singled out two of Marx's great discoveries, which played a decisive role in converting socialism from a utopia into a science—the materialist conception of history, which reveals the laws of social development and proves the inevitability of the socialist revolution; and the theory of surplus value, which lays bare the essence of capitalist exploitation.

The emergence of Marxism, Engels noted, which had opened up a new stage in the history of human thought, also revolutionised socialist thinking. In contrast to the speculative constructs propounded by the utopian socialists, scientific socialism based its conclusions on a profound theoretical analysis of reality, on getting to the bottom of social phenomena, on revealing the objective laws of social life. This was why scientific socialism could provide a genuine theoretical foundation for the workers' revolutionary struggle, an ideological weapon for the socialist transformation of society. With its appearance on the scene, Engels wrote, this struggle was placed on a realistic basis. It was scientific socialism which had identified the historical mission of the proletariat as the force destined, in alliance with all the working people, to bring about the socialist revolution, and which had overcome the gap between socialist theory and the working-class movement and armed the proletarian masses with a knowledge of the prospects of their struggle, with scientific forecast of the future society.

Developing the theory of socialist revolution, Engels made the point that the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private character of appropriation—could be resolved only by a proletarian revolution. The proletariat, having taken power, would first of all turn the means of production into public property. Engels believed the organisation of socialist production on the basis of socialised property was the decisive condition for the building of the future society. Socialist society, he predicted, would be the first to be capable of regulating social production by conscious application of the objective laws of its development. The role of social consciousness would thus grow in importance. Society would be able to guide its economic activity according to plan and control the key social processes. "To accomplish this act of universal emancipation," Engels wrote, "is the historical mission of the modern proletariat" (p. 325).

At the close of the 1870s symptoms of change began to appear in the British labour movement. The economic crisis of 1877-78 hit the great mass of the workers very hard and narrowed the economic ground for reformist illusions, thereby stimulating interest in social questions. Engels regarded this moment as favourable for a statement of his views in the British trade union newspaper, *The Labour Standard*, and between the beginning of May and the beginning of August 1881 he wrote a total of 11 articles for it. In them he expounded in popular form the main propositions of scientific socialism and Marxist political economy, explaining to British workers the mechanism of capitalist exploitation. Referring in the title of one of the articles to the popular trade union slogan "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work", Engels proved that by its very nature capitalism ruled out fairness. He tried to emphasise the idea that the basic demand of the proletarian struggle should be the slogan: "Possession of the means of work—raw material, factories, machinery—by the working people themselves!" (p. 378).

In his articles for *The Labour Standard* Engels showed that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was historically inevitable. It was bound to become a political struggle, the struggle for power (see p. 386). Engels gave theoretical substance to the significance of the workers' economic struggle and showed the role of the trade unions as its organisers. At the same time he pointed out that their activities could not rid the worker of capitalist slavery (p. 385). For the proletariat to achieve success, he emphasised, the working class must be organised as a class, there must be an independent political party of the proletariat. Engels devoted a special article to this important question—"A Working Men's Party". "In England," he wrote, "a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party... No democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character" (pp. 405-06). The lack of an independent proletarian party, Engels noted, had left England's working class content to form, as it were, "the tail of the 'Great Liberal Party'" for nearly a quarter of a century (p. 404). These articles by Engels exerted a definite influence on the young generation in the British socialist movement. James Macdonald, later to be one of the representatives of the Marxist wing of the British socialists, said what really attracted him to socialism were Engels' articles in *The Labour Standard* (*How I Became a Socialist*, London, [1896,] pp. 61-62).

Several articles written by Engels in 1877-78 for the Italian socialist paper *La Plebe* ("British Agricultural Labourers Want to Participate in the Political Life of Their Country", "On the Socialist Movement in Germany, France, the United States and Russia", and others) have been included in this volume. Here he told the Italian workers about the experience and successes of the proletariat's struggle in various countries, wrote about the movement of the agricultural labourers in England, which at that time was of particular interest to the Italian socialists. Engels developed the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and concentrated special attention on the importance of drawing the broad masses of the agricultural proletariat into the revolutionary struggle.

In the 1870s and early 1880s Marx and Engels kept a close watch on the economic and social development of the USA, noting the unprecedented concentration of capital, the growth of big companies controlling the activity of major branches of industry and trade and owning huge amounts of property in land, finance and the railways. In Engels' articles "The French Commercial Treaty", "American Food and the Land Question" and others, and also in the Preface that Marx and Engels wrote for the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* the attention of European workers is focussed on Britain's loss of its industrial monopoly and the inevitability of the United States' predominance in the world market (see pp. 392-93). Marx and Engels analyse these processes from the standpoint of the prospects for the labour movement in Europe and the struggle waged by the American proletariat. For the American socialist weekly *The Labor Standard* Engels wrote a series of articles on the labour movement in Europe, entitled "The Workingmen of Europe in 1877", in which he popularised the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The interest Americans displayed in Marx as an individual and his ideas is illustrated by two documents included in the Appendices to this volume—the accounts of his interviews with a correspondent from *The Chicago Tribune* and with John Swinton, the editor of *The Sun,* an influential progressive bourgeois paper. These documents gave readers not only the main biographical facts about Marx and the history of the International, but also expounded his point of view on the problems of the labour movement in the USA. Rejecting the allegation that socialist ideas were "alien" to the United States, Marx stressed that "Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers" (p. 573). Developing ideas on the historically law-governed character and driving forces of revolution, Marx emphasised: "No revolution can be made by a party, *but by a nation*" (p. 576).

In these years Marx and Engels devoted much attention to the economic and social situation in Russia and the development of the Russian revolutionary movement. They studied the economy, agrarian system and social relations in Russia after the peasant reform of 1861 and read extensively Russian scientific literature and fiction. They were personally acquainted with many Russian revolutionaries, scientists and journalists. A prominent place was given to the study of Russian culture and language, which, in the words of Engels, is "a language that, both for its own sake, as one of the richest and most powerful living languages, and on account of the literature thereby made accessible, richly deserves study" (pp. 27-28). Marx and Engels valued Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov as profound revolutionary-democratic thinkers and writers. Engels called them "two socialist Lessings" (p. 23).

In a country where the working class had not yet become an organised force and was as yet incapable of leading a nation-wide struggle, the Russian revolutionary movement was represented by the Narodniks (Populists). While eager to help the Russian revolutionaries, Marx and Engels criticised their idealistic notions, their failure to grasp the link between legal, political institutions and the interests of definite classes of society. In the third and fourth articles of his series *Refugee Literature*, Engels took the side of one of the prominent ideologists of Narodism, Pyotr Lavrov, in his polemic with another Narodnik, Pyotr Tkachov, on the tasks of revolutionary propaganda in Russia. Engels resolutely objected to irresponsible "impetuous rodomontades" about an immediate uprising (p. 36) without taking into account the objective conditions and preliminary revolutionary propaganda, and to the voluntarist statements by Tkachov that "the revolutionary ... must assume the right to summon the people to revolt ... without waiting until the course of historical events announces the moment" (p. 35).

In the last article of his *Refugee Literature* ("On Social Relations in Russia"), and in a letter to the editors of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* and in drafts of his reply to a letter from Vera Zasulich, Engels and Marx respectively made a profound analysis of the socio-economic relations in Russia after the peasant reform of 1861. They regarded it as a milestone in the history of Russia, the beginning of a new stage in the country's development (see p. 199, etc.). The abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861 was connected with the mounting discontent of the peasants and the growth of peasant movement. Marx and Engels noted the decisive factors in the build-up of the revolutionary situation in Russia in the 1870s: the robbing of the peasantry as a result of the 1861 reform, the growth of the mass peasant movement and the protest of "the enlightened strata of the nation" (p. 50). Engels foresaw the revolutionary situation in Russia at the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s. Already in 1875 he had expressed the firm conviction that revolution in that country was "far closer than it would appear on the surface" (p. 11). Marx and Engels also hoped that the foreign-policy troubles the Tsarist government was experiencing in connection with the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 would precipitate revolutionary events in Russia.

Marx and Engels believed that the coming revolution in Russia should be a bourgeois-democratic, mostly peasant, revolution (see e.g. pp. 204-05). They saw that its prospects would be closely connected with the class struggle of the European proletariat. This revolution, Engels wrote in 1878, "means such a change in the whole situation of Europe as must be hailed with joy by the workingmen of every country as a giant step towards their common goal—the universal emancipation of Labor" (p. 229; see also p. 426). Marx and Engels thought that a revolution in Russia would start a process "which, maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune" (p. 372).

The question raised by Marx and Engels as to whether the non-capitalist development of Russia was possible, whether it would have to endure the torments of all the stages of economic evolution that the peoples of the industrially developed countries of Europe had endured before it, was of the greatest theoretical importance. Central to this question was the fate of the peasant commune. Marx and Engels showed that communal ownership of the land was not an exclusively Russian phenomenon, but one of the most ancient social institutions, an institution to be found "among all Indo-Germanic peoples ... from India to Ireland" (p. 46).

The commune could become "the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia" only if it were ensured "the normal conditions of spontaneous development" (p. 371). Such conditions could be created only out of a successful democratic revolution in Russia, which would free it of exploitation "by trade, landed property and usury" and by "a new capitalist vermin" (pp. 354-55). In themselves neither the artel nor the commune could serve as a means of transition to socialism. This meant that the productive forces of society should be "developed so far that they permit the final destruction of class distinctions" (p. 39).

Only a revolution in Russia, Marx and Engels believed, and its support by the victorious working class of the developed capitalist countries (see p. 426) could offer the opportunity of reviving the archaic institution of the rural commune and remoulding it on socialist lines. Only such a revolution could open up for Russia the prospect of transition to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development. While acknowledging such a possibility, Marx and Engels made a sober assessment of the growth of the capitalist economy in Russia and its probable consequences. Marx stressed: "If Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered to a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system" (p. 199).

The Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1882), the translation of which was prepared by Georgi Plekhanov, provides a useful resumé of the views of Marx and Engels on the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Whereas in 1848-49 the reactionary governments and the European bourgeoisie, they wrote, "found their only salvation from the proletariat ... in Russian intervention", now the tsar is "a prisoner of war of the revolution", and "Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe" (p. 426). They also clearly defined their point of view on the fate of the peasant community: "If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for communist development" (p. 426). This path for Russia did not come about in this way in the course of history. However, this definition suggests that Marx and Engels saw the theoretical possibility of non-capitalist path of development for industrially underdeveloped countries in the event of a victorious socialist revolution in countries with highly developed productive forces.

Marx and Engels consider the problems of the liberation of Poland and the involvement in the revolutionary movement of other oppressed nations of Europe, and also the revolutionary changes in Austria-Hungary, in direct connection with the tasks and prospects of the Russian revolution. In the first article of his *Refugee Literature* Engels repeats and develops the idea he had first expressed in 1847: "A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself" (p. 11). This work and also the speeches made by Marx and Engels at meetings in honour of the anniversaries of the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863, raised the question of the organic link between the struggle of the working class against the exploiting society and that of the oppressed peoples for their national liberation (see pp. 57-58). The liberation of the Polish people from social and national oppression was thus linked with the struggle of the Russian people to overthrow the tsarist autocracy.

The section "From the Preparatory Materials" contains two very important manuscripts written by Marx, unpublished in his or Engels' lifetime. The first is his conspectus of Bakunin's *Statehood and Anarchy*, which Marx compiled in 1874 and the beginning of 1875 and in which he summed up, as it were, the ideological struggle with Bakuninism in the First International. In contrast to Bakunin's subjective and voluntarist arguments for the possibility of a social revolution at any time and in any place, Marx developed the proposition that "a radical social revolution is bound up with definite historical conditions of economic development" (p. 518). Showing the nonsensical character of Bakunin's slogan on the immediate "abolition of the state", Marx formulated the idea of the necessity of establishing the rule of the proletariat, the proletarian state, in which with the assumption of power the workers would have to suppress "the strata of the old world who are struggling against them" and keep power in their hands "as long as the economic basis of class society has not been destroyed" (p. 521). Here Marx states his views on the tactics of the proletarian party towards the peasantry. On coming to power the proletariat must "take the measures needed to enable the peasant to directly improve his condition, i.e. to win him over to the revolution; these measures, however, contain the seeds which will facilitate the transition from the private ownership of the land to collective ownership, so that the peasant arrives at this economically of his own accord" (p. 517). The important ideas expressed in this manuscript on the maturing of the social preconditions for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois strata in general, and the dangers of anarchism and voluntarism in the work of social transformation, were reflected and developed by Marx and Engels in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, *Refugee Literature*, the drafts of the letter to Vera Zasulich and other works mentioned earlier.

The second manuscript is the "Marginal Notes on Adolph Wagner's *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*". Criticising the bourgeois economist Adolph Wagner, an "armchair socialist", Marx explains and specifies certain key propositions of his own economic theory, its subject and method. He exposes the dishonest tricks used by bourgeois economists in their "criticism" of him, their idealist approach to the analysis of economic phenomena and interpretation of them as reflections of the evolution of legal standards. Replying to Wagner's criticism of the theory of value in *Capital*, Marx stresses that for him the subject is not "value" and not "exchange value" but *commodity* (p. 544). Here he sets forth his method of analysing the commodity, the foundations of its "duality" determined by the dual character of labour embodied in it—its specific determinateness, on the one hand, and simply as the expenditure of human labour power, on the other. Marx also speaks of the historicism of his economic theory; in his analysis use-value "still only comes under consideration when such a consideration stems from the analysis with regard to economic formations, not from arguing hither and thither about the concepts or words 'use-value' and 'value'" (p. 546). Marx thus emphasises that his investigation deals not with an abstract logical construction but with analysis of the existing economic reality.

The volume contains some vivid biographical material about Marx by Engels. These are "Karl Marx", written in 1877 for the *Volks-Kalender* almanac, and also the obituary and funeral oration with which Engels marked the death of his friend on March 14, 1883 ("Draft of a Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx", "Karl Marx's Funeral" and "On the Death of Karl Marx"). Engels provides a model analysis of Marx's life and work. He saw Marx as a great scientist, who looked upon science "above all things as a grand historical lever, as a revolutionary power in the most eminent sense of the word" (p. 463). For Marx, according to Engels, theory was always inseparable from practice: "The struggle for the emancipation of the class of wages-labourers from the fetters of the present capitalist system of economic production," Engels wrote, "was his real element" (p. 464). Engels also showed Marx's role as organiser and leader of the class struggle of the proletariat, the true creator of the Communist League and the International Working Men's Association. "An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America," Engels said at Marx's funeral, "and by historical science, in the death of this man" (p. 467). Engels concluded his funeral oration with the prophetic words, "His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!" (p. 469).

* * *

The volume contains 66 works by Marx and Engels, of which 28 appear in English for the first time, including *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag, Wilhelm Wolff,* "The Anti-Socialist Law in

Germany.—The Situation in Russia", "The Socialism of Mr. Bismarck" by Engels, and the "Notes on Bakunin's Book *Statehood and Anarchy*" by Marx. Among the materials published in the Appendices, four documents make their first appearance in English. The drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich in the main section of the volume are printed for the first time in English in full, in strict accordance with the manuscript.

The volume is arranged in chronological order with the exception of Engels' letter to August Bebel of March 18-28, 1875, which is traditionally placed together with the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* by Marx. Engels' manuscripts *On the Early History of the Germans* and *The Frankish Period*, written during the period covered by Volume 24, are printed in Volume 26 of the present edition because these works are connected with Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*

In cases where works by Marx or Engels have survived in several languages, the English version—manuscript or printed—is reproduced in this volume. Significant differences in reading with versions in other languages are indicated in the footnotes.

All the texts have been translated from the German except where otherwise stated. Headings supplied by the editors where none existed in the original are given in square brackets. The asterisks indicate footnotes by the authors; the editors' footnotes are indicated by index letters.

Misprints in proper and geographical names, figures, dates, and so on, have as a rule been corrected without comment by checking with the sources used by Marx and Engels. The known literary and documentary sources are referred to in footnotes and in the index of quoted and mentioned literature. Words written in English in the original are given in small caps; longer passages written in English in the original are placed in asterisks.

When working on this volume, the editors made use of the results of the scientific research done when preparing for print volumes 24 (Section I) and 25 (Section I) of *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*$_2$), a new complete edition of the *Works* of Marx and Engels in the languages of the original.

The volume was compiled and the preface and notes written by Marina Doroshenko and Valentina Ostrikova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU). The materials of the volume covering the period from May 1874 to September 1878, as well as the drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich and the manuscripts in the section "From the Preparatory Materials", were prepared by Marina Doroshenko. The materials from September 1878 to May 1883 and the documents in the Appendices were prepared by Valentina Ostrikova.

The name index, the index of quoted and mentioned literature, the index of periodicals and the glossary of geographical names were prepared by Yelena Kofanova.

The entire volume was edited by Valentina Smirnova (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The translations were made by David Forgacs, Rodney and Krystyna Livingstone, Peter and Betty Ross, Barrie Selman, and Joan and Trevor Walmsley (Lawrence & Wishart) and edited by Nicolas Jacobs (Lawrence & Wishart), Jane Sayer, Stephen Smith, Lydia Belyakova, Anna Vladimirova and Yelena Vorotnikova (Progress Publishers), and Vladimir Mosolov, scientific editor (Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU).

The volume was prepared for the press by the editor Yelena Kalinina.

KARL MARX
and
FREDERICK ENGELS

WORKS

May 1874-May 1883

Frederick Engels

REFUGEE LITERATURE[1]

Written between mid-May 1874 and April 1875

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 69, 73, 117 and 118, June 17 and 26, October 6 and 8, 1874; Nos. 36, 37, 43, 44 and 45, March 28, April 2, 16, 18 and 21, 1875. Article V appeared as a separate pamphlet: F. Engels, *Soziales aus Rußland*, Leipzig, 1875. Articles I, II and V were reprinted in the book: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper, checked (Articles I, II and V) with the text of the 1894 edition

Published in English in full for the first time

I

A POLISH PROCLAMATION[2]

When the Tsar of Russia arrived in London, the entire police force there was already astir. It was claimed that the Poles wanted to shoot him, the new Berezowski had already been found and was better armed than before, in Paris.[3] The houses of well-known Poles were surrounded by plain-clothes policemen, and the police inspector with special responsibility for surveillance of Poles under the Empire was even summoned from Paris. The police precautions along the Tsar's route from his residence into the City were organised according to positively strategic principles—and all this trouble for nothing! No Berezowski showed up, no pistol shots were fired, and the Tsar, who was trembling quite as much as his daughter, got off with a fright. All this trouble was not, however, entirely in vain, for the Tsar awarded a tip of £5 to every police superintendent and £2 to every police inspector (33 and 14 talers[a] respectively) who had been on duty for his sake.

Meanwhile, the Poles had other things on their minds than murdering the noble Alexander. The society called "The Polish People"[4] issued an "Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People", signed: General W. Wróblewski, President, J. Kryński, Secretary. This address was distributed in large numbers in London during the Tsar's visit. With the exception of *Reynolds's Newspaper*,[b] the London press unanimously refused to publish it: "England's guest" should not be insulted!

The address starts by pointing out to the English that it was no honour, but an insult, for the Tsar to visit them at the very moment he was making preparations in Central Asia to overthrow English rule in India, and that if England, instead of lending a willing ear to the blandishments of the Tsar, this ostensible father of the peoples he oppresses, were to be less indifferent to the Poles' aspirations to independence, England, as well as the rest of Western Europe, could quietly stop their colossal armaments. And this is quite correct. The background to all European militarism is Russian militarism. As a reserve in the war of 1859 on the side of France, in 1866 and 1870 on the side of Prussia,[5] the Russian army enabled the leading military power of the day to vanquish its enemy in isolation. As the leading European military power, Prussia is a direct creation of Russia, although she has since grown too large for her patron's liking.

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[a] In the 1894 edition: "100 and 40 marks".—*Ed.*

[b] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 1240, May 17, 1874.—*Ed.*

The address continues:

> "By her geographical situation and by her readiness at any moment to fight in the cause of humanity, Poland always was, and in future always will continue to be, the foremost champion of justice, civilisation and social development in all North Eastern Europe. Poland has incontestably proved this by her centuries of resistance to the invasions of Eastern Barbarians[6] on the one hand, and to the inquisition, then oppressing nearly the entire West, on the other. How was it that the Nations of Western Europe were enabled peaceably to occupy themselves with the development of their social vitality precisely in the most decisive epoch of modern times? Merely because on the Eastern frontier of Europe the Polish soldier stood sentry, always watchful, always ready to charge, always prepared to sacrifice his health, his property, his life. It was owing to the shelter of Polish arms, that on Europe's awakening to a new life in the sixteenth century, the arts and sciences could flourish afresh, that commerce, industry and wealth could attain their present wonderful extension. What, for instance, would have become of the legacy of civilisation left to the West by the labour of two centuries, had not Poland, herself threatened by Mongolian hordes at her back, come to the rescue of Central Europe threatened by the Turks, and broken the Ottoman power by the brilliant victory under the walls of Vienna[7]?"[a]

The address goes on to argue that even today it is essentially Poland's resistance that prevents Russia from turning her forces on the West and that has even managed to disarm the most dangerous allies of Russia, her pan-Slavist agents. The most renowned Russian historian, Pogodin, says, in a work printed by the order and at the expense of the Russian government,[b] that Poland, hitherto the most painful sore on Russia's body, must become her right hand by restoring her as a small, weak kingdom under the sway of some Russian Prince—that would be the strongest bait for the Turkish and Austrian Slavonians:

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[a] *Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People*, London, 1874, p. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] М. П. Погодинъ, *Польской вопросъ. Собранie разсужденiй, записокъ и замѣчанiй. 1831-1867.*—*Ed.*

> "We shall [...] proclaim this in a manifesto, England and France will bite their lips, and as for Austria it will be her death-blow.... All the Poles, even the most irreconcilable, will fly to our embrace; the Austrian and Prussian Poles will reunite with their brothers. All Slavonic races now oppressed by Austria, Czechs, Croats, Hungarians (!), even the Slavonians of Turkey, will long for the hour when they shall be able to breathe as freely as the Poles. We shall be a race of a hundred millions under one sceptre, and then, ye nations of Europe, come and try your strength with us!"[8]

Unfortunately, this beautiful plan lacked only the main thing: the consent of Poland. But

> "to all those allurements—the world knows it—Poland replied: I will live and must live, if I am to live at all, not as the tool of a foreign Tsar's plans for world conquest, but as a free nation among the free nations of Europe".[a]

The address then explains in further detail how Poland has confirmed this unshakeable decision of hers. At the critical moment of her existence, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, Poland was already crippled by the first partition and divided between four states.[9] Yet she had the courage to raise the banner of the French Revolution on the Vistula—by the Constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791[10]—a deed that earned her a place high above all her neighbours. The old Polish economy was thus destroyed; given a few decades of peaceful development, undisturbed from outside, and Poland would have become the most advanced and most powerful country east of the Rhine. It would not, however, suit the partition powers for Poland to rise once again, and even less for her to rise through the naturalisation of revolution in north-eastern Europe. Her fate was sealed: the Russians imposed on Poland what Prussians, Austrians and Imperial troops attempted in France in vain.[11]

> "Kościuszko fought simultaneously for Polish independence and the principle of equality. [...] And it is notorious that from the moment of the loss of her national independence and in spite of it, Poland, in virtue of her innate patriotism and of her solidarity with all nations struggling for the rights of humanity, became the most active champion of justice outraged, no matter in what country, fighting on whatever battlefield tyranny was resisted. Unbroken by her own disasters, unshaken by the blindness and ill will of European governments, Poland has not for one moment been unmindful of the duties imposed upon her by herself, by history and by regard for the future."[b]

At the same time, she has also developed the principles on which this future, the new Polish republic, will be organised: they are laid down in the manifestoes of 1836, 1845 and 1863.[12]

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[a] *Address...*, pp. 3-4.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 4.—*Ed.*

"The first of those manifestoes, while asserting the unshakeable national rights of Poland, proclaims at the same time the *equality of rights of the peasantry.*[a] That of 1845, issued on Polish soil, in the then free city of Cracow,[13] and sanctioned by delegates from all parts of Poland, proclaims not only this equality of rights, but also the principle that the *soil*, cultivated by the peasantry for centuries, *shall become their property.*[a]—In the part of Poland stolen by the Muscovites, the landlords, accepting the above manifestoes as part and parcel of Polish national law, had long before the imperial so-called Emancipation Proclamation resolved to settle this internal matter, which troubled their consciences, voluntarily and by agreement with the peasantry (1859-1863). The Polish land question was resolved, in principle, by the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791; if since then the Polish peasantry have been oppressed it was solely in consequence of the despotism and *Machiavellism*[a] of the Tsar who based his domination upon the mutual antagonism of landlords and peasants. The resolution was taken long before the imperial proclamation of February 19th, 1861; and this proclamation, applauded by the whole of Europe and pretending to establish equal rights for the peasants, is merely a cloak for one of the ever-repeated attempts of the Tsar to take unto himself other people's property. The Polish rural populace is just as oppressed as before, but—*the soil has become the property of the Tsar*! And as a punishment for the bloody protest raised in 1863 against the treacherous barbarism of her oppressors,[14] Poland has had to undergo a series of brutal persecutions such as would shake with horror even the tyranny of past centuries. [...]

"And yet neither the cruel yoke of the Tsar, though it has now weighed on her for a full century, nor the indifference of Europe, have been able to kill Poland.

"We have lived and we shall live by virtue of our own will, our own strength and our own social and political development, which renders us superior to our oppressors; for their existence is based, from beginning to end, upon brute force, prisons and the gallows, and their chief means of action abroad are clandestine machinations, treacherous surprises and, finally, conquest by force."[b]

Let us, however, leave the address, which has been adequately characterised by the above extracts, in order to append to it some observations on the importance of the Polish question for the German workers.

No matter how much Russia had developed since Peter the Great, no matter how much her influence had grown in Europe (to which Frederick II of Prussia contributed more than a little, even though he knew full well what he was doing), she nevertheless remained essentially just as non-European a power as, for example, Turkey, until the moment she seized Poland. The first partition of Poland was in 1772; in 1779 in the Peace of Teschen[c] Russia was already demanding[d] the attested right to interfere in German affairs.[15] That should have taught the German princes a lesson; yet Frederick William II, the only Hohenzollern ever to offer serious resistance to Russian policy, and Francis II agreed to the complete break-up of Poland. After the Napoleonic wars, Russia took, in addition, the lion's share of the previously Prussian and Austrian Polish provinces and now appeared openly as Europe's arbiter, a role she continued to play, without interruption, until 1853. Prussia was evidently proud of being allowed to crawl before Russia; Austria followed reluctantly, but always gave way at the crucial moment for fear of revolution, against which the Tsar remained the last bulwark. Thus, Russia became the stronghold of European reaction, without denying herself the pleasure of preparing further conquests in Austria and Turkey with pan-Slavist rabble-rousing. During the years of revolution, the crushing of the Hungarians by Russia[16] was just as decisive an event for Eastern and Central Europe as was the June battle in Paris for the West[17]; and when Tsar Nicholas shortly afterwards sat in judgment on the King of Prussia[a] and the Emperor of Austria[b] in Warsaw, Russia's domination set the seal on the domination of reaction in Europe.[18] The Crimean War liberated the West and Austria from the Tsar's insolence[19]; Prussia and the small states of Germany were all the more willing to crawl before him; but, in 1859, he was already chastising the Austrians for their disobedience by ensuring that his German vassals did not side with them,[20] and in 1866 Prussia completed the punishment of Austria.[21] We have already seen above that the Russian army constitutes the pretext for and the reserve of all European militarism. Only the fact that Nicholas had challenged the West in 1853, relying on his million soldiers (who, admittedly, existed largely on paper only), provided Louis Napoleon with an excuse in the Crimean War to turn the then rather enfeebled French army into the strongest in Europe. Only because the Russian army prevented Austria from siding with France in 1870[22] was Prussia able to defeat France and to complete the Prusso-German military monarchy. Behind all these grand performances of state[23] we see the Russian army. And even if the victory of Germany over France will just as surely produce a war between Russia and Germany—unless Russia's internal development soon enters a revolutionary flux—as the victory of Prussia over Austria at Sadowa[24] entailed the Franco-German War,* the Russian army will always be prepared to oppose any movement in the interior of Prussia. Even today, official Russia is the stronghold and bulwark of all European reaction, her army the reserve of all other armies, ensuring the suppression of the working class in Europe.

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[a] Italicised by Engels.—*Ed.*

[b] *Address...*, pp. 4-5.—*Ed.*

[c] *Traité de paix entre Sa Majesté l'Impératrice de Hongrie et de Bohème, et Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, conclu et signé à Teschen le treize mai 1779, avec un article séparé et les conventions, garanties et actes annexés.*—*Ed.*

[d] In the 1894 edition added: "and received".—*Ed.*

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[a] Frederick William IV.—*Ed.*

[b] Francis Joseph I.—*Ed.*

Yet it is the German workers who are first exposed to the onslaught of this large reserve army of oppression, both in the so-called German Empire and in Austria. As long as the Russians stand behind the Austrian and German bourgeoisie and governments, the sting is taken out of the entire German labour movement. So we, more than any others, have an interest in ridding ourselves of Russian reaction and the Russian army.

Moreover, in doing this we have only one reliable ally, which will remain reliable in all circumstances: *the Polish people.*

Through her historical development and her present position, Poland is faced, far more than France is, with the choice of either being revolutionary or perishing. And this scotches all the silly talk concerning the essentially aristocratic nature of the Polish movement. There are plenty of Polish refugees who have aristocratic cravings; but once Poland herself enters the movement it becomes revolutionary through and through, as we have seen in 1846[25] and 1863. These movements were not simply national; they were also aimed directly at liberating the peasants and transferring landed property to them. In 1871 the great mass of Polish refugees in France entered the service of the Commune[26]; was this an act of aristocrats? Did that not prove that these Poles were at the very apex of the modern movement? Since Bismarck introduced the *Kulturkampf*[27] in Posen[a] and, on the pretext of striking a blow against the Pope,[b] searches out Polish textbooks, suppresses the Polish language and does his utmost to drive the Poles into the arms of Russia, what happens? The Polish aristocracy is increasingly siding with Russia to at least reunify Poland under Russian rule; the revolutionary masses reply by offering to ally themselves with the German workers' party and fighting in the ranks of the International.

In 1863, Poland showed that she could not be done to death, and continues to show this every day. Her claim to an

* This is already stated in the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-German War" (dated September 9, 1870).

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[a] The 1894 edition has: "Poland".— *Ed.*

[b] Pius IX.— *Ed.*

independent existence in the European family of nations is irrefutable. Her restoration, however, is a necessity for two nations in particular: for the Germans and for the Russians themselves.

A people that oppresses others cannot emancipate itself. The power it needs to oppress others is ultimately always turned against itself. As long as there are Russian soldiers in Poland, the Russian people cannot liberate itself politically or socially. At the present stage of development in Russia, however, it is beyond dispute that the day Russia loses Poland, the movement will become strong enough in Russia herself to bring down the existing order. The independence of Poland and revolution in Russia imply each other. Meanwhile, Polish independence and revolution in Russia—which is far closer than it would appear on the surface, given the complete social, political and financial breakdown and the corruption that pervades the whole of official Russia—mean for the German workers that the bourgeoisie, the governments, in short, reaction in Germany, will be reduced to their own forces, forces that we shall, in time, overcome.

II

PROGRAMME OF THE BLANQUIST COMMUNE REFUGEES[28]

After every unsuccessful revolution or counter-revolution, feverish activity develops among the émigrés who escaped abroad. Party groups of various shades are formed, which accuse each other of having driven the cart into the mud, of treason and of all other possible mortal sins. They also maintain close ties with the homeland, organise, conspire, print leaflets and newspapers, swear that it will start over again within the next twenty-four hours, that victory is certain and, in the wake of this expectation, distribute government posts. Naturally, disappointment follows disappointment, and since this is attributed not to inevitable historical conditions, which they do not wish to understand, but to accidental mistakes by individuals, recriminations accumulate and result in general bickering. Such is the history of all refugee societies, from the royalist émigrés of 1792[29] to those of today; and those among the émigrés who have common sense and reason give up this fruitless squabbling as soon as this can properly be done, and turn to something more useful.

The French emigration after the Commune has not escaped this inevitable fate either. Owing to the European smear campaign, which attacked all equally, and especially in London, where the French emigration had its common centre in the General Council of the International, for some time it was compelled to conceal its internal squabbles at least from the outside world. In the last two years, however, it was no longer able to hide the process of disintegration that is progressing rapidly in its ranks. An open quarrel flared up everywhere. In Switzerland some of the refugees joined the Bakuninists, notably under the influence of *Malon*, who was one of the founders of the secret Alliance.[30] Then, in London, the so-called Blanquists split off from the International and formed a group that called itself the Revolutionary Commune.[31] Later, a number of other groups emerged that were, however, constantly fusing and reorganising, and did not produce anything worthwhile even as regards manifestoes, whereas the Blanquists have just issued the proclamation to the "Communeux",[a] calling the world's attention to their programme.

They are called Blanquists not because they are a group founded by Blanqui—of the 33 signatories to the programme only a few may ever have spoken to Blanqui—but because they want to act in his spirit and in accordance with his tradition. Blanqui is essentially a political revolutionary, a socialist only in sentiment, because of his sympathy for the sufferings of the people, but he has neither socialist theory nor definite practical proposals for social reforms. In his political activities he was essentially a "man of action", believing that, if a small well-organised minority should attempt to effect a revolutionary uprising at the right moment, it might, after scoring a few initial successes, carry the mass of the people and thus accomplish a victorious revolution. Naturally, under Louis Philippe he was able to organise this nucleus only in the form of a secret society, and it met the fate usually reserved for conspiracies: the people, fed up with the constant proffering of empty promises that it would soon begin, finally lost all patience, became rebellious, and there remained only the alternative of letting the conspiracy collapse or of striking without any external cause. They struck (May 12, 1839), but the insurrection was immediately suppressed.[32] This Blanqui conspiracy, by the way, was the only one in which the police never succeeded in gaining a foothold; for the police, the insurrection came like a bolt from the blue.—Since Blanqui regards every revolution as a coup de main by a small revolutionary minority, it automatically follows that its victory must inevitably be succeeded by the establishment of a dictatorship—not, it should be well noted, of the entire revolutionary class, the proletariat, but of the small number of those who accomplished the coup and who themselves are, at first, organised under the dictatorship of one or several individuals.

Obviously, Blanqui is a revolutionary of the old generation. These views on the course of revolutionary events have long since become obsolete, at least as far as the German workers' party is concerned, and in France, too, they meet the approval only of the less mature or more impatient workers. We shall also find that, in the programme in question, definite limitations have been imposed on these views. However, our London Blanquists too are guided by the principle that revolutions do not generally occur by themselves, but are made; that they are made by a relatively small minority and according to a plan worked out in advance; and, finally, that at any time it may "soon begin". With such principles people naturally become irretrievable victims of all the self-deceptions of the refugees and plunge from one folly into another. Most of all they want to play the role of Blanqui—the "man of action". But little good can be accomplished here by good will alone; Blanqui's revolutionary instinct, his ability to reach quick decisions are not, however, given to all, and no matter how much Hamlet may speak of action, he still remains Hamlet. Moreover, when our thirty-three men of action find that there is absolutely nothing to be done in the field they call action, our thirty-three Brutuses fall into a contradiction with themselves, which is comical rather than tragic, a contradiction wherein the tragedy is not heightened by the gloomy appearance they assume, as though they are a lot of "Möros, of the cloak and dagger",[a] which, by the way, does not even enter their heads. What can they do? They are preparing for the next "outburst", by drawing up proscription lists for the future, to cleanse (*épuré*) the ranks of the people who took part in the Commune, which is why the other refugees call them the *pure* (*les purs*). Whether or not they have themselves assumed that title I do not know; it would ill fit some of them. Their meetings are closed, their decisions are kept secret, but this does not prevent their being echoed throughout the whole French Quarter the following morning. As always happens with such serious men of action, when they have nothing to do—they have picked first a personal, then a literary quarrel with a worthy opponent, one of the most notorious members of the Paris petite press, a certain Vermersch, who under the Commune published the *Père Duchêne*, a miserable caricature of Hébert's newspaper of 1793. In reply to their moral indignation, this gentleman published a pamphlet in which he branded them as "rogues or accomplices of rogues"[b] and poured a veritable stream of abusive invectives at them:

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, London, June 1874.—*Ed.*

Each word a night-pot
and not an empty one at that.[c]

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[a] F. Schiller, *Die Bürgschaft* ("Damon und Phintias"), 1st stanza.—*Ed.*

[b] E. Vermersch, *Un mot au public*, London, April 1874; *Les partageux. Poème*, May 12, 1874.—*Ed.*

[c] H. Heine, "Disputation", Verse 86, *Romanzero. Drittes Buch. Hebräische Melodien.*—*Ed.*

And our thirty-three Brutuses find it worthwhile to pick a public quarrel with such an opponent!

If one thing is certain it is that, after the exhausting war, after the hunger in Paris and, notably, after the awful blood-letting of the May days in 1871,[33] the Paris proletariat needs a long rest to recuperate, and that every premature attempt at an insurrection can only end in a new, perhaps still more horrible defeat. Our Blanquists hold a different view. In their opinion, the disintegration of the monarchic majority in Versailles[34] ushers in

> "the fall of Versailles, the revanche for the Commune. This is because we are approaching a great historical moment, one of the great crises when the people, apparently succumbing in wretchedness and condemned to death, resume their revolutionary advance with renewed force".[a]

So, it starts all over again, and what is more, immediately. This hope for an immediate "revanche for the Commune" is not merely an émigré illusion; it is an essential article of faith for people who have taken it into their heads to play "men of action" at a time when absolutely nothing can be done in their sense, that is, in the sense of precipitating a revolution. All the same, since it is to begin, they feel that "the time has come for all refugees who still have a spark of life left in them to define their position".[b] And thus the thirty-three tell us that they are 1) atheists, 2) Communists, 3) revolutionaries.

Our Blanquists have a basic feature in common with the Bakuninists, in that they want to represent the most far-reaching, most extreme trend. It is for this reason, incidentally, that the Blanquists, while opposing the Bakuninists over aims, often agree with them over means. It is, therefore, a question of being more radical than all others as regards atheism. Luckily, it is easy enough these days to be an atheist. In the European workers' parties atheism is more or less self-understood, even though in some countries it is quite often similar to that of the Spanish Bakuninist who declared: to believe in God is against all socialism, but to believe in the Virgin Mary is something quite different, and every decent Socialist should naturally do so. As regards the German Social-Democratic workers,[c] it can be said that atheism has already outlived its usefulness for them; this pure negation does not apply to them, since they no longer stand in theoretical, but only in practical opposition to all belief in God: they are *simply*

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[a] *Aux Communeux*, p. 2.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[c] The 1894 edition has: "As regards the great majority of the German Social-Democratic workers".—*Ed.*

through with God, they live and think in the real world and are, therefore, materialists. The same probably applies to France. If not, there could be nothing simpler than to organise the mass distribution among the workers of the splendid French materialist literature of the last century, of the literature in which the French spirit has attained its sublime expression as regards both form and content, and which, considering the level of science that existed then, even today stands exceedingly high as regards content, and still unexcelled as regards form. This, however, does not suit our Blanquists. To prove that they are the most radical of all, God, as in 1793,[35] is decreed out of existence:

> "Let the Commune forever deliver mankind from this spectre of past misery" (God), "of this cause" (non-existent God a cause!) "of their present misery.—There is no room for priests in the Commune; every religious service, every religious organisation must be banned."[a]

And this demand to transform the people *par ordre du mufti*[b] into atheists is signed by two members of the Commune,[c] who surely must have had sufficient opportunity to discover, first, that anything can be decreed on paper but that this does not mean that it will be carried out; second, that persecution is the best way of strengthening undesirable convictions! This much is certain: the only service that can still be rendered to God today is to make atheism a compulsory dogma and to surpass Bismarck's anticlerical *Kulturkampf* laws by prohibiting religion in general.

The second point of the programme is communism. Here we find ourselves on more familiar ground for the ship we are sailing here is called the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* published in February 1848. Already in the autumn of 1872 the five Blanquists who had left the International embraced a socialist programme that, in all its essential features, was that of present-day German communism, and based their withdrawal solely on the refusal of the International to play at revolution after the fashion of those five.[36] Now the council of the thirty-three has adopted this programme, with all its materialist view of history, even though its translation into Blanquist French leaves much to be desired where the wording of the *Manifesto* was not kept almost verbatim, as for example, in this phrase:

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[a] *Aux Communeux,* p. 4.—*Ed.*

[b] by order of the mufti, by order from above.—*Ed.*

[c] A slip of the pen; the proclamation is signed by four members of the Commune: Édouard Vaillant, Émile Eudes, Jean Clement and Frédéric Cournet.—*Ed.*

> "The bourgeoisie has removed the mystic veils from the exploitation of labour in which this last expression of all forms of slavery was formerly shrouded: governments, religions, the family, laws, institutions of both the past and present are finally revealed in this society, resting on the simple opposition of capitalists and wage-workers, as the instruments of oppression, with whose help the bourgeoisie upholds its rule and suppresses the proletariat." [a]

Let us compare this with the *Communist Manifesto,* Section I: "In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers. The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation," etc.[b]

Yet as soon as we leave theory aside and get down to practice, the peculiar stand of the thirty-three becomes evident:

> "We are Communists because we want to arrive at our aim without stop-overs at intermediate stations, without entering into compromises, which only put off victory and prolong slavery." [c]

The German Communists are Communists because, through all intermediate stations and compromises, created not by them but by historical development, they clearly perceive[d] the ultimate aim: the abolition of classes, the establishment of a society in which there will be no private ownership of land and means of production. The thirty-three are Communists because they imagine that, as soon as *they* have only the good will to jump over intermediate stations and compromises, everything is assured, and if, as they firmly believe, it "begins" in a day or two, and they take the helm, "communism will be introduced" the day after tomorrow. And they are not Communists if this cannot be done immediately. What childish naïveté to advance impatience as a convincing theoretical argument!

Finally, our thirty-three are "revolutionaries".[e] As regards the bandying of big words, the Bakuninists are known to have done everything humanly possible in this respect. But our Blanquists feel obliged to outdo them. But how? It will be remembered that the whole socialist proletariat, from Lisbon and New York to Budapest and Belgrade, immediately adopted responsibility for the actions of the Paris Commune *en bloc.* But that is not enough for our Blanquists:

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[a] *Aux Communeux,* pp. 4-5.—*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 6, p. 487.—*Ed.*

[c] *Aux Communeux,* p. 5.—*Ed.*

[d] The 1894 edition has: "they clearly perceive and pursue".—*Ed.*

[e] *Aux Communeux,* p. 7.—*Ed.*

> "As far as we are concerned, we claim our share of the responsibility for the executions" (under the Commune) "of the enemies of the people" (a list of the executed is appended), "we claim our share of the responsibility for the arson that destroyed the instruments of monarchic or bourgeois oppression or protected those engaged in struggle." [a]

A lot of follies are unavoidably committed in every revolution, as they are indeed at all other times, and when at last people calm down sufficiently to be able to review events critically, they inevitably draw the following conclusion: we have done many things that it would have been better to leave undone, and have failed to do many things that it would have been better to do, and that is why things took a bad turn. But what a lack of critical attitude is needed to declare the Commune impeccable and infallible and to assert that, every time a house was burned down or a hostage shot, this was a case of retributive justice, right down to the dot on the "i". Is this not tantamount to asserting that, during the week in May, the people shot precisely the number of people, and no more, than was necessary, that exactly those buildings were burned down, and no more, than had to be burned down? Is that not tantamount to saying of the first French revolution: each one beheaded got his deserts, first those whom Robespierre beheaded, and then Robespierre himself? Such childish patter results when essentially quite good-natured people give in to the urge to appear savagely brutal.

Enough. In spite of all the foolish actions taken by the refugees and the droll attempts to make boy Karl (or Eduard?) [b] appear awe-inspiring, some definite progress can be noted in this programme. It is the first manifesto in which *French workers rally to the cause of present-day German communism.* Moreover, these workers are of a trend that regards the French as the chosen people of the revolution, and Paris the revolutionary Jerusalem. To have brought them this far is to the indisputable credit of *Vaillant,* who is one of the signatories and who, as is widely known, has a good knowledge of the German language and of German socialist writing. The German socialist workers who, in 1870, proved that any national chauvinism is absolutely alien to them, may consider it a favourable omen that the French workers are adopting correct theoretical principles, even though these come from Germany.

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[a] *Aux Communeux,* pp. 11-12.— *Ed.*

[b] Engels plays on the words of Philipp II from Schiller's drama *Don Carlos* (Act I, Scene 6). In the 1894 edition the words "(or Eduard?)"—an allusion to Édouard Vaillant—are omitted.— *Ed.*

III[37]

In London a review entitled *Vperyod!* (Forward)[a] is appearing in the Russian language and at irregular intervals. It is edited by a personally most respectable scholar,[b] whom the prevailing strict etiquette in Russian refugee literature prevents me from naming. For even those Russians who pose as out-and-out revolutionary ogres, who dub it a betrayal of the revolution to respect anything at all—in their polemics even they respect the appearance of anonymity with a conscientiousness only equalled in the English bourgeois press; they respect it even when it becomes comical, as it does here, because all the Russian refugees and the Russian government know perfectly well what the man's name is. It would never occur to us to let out such a carefully kept secret without good reason; but since the child must have a name, let us hope that the editor of the *Forward* will excuse us if, for the sake of brevity, in this article we call him by the popular Russian name *Peter.*

In his philosophy, Friend Peter is an eclectic who selects the best from all the different systems and theories: try everything and keep the best! He knows that everything has a good side and a bad side, and that the main thing is to appropriate the good side of everything without being saddled with the bad, too. Since every thing, every person, every theory has these two sides, a good and a bad, every thing, every person, every theory is as good and as bad as any other in this respect, hence, from this vantage point, it would be foolish to become impassioned for or against one or the other. From this point of view, the struggles and disputes of the revolutionaries and socialists amongst themselves are bound to appear sheer fatuous absurdities that serve no better purpose than to please their opponents. Moreover, nothing could be more understandable for a man of this opinion than to attempt to bring all of these mutually hostile factions together and earnestly enjoin them no longer to treat reaction to this scandalous spectacle, but exclusively to attack the common adversary. All the more natural, of course, if one comes from Russia, where the labour movement is, as we know, so extremely highly developed.

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[a] *Впередъ! Неперіодическое обозрѣніе.— Ed.*

[b] P. L. Lavrov.— *Ed.*

The *Forward* is, then, full of exhortations urging concord on all socialists or urging them, at least, to avoid all *public* discord. When the Bakuninists' attempts to subjugate the International to their rule under false pretences, by lies and deceit, occasioned the well-known split in the Association, again it was the *Forward* that exhorted us to unity. This unity could, of course, only be attained by immediately letting the Bakuninists have their way and delivering the International up to their secret conspiracies, tied hand and foot. One was not unprincipled enough to do so; one accepted the challenge; the Hague Congress came to its decision, threw out the Bakuninists and resolved to publish the documents justifying this expulsion.[38]

There was a great deal of lamentation on the editorial board of the *Forward* over the fact that the entire labour movement had not been sacrificed to dear "unity". Yet even greater was the horror when the compromising Bakuninist documents really did appear in the commission's report (see "Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale",[39] German edition, Brunswick, Bracke). Let us hear from the *Forward* itself:

> "This publication ... has the character of caustic polemics against persons who are in the foremost ranks of the Federalists, ... its contents are topped up with private matters which could only have been collected by hearsay, and the credibility of which could consequently not have been indisputable for the authors."[a]

In order to prove to the people who implemented the decision of the Hague Congress what a colossal crime they had committed, the *Forward* refers to a feuilleton in the *Neue Freie Presse* by a certain Karl Thaler,[b] which,

> "having emerged from the bourgeois camp, merits particular attention because it proves most clearly the importance for the common enemies of the working class,

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] "Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія", *Впередъ! Неперіодическое обозрѣніе*, Zurich, 1874, Vol. II, Part II, Ch. II, p. 26.— *Ed.*

[b] Karl von Thaler, "Rothe Jesuiten", *Neue Freie Presse* (Morgenblatt), Nos. 3284 and 3285, October 14 and 15, 1873 (in the section *Feuilleton*).— *Ed.*

for the bourgeoisie and governments of the mutually accusatory pamphlets of the contenders for supremacy among the ranks of the workers".[a]

First let us remark that the Bakuninists are here presented simply as "*Federalists*", as opposed to the alleged *Centralists*, as if the author believed in this non-existent opposition invented by the Bakuninists. That this was not, in fact, the case will become evident. Second, let us remark that from this feuilleton, written to order for such a venal bourgeois sheet as the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, the conclusion is drawn that *genuine* revolutionaries should not expose merely *ostensible* revolutionaries because these mutual accusations provide amusement for the bourgeois and governments. I believe that the *Neue Freie Presse* and all this press rabble could write ten thousand articles without having the slightest effect on the stance of the German workers' party. Every struggle has moments when one cannot deny one's opponent a certain satisfaction, if one is not to inflict positive damage on oneself. Fortunately, we have got so far that we can allow our opponents this private pleasure if we thereby achieve real successes.

The main charge, however, is that the report is full of private matters the credibility of which could not have been indisputable for the authors, because they could only have been collected by hearsay. How Friend Peter knows that a society like the International, which has its official organs throughout the civilised world, can only collect such facts by hearsay is not stated. His assertion is, anyway, frivolous in the extreme. The facts in question are attested by authentic evidence, and those concerned took good care not to contest them.

But Friend Peter is of the opinion that private matters, such as private letters, are sacred and should not be published in political debates. To accept the validity of this argument on any terms is to render the writing of all history impossible. The relationship between Louis XV and Du Barry or Pompadour was a private matter, but without it the whole pre-history of the French Revolution is incomprehensible. Or, to take a step towards the present: if an innocent girl called Isabella[b] is married to a man[c] who, according to experts (assessor Ulrichs, for example) cannot stand women and hence only falls in love with men—if, finding herself neglected, she takes men wherever she finds them, then that is purely a private matter. But if the said innocent Isabella is

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] "Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія", *Впередъ!*, Zurich, 1874, Vol. II, Part II, Ch. II, p. 26.—*Ed.*

[b] Isabella II—Queen of Spain.—*Ed.*

[c] Francisco de Asis.—*Ed.*

Queen of Spain and one of these young men kept by her is a young officer called Serrano[a]; if this Serrano is promoted field marshal and prime minister in recognition of the heroic deeds he has performed behind closed doors, is then supplanted and overthrown by another,[b] subsequently throws his faithless sweetheart out of the country with the help of other companions in misfortune, and after a variety of adventures eventually himself becomes dictator of Spain and such a great man that Bismarck does his utmost to persuade the Great Powers to recognise him—then this private affair between Isabella and Serrano becomes a piece of Spanish history, and anyone wishing to write about modern Spanish history and knowingly concealing this titbit from his readers would be falsifying history. Again, if one is describing the history of a gang like the Alliance, among whom there is such a large number of tricksters, adventurers, rogues, police spies, swindlers and cowards alongside those they have duped, should one falsify this history by knowingly concealing the individual villainies of these gentlemen as "private matters"? Much as it may horrify Friend Peter, he may rely on it that we are not done with these "private matters" by a long chalk. The material is still mounting up.

When, however, the *Forward* describes the report as a clumsy concoction of essentially private facts, it is committing an act that is hard to characterise. Anyone who could write such a thing had either not read the report in question at all; or he was too limited or prejudiced to understand it; or else he was writing something he knew to be incorrect. Nobody can read the "Komplott gegen die Internationale" without being convinced that the private matters interspersed in it are the most insignificant part of it, are illustrations meant to provide a more detailed picture of the characters involved, and that they could all be cut without jeopardising the main point of the report. The organisation of a secret society, with the sole aim of subjecting the European labour movement to a hidden dictatorship of a few adventurers, the infamies committed to further this aim, particularly by Nechayev in Russia[40]—this is the central theme of the book, and to maintain that it all revolves around private matters is, to say the least, irresponsible.

To be sure, it may be extremely painful for some Russians suddenly to see the dirty side—and it certainly is very dirty—of the Russian movement ruthlessly exposed to Western Europe. But who is to blame? Who else but those Russians themselves who represent this dirty side, who, not satisfied with deceiving their own compatriots, attempted to subordinate the whole European labour movement to their personal ends? If Bakunin and company had restricted their heroic deeds to Russia, people in Western Europe would hardly have troubled to train their sights on them. The Russians themselves would have done that. But as soon as those gentlemen, who do not even understand the rudiments of the conditions and development of the West European labour movement, seek to play the dictator with us, it ceases to be amusing: one simply fires at them pointblank.

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[a] Francisco Serrano y Dominguez.— *Ed.*

[b] Luis Gonzáles Bravo.— *Ed.*

Anyway, the Russian movement can take such revelations with equanimity. A country that has produced two writers of the stature of Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky, two socialist Lessings, will not be destroyed because, all at once, it spawns a humbug like Bakunin and a few immature little students, who inflate themselves with big words like frogs, and finally gobble one another up. Even among the younger Russians we know people of first-class theoretical and practical talents and great energy, people who have the advantage over the French and the English, thanks to their knowledge of languages, in their intimate acquaintance with the movement in different countries, and over the Germans in their cosmopolitan versatility. Those Russians who understand and participate in the labour movement can only regard it as a service rendered to have been relieved of complicity in the Bakuninists' acts of villainy. All this does not, however, prevent the *Forward* from concluding its account with the words:

> "We do not know what the authors of this pamphlet think of the results it has achieved. The majority of our readers would probably share the feeling of depression with which we have read it and with which we record these sorry phenomena in our pages, in pursuance of our duty as chroniclers."[a]

With this feeling of depression on the part of Friend Peter we conclude the first section of our tale. The second begins with the following paragraph from the same volume of the *Forward*:

> "Our readers will be pleased to receive another piece of news in a similar vein. With us, in our ranks, we also have the well-known writer Peter Nikitich Tkachov; after four years' detention he has succeeded in escaping from the place where he was interned and condemned to inactivity, to reinforce our ranks."[b]

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[a] [P. L. Lavrov,] Op. cit., p. 27.—*Ed.*

[b] *Впередъ! Неперіодическое обозрѣніе*, Vol. II, Part 2, Zurich, 1874: *Изъ Иркутска.* In the section: *Что дѣлается на Родинѣ*?, p. 115.—*Ed.*

We learn who the well-known writer Tkachov is from a Russian pamphlet, *The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia*, which he himself published in April 1874 and which depicts him as a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity, the Karlchen Missnick, as it were, of Russian revolutionary youth. He tells us that many people have asked him to collaborate in the *Forward*; he knew the editor was a reactionary; nevertheless, he considered it his duty to take the *Forward* under his wing, although—it should be noted—it had not asked for him. On arriving he finds, to his astonishment, that the editor, Friend Peter, presumes to make the final decision on the acceptance or rejection of articles. *Such* an undemocratic procedure naturally infuriates him; he composes a detailed document claiming, for himself and the other staff (who—it should be noted—had not asked for it), "in the name of justice, on the basis of purely theoretical considerations ... equality of rights and obligations" (with the editor-in-chief) "with regard to everything affecting the literary and economic side of the enterprise".[a]

Here we see straightaway the immaturity that, while it does not dominate the Russian refugee movement, is, nevertheless, more or less endured. A Russian scholar, who has a considerable reputation in his own country, becomes a refugee and acquires the means to found a political journal abroad. Scarcely has he managed to do this, when some more or less enthusiastic youth comes along, unasked, and offers to take part, on the more or less childish condition that he should have an equal voice with the founder of the journal in all literary and financial matters. In Germany he would have been laughed at. But the Russians are not so coarse. Friend Peter goes to great pains to convince him that he is wrong, both "in the name of justice and on the basis of purely theoretical considerations"—naturally in vain. Tkachov, offended, withdraws like Achilles to his tent[41] and fires off his pamphlet against Friend Peter, whom he calls a "philistine philosopher".[b]

With a stifling heap of eternally repeated Bakuninist phrases about the nature of true revolution, he accuses Friend Peter of the crime of *preparing* the people for revolution, of seeking to bring them to a "clear understanding and awareness of their needs". Anyone, however, who wishes to do that is no revolutionary, but a man of peaceful progress, i.e., a reactionary, a supporter of

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[a] П. Н. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, [London,] 1874, p. VIII.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 10.—*Ed.*

"bloodless revolution in the German taste".[a] The true revolutionary "knows that the people are always ready for revolution"[b]; anyone who does not believe this does not believe in the people, and faith in the people "constitutes our strength". To anyone who does not realise this, the writer quotes a pronouncement by Nechayev, this "typical representative of our modern youth". Friend Peter says we must wait until the people are ready for revolution—"but we cannot and will not wait"[c]; the true revolutionary differs from the philistine philosopher in that he "assumes the right to summon the people to revolution at any time".[d] And so on.

Here in Western Europe we would simply dismiss all this childish nonsense with the answer: "If your people are ready for revolution at any time, if you assume the right to summon them to revolution at any time, and if you simply cannot wait, why do you go on boring us with your prattle, why, for goodness sake, don't you go ahead and strike now?"

But our Russians do not view matters quite so simply. Friend Peter thinks that Mr. Tkachov's childish, tedious and contradictory observations, which revolve in an eternal circle, may exert the seductive attraction of a *mons veneris*[42] on Russian youth, and, as the faithful Eckart of this youth, he issues an admonitory exhortation of sixty closely printed pages against them.[e] In this he sets out his own views on the nature of revolution, investigating in deadly earnest whether or not the people are ready for revolution and in what circumstances revolutionaries have the right to summon them to revolution or not and similar niceties, which at this level of generality have about as much value as the scholastics' studies of the Virgin Mary. In the process, "the Revolution" itself becomes a sort of Virgin Mary, theory becomes faith, activity in the movement becomes a religion, and the whole debate takes place not on *terra firma*, but in a cloudy sky of generalities.

Here, however, Friend Peter becomes involved in a tragic contradiction with himself. He, the preacher of unity, the opponent of all polemics, of all "mutually accusatory pamphlets" within the revolutionary party, cannot, of course, do his duty as Eckart, without also engaging in polemics; he cannot reply to his opponent's accusations without similarly accusing him. Friend

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[a] Ibid., p. 8.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 10.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 34.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid., p. 10.—*Ed.*
[e] [P. L. Lavrov,] *Русской соціально-революціонной молодёжи*, [London,] 1874.—*Ed.*

Peter will himself testify to the "feeling of depression" that accompanies this "sorry phenomenon".

His pamphlet begins as follows:

> "Of two evils, one must choose the lesser.
>
> "I know full well that all this refugee literature of mutually accusatory pamphlets, of polemics about who is the genuine friend of the people and who is not, who is honest and who is not, and, in particular, who is genuine representative of Russian youth, of the true revolutionary party—that all this literature about the personal dirt of the Russian emigration is as repugnant to the reader as it is insignificant for the revolutionary struggle, and can only gratify our enemies—this I know, and yet I find it *necessary* to pen these lines, necessary with my own hand to swell the number of these wretched writings by one more, to the tedium of our readers and the delight of our enemies—necessary, because of two evils, one must choose the lesser." [a]

Splendid. But why is it that Friend Peter, who evinces so much Christian tolerance in the *Forward* and demands the same of us towards the tricksters we have exposed—tricksters whom, as we shall see, he knows as well as we do,—that he did not even have the modicum of tolerance towards the writers of the report to ask himself whether they, too, were obliged to choose the lesser of two evils? Why must the fire first burn his own fingers before he realises that there might be even greater evils than a little harsh polemics against people who, in the guise of ostensibly revolutionary activity, were endeavouring to debase and destroy the entire European labour movement?

Let us, however, be indulgent towards Friend Peter; fate has been rather hard on him. No sooner has he done, in full consciousness of his own guilt, what he reproaches us with doing, than Nemesis drives him on and forces him to supply Mr. Karl Thaler with new material for several more articles in the *Neue Freie Presse.*

> "Or," he asks the ever-ready madcap Tkachov, "has your agitation already done its work? Is your organisation perhaps ready? Ready? Really ready? Or have we here that notorious secret committee of 'typical' revolutionaries, the committee that consists of two men and circulates decrees? [43] Our young people have been told so many lies, they have been so often deceived, their trust so shamefully abused, that they will not, all at once, believe in the readiness of the revolutionary organisation." [b]

For the Russian reader it is, of course, unnecessary to add that the "two men" are Bakunin and Nechayev. Further:

> "But there are those who claim to be friends of the people, supporters of the social revolution, and who, at the same time, bring to their activity that mendaciousness and dishonesty that I have described above as a belch of the old

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[a] Ibid., p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 17.—*Ed.*

> society.... These people used the bitterness of the supporters of the new social order against the injustice of the old society, asserting the principle that, in war, every means is allowable. Among these *allowable* means they included the deception of their collaborators, the deception of the people whom they, nevertheless, claimed to serve. They were prepared to lie to everyone and anyone solely in order to organise a sufficiently strong party, just as if a strong social-revolutionary party could be produced without the honest solidarity of its members! They were ready to arouse in the people the old passions of banditry and enjoyment without work.... They were ready to exploit their friends and comrades, to make them tools of their plans; they were ready verbally to defend the most complete independence and autonomy of persons and sections, while at the same time organising the most pronounced secret dictatorship and training their supporters in the most sheep-like and thoughtless obedience, as if the social revolution could be carried out by a union of exploiters and exploited, by a group of people whose actions are, at every turn, a slap in the face for everything their words preach!"[a]

It is incredible, but true: these lines, which resemble an extract from the "Komplott gegen die Internationale" as closely as one egg does another, were written by the very man who, a few months before, had described that pamphlet as a crime against the common cause, because of its attacks on the very same people, attacks that were in complete agreement with the above lines. Well, let us be satisfied with this.

If, however, we now look back on Mr. Tkachov, with his great pretensions and utterly insignificant achievements, and at the little *malheur* that befell our Friend Peter on this occasion, we might well consider it our turn to say:

"We do not know what the authors think of the results achieved. The majority of our readers would probably share the feeling of 'amusement' with which we have read it and with which we record these 'strange' phenomena in our pages, in pursuance of our duty as chroniclers."

Joking aside, however. Many peculiar phenomena in the Russian movement to date are explained by the fact that, for a long time, every Russian publication was a closed book to the West, and that it was, therefore, easy for Bakunin and his consorts to conceal from it their goings-on, which had long been known to the Russians. They zealously spread the assertion that even the dirty sides of the Russian movement should—in the interests of the movement itself—be kept secret from the West; anyone who communicated Russian matters to the rest of Europe, in so far as they were of an unpleasant nature, was a traitor. That has now ceased. Knowledge of the Russian language—a language that, both for its own sake, as one of the richest and most powerful living languages, and on account of the literature thereby made accessible, richly deserves study—is no longer a great rarity, at any rate among the German Social-Democrats. The Russians will have to bow to the inevitable international fate: their movement will henceforth develop in full view and under the surveillance of the rest of Europe. Nobody has had to pay so dearly for their earlier isolation than they themselves. But for this isolation, it would never have been possible to cheat them so disgracefully for years on end, as Bakunin and his consorts did. Those who will derive the greatest benefit from the West's criticism, from the international interaction of the various West European movements on the Russian movement and vice versa, from the eventual fusion of the Russian movement with the all-European movement, are the Russians themselves.

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[a] Ibid., pp. 44, 45.—*Ed.*

IV[44]

The readers of the *Volksstaat* have suffered a misfortune. Some of them may still remember that, in my last article on "refugee literature" (Nos. 117 and 118),[a] I dealt with some passages from the Russian periodical *Forward* and a pamphlet by its editor.[b] Quite by chance I happened to mention a Mr. Peter Tkachov, who has published a little pamphlet attacking the aforementioned editor,[c] and with whom I had only concerned myself as little as was absolutely necessary. I described him, to judge by the form and content of his immortal work, "as a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity, the Karlchen Missnick, as it were, of Russian revolutionary youth"[d] and pitied the editor of the *Forward* for deeming it necessary to bandy words with such an adversary. I was soon to learn, however, that the boy Karl is beginning to get cross with me[e] and entangling me, too, in polemics with him. He publishes a pamphlet: *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels* by Peter Tkachov, Zurich, typography by *Tagwacht*, 1874. The fact that, in it, I have all sorts of things foisted on to me that Mr. Tkachov must know I have never maintained would be a matter of indifference to me; but the fact that he gives the German workers quite a false picture of the situation in Russia, in order to justify the activities of the Bakuninists in relation to Russia, makes a reply necessary.

In his open letter, Mr. Tkachov consistently sets himself up as a representative of Russian revolutionary youth. He maintains that I "dispensed advice to the Russian revolutionaries ... urging them to enter into an alliance with me (!)"[a]; at the same time I had depicted them, "the representatives of the Russian revolutionary party abroad", their efforts and their literature in the "most unfavourable colours to the German labour world"; he says: "You express your utter contempt for *us Russians* because *we* are so 'stupid' and 'immature'," etc. "...'green grammar-school boys', as you please to call *us*"—and finally there follows the inevitable trump-card: "By mocking *us* you have done our common enemy, the Russian state, a valuable service." I have subjected him, Mr. Tkachov claims, "to every conceivable kind of abuse".[b]

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[a] See this volume, pp. 19-28.—*Ed.*
[b] Ibid., p. 25.—*Ed.*
[c] Ibid., p. 24.—*Ed.*
[d] Ibid.—*Ed.*
[e] Ibid., p. 18.—*Ed.*

Now, nobody knows better than Peter Nikitich Tkachov that there is not a single grain of truth in all this. First, in the article in question, I held no one responsible for Mr. Tkachov's utterances other than Mr. Tkachov himself. It never occurred to me to see him as a representative of the Russian revolutionaries. If he appoints himself as such, thereby transferring the green grammar-school boy and other pleasantries from his shoulders on to theirs, then I must definitely protest. Among Russian revolutionary youth there are, of course, as everywhere, people of widely differing moral and intellectual calibre. Yet its general level, even after taking full account of the time difference and the essentially different milieu, is undoubtedly still far higher than our German student youth has ever attained, even during its best period in the early 1830s. Nobody but Mr. Tkachov himself gives him the right to speak on behalf of these young people in their entirety. Indeed, even though he reveals himself as a true Bakuninist on this occasion, I nevertheless doubt at the moment whether he has the right to conduct himself as the representative of the small number of Russian Bakuninists whom I described as "a few immature little students, who inflate themselves with big words like frogs, and finally gobble one another up".[c] But even if this were the case, it would only be a new version of the old story of the three tailors of Tooley Street in London, who issued a proclamation that started, "We, the people of England, declare"[45] etc.* Thus, the main point that needs to be made is that the "Russian revolutionaries" do not

* What's the betting that Mr. Tkachov will say that, with the above anecdote, I have betrayed the proletariat by depicting tailors as such in a "ridiculous light"[d]?

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*, Zurich, 1874, p. 3.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 3, 7, 10 and 11.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 23.—*Ed.*

[d] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 10.—*Ed.*

come into it, now any more than before, and that for Tkachov's "we" it is necessary to substitute "I", throughout.

I am supposed to have given him "advice". I haven't the faintest idea what he is talking about. I may have let fly a few *blows*, Peter Nikitich, but *advice*[a]? Be so kind as to furnish proof.

At the end of my last article, I am supposed to have urged him or his ilk to enter into an alliance with me. I will pay Mr. Tkachov ten marks in Bismarck's coin of the realm[46] if he can demonstrate that.

I am supposed to have maintained that he is "stupid", and he puts the word in quotation marks. Although I would not deny that he has hidden his talents—if that is the appropriate word here—under a bushel of considerable size in both these works, it is open to anyone to ascertain that the word "stupid" does *not occur once* anywhere in my article. But if all else fails, the Bakuninists resort to bogus quotations.

Further, I am supposed to have "mocked" him and portrayed him in a "ridiculous light". Granted, Mr. Tkachov will never be able to force me to take his pamphlet seriously. We Germans are widely reputed to be boring, and must have richly deserved this reputation on many an occasion. That does not, however, oblige us in all circumstances to be as boring and pompous as the Bakuninists. The German labour movement has acquired a singularly humorous character from its skirmishes with police, state prosecutors and prison-warders; why should I deny it? Mr. Tkachov has full permission to mock me and depict me in a ridiculous light, if he can manage it without imputing any lies to me.

Now the incomparable accusation: by portraying Mr. Tkachov in a light befitting him and his works, I have "done our common enemy, the Russian state, a valuable service"! Similarly, he says at another point: by describing him as I have, I am breaching "the basic principles of the programme of the International Working Men's Association"! Here we see the true Bakuninist. These gentlemen, as true revolutionaries, shun no means against us, particularly in the dark; but if one fails to treat *them* with the greatest respect, if one drags *their* antics into the light, criticises *them* and their ringing phrases, then one is serving the Tsar of Russia and breaching the basic principles of the International. Precisely the opposite is the case, in fact. The one who has done the Russian government a service is no other than Mr. Tkachov. If the Russian police had any sense, it would spread this gentleman's pamphlet throughout Russia in large numbers. On the one hand, it could hardly find a better means of discrediting the Russian revolutionaries, whom the writer claims to represent, in the eyes of all sensible people. On the other hand, it is always possible that some worthy but inexperienced young people would allow it to provoke them to rash acts, thus delivering themselves into a trap.

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[a] In the original a play on the words *Schläge* (blows) and *Ratschläge* (advice).— *Ed.*

But, says Mr. Tkachov, I have subjected him to "every conceivable kind of abuse". Now a certain kind of abuse, the so-called invective, is one of the most effective forms of rhetoric, employed by all great orators when necessary; the most powerful English political writer, William Cobbett, possessed a supreme command of it that is still admired to this day and serves as an unsurpassed model. Mr. Tkachov himself also indulges in a good deal of "abuse" in his pamphlet. So, if I *had* indulged in abuse, that would not in itself have been wrong of me at all. But as I did not become rhetorical with regard to Mr. Tkachov, as I did not take him seriously at all, I *cannot* have used abuse to attack him. Let us examine what I said about him.

I called him "a green grammar-school boy of singular immaturity". Immaturity may refer to character, mind or knowledge. As far as immaturity of character is concerned, I made the following addition to Mr. Tkachov's own account:

"A Russian scholar, who has a considerable reputation in his own country, becomes a refugee and acquires the means to found a political journal abroad. Scarcely has he managed to do this, when some more or less enthusiastic youth comes along, unasked, and offers to take part, on the more or less childish condition that he should have an equal voice with the founder of the journal in all literary and financial matters. In Germany he would have been laughed at."[a]

I hardly think I need adduce any further evidence of immaturity of character. Immaturity of mind is sufficiently demonstrated by the further quotations from Mr. Tkachov's pamphlet that follow below. As far as knowledge is concerned, the dispute between the *Forward* and Mr. Tkachov largely concerns this: the editor of the *Forward* demands that the Russian revolutionary youth should learn something, should enrich themselves with serious and thorough information, should acquire critical faculties in accordance with accepted methods, should work at their self-development and self-education by the sweat of their brow. Tkachov rejects such advice with disgust:

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[a] See this volume, p. 24.—*Ed.*

> "Again and again I must express the feeling of profound indignation that it has always aroused in me... Learn! Educate yourselves! Oh God, how can a *living* human being say such a thing to another *living* human being! Wait! Study and finish your education! But have we the right to wait" (with revolution to wit)? "Have we the right to waste time on education?" (p. 14). "Knowledge is probably a necessary precondition for peaceful progress, but it is not necessary at all for the revolution" (p. 17).[a]

So, if Mr. Tkachov evinces profound indignation at the very injunction to study, if he declares all knowledge superfluous for a revolutionary, if, in addition, he does not betray even the slightest trace of knowledge in his entire pamphlet, he himself writes out the testimony to his own immaturity, and I have but ascertained the fact. Yet anyone who makes out this testimony himself can, in our opinion, aspire *at most* to the educational level of a grammar-school boy. Thus, by attributing the highest possible level to him, rather than abusing him, I was perhaps doing him even too much credit.

Furthermore, I said that Mr. Tkachov's observations were childish (for examples of this, see the quotations in this article), tedious (surely even the writer himself would not deny this), contradictory (as the editor of the *Forward* has demonstrated) and revolving in an eternal circle (which is also true). I then go on to speak of his great pretensions (which I have simply related in his own terms) and his utterly insignificant achievements (which the present article demonstrates more than adequately). Where, then, is all the abuse? Surely, it cannot be abuse to compare him with Karlchen Missnick, Germany's favourite grammar-school boy and one of the most popular German writers. But stay! Did I not say of him that he had retired like Achilles to his tent and from there fired off his pamphlet against the *Forward*?[b] That must be the crux of the matter. In the case of a man whose hackles rise at the mere mention of studying, who can boldly take Heine's words:

And all his ignorance
He acquired himself,[c]

as his motto, I dare say one may assume that it is the first time he has come across the name Achilles. And as I link Achilles with "tent" and "firing", perhaps Mr. Tkachov imagines that this Achilles is a Russian N.C.O. or a Turkish bashibazouk[47] and it must, therefore, be a breach of etiquette to call him an Achilles. Let me, however, assure Mr. Tkachov that the Achilles of whom I speak was the greatest hero of Greek legend, and that the said retreat to his tent provided the material for the greatest heroic epic of all time, the *Iliad*, which even Mr. Bakunin will confirm for him. If my assumption should be correct I would then, of course, be forced to declare that Mr. Tkachov is *not* a grammar-school boy at all.

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.— Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 24.— *Ed.*

[c] H. Heine, *Kobes I.— Ed.*

Mr. Tkachov goes on to say:

> "Despite all this I ventured, however, to express the conviction that the social revolution can be easily called into life. 'If it is so easy to call it into life,' you remark, 'why do you not do so, instead of talking about it?'—It seems to you to be ridiculous, childish behaviour... I and those who think as I do are convinced that the practicability of the social revolution in Russia presents no problems, that it is possible at any moment to induce the Russian people to make a general revolutionary protest (!). True, this conviction commits us to a certain amount of practical activity, but it does not militate in the least against the usefulness and necessity of literary propaganda. It is not enough that *we* are convinced; we want others, too, to share our conviction. The more like-minded comrades we have, the stronger we shall feel, the easier it will be for us to achieve a practical solution to the task."[a]

That really does take the cake. It sounds so nice, so sensible, so cultivated, so reasonable. It quite sounds as though Mr. Tkachov had only written his pamphlet[b] to demonstrate the usefulness of literary propaganda, and I, the impatient greenhorn, had answered him: "The devil take literary propaganda, let's get cracking!" Now, what is the true state of affairs?

Mr. Tkachov commences his pamphlet by straightaway giving newspaper propaganda (and that is surely the most effective form of literary propaganda) a vote of no confidence, saying that one should not "expend too much revolutionary energy on it", for "it does far more harm through inappropriate use, than it does the good through appropriate use".[c] So enthusiastic is our Tkachov about literary propaganda in general. In particular, though, if one wishes to engage in such propaganda and recruit like-minded comrades, mere rhetoric is no good; one must examine causes, and treat the matter theoretically, i.e., in the final analysis, scientifically. On this point, Mr. Tkachov tells the editor of the *Forward*:

> "Your philosophical struggle, that purely theoretical, scientific propaganda to which your journal is devoted, ... is, from the point of view of the interests of the revolutionary party, not merely useless; it is even harmful."[d]

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, pp. 9-10.—*Ed.*

[b] *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.*—*Ed.*

[c] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, p. II.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 37.—*Ed.*

It is evident that the more we investigate Mr. Tkachov's views on literary propaganda, the more bogged down we become, and the further we are from discovering what he wants. So what does he really want? Let us listen to a little more:

> "Do you not realise that the revolutionary always assumes and must assume the right to summon the people to revolt; that he differs from philistine philosophers in that, without waiting until the course of historical events announces the moment, he himself chooses this moment, in that he knows that the people are always ready for revolution (p. 10) ... Whoever does not believe in the possibility of the revolution in the present does not believe in the people, does not believe in the people's readiness for revolution (p. 11) ... That is why we cannot wait, why we maintain that revolution is an urgent necessity in Russia, and particularly necessary *at the present time*; we permit no hesitation, no delay. Now or very late, perhaps *never* (p. 16)! ... Every people exposed to despotism, enslaved by exploiters ... any such people (and *all* peoples are in this position) is by virtue of the very conditions of its social order—revolutionary; it is always *capable*, it is always *willing* to make revolution; it is always ready for revolution (p. 17)... But we cannot and will not wait (p. 34)... Now is no time for long, protracted arrangements and eternal preparations—let everyone pack his possessions and hasten on his way. The question of what is to be done[48] must no longer concern us. It has long since been settled. It is to make revolution.—How? To the best of one's ability" (p. 39[-40]).

This seems clear enough to me. So I asked Karlchen Missnick: If nothing else will do, if the people are ready for revolution, and you are too; if you are simply unwilling and unable to wait any longer, and have no right to wait; if you claim the right to choose the moment to strike, and if it is, at last, "now or never!"—well, dear Karlchen, do what you cannot refrain from doing, make revolution today and smash the Russian state into a thousand pieces, otherwise you will end up by bringing about an even greater misfortune!

And what does Karlchen Missnick do? Does he strike? Does he destroy the Russian state? Does he liberate the Russian people, "this unfortunate people, streaming in blood, with the crown of thorns, nailed to the cross of slavery",[a] whose suffering prevents him from waiting any longer?

Not a bit of it. Karlchen Missnick, with tears of injured innocence in his eyes, appears before the German workers saying: See what lies that depraved Engels is imputing to me! He claims I spoke of striking immediately; yet it is not a question of that, but of making *literary propaganda*, and this Engels, who does nothing more himself than make literary propaganda, has the effrontery to pretend that he does not understand "the usefulness of literary propaganda".[b]

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[a] Ibid., p. 34.—*Ed.*

[b] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 10.—*Ed.*

But stay! Make literary propaganda! But have we the right to wait, have we the right to waste time on literary propaganda? After all, every minute, every hour the revolution is delayed costs the people a thousand victims (p. 14)! [a] Now is no time for literary propaganda; the revolution must be carried out now, or perhaps never—we permit no hesitation, no delay. And we are supposed to make literary propaganda! Oh God, how can a living human being say such a thing to another human being, and this human being's name is Peter Tkachov!

Was I wrong when I described these impetuous rodomontades, now so basely denied, as "childish"? They are so childish that one would think the writer had gone as far as was humanly possible in this respect. And yet he has since surpassed himself. The editor of the *Forward* quotes a passage from a proclamation to the Russian peasants, penned by Mr. Tkachov. In it Mr. Tkachov describes the state of affairs after a completed social revolution as follows:

> "And then the peasant would embark on a merry life with song and music ... his pockets would be full, not of coppers but of gold ducats. He would have all kinds of beasts and poultry in the farmyard, as many as he desired. On the table he would have every kind of meat, and festive cakes, and sweet wines, and the table would be laid from morn to night. And he would eat and drink as much as his belly would hold, but he would work no more than he had a mind to. And there would be no one who dared to force him: go, eat!—go, lie down on the stove!" [b]

And the person capable of perpetrating this proclamation complains when I confine myself to calling him a green grammar-school boy of rare immaturity!

Mr. Tkachov continues:

> "Why do you reproach us with conspiracies? If we were to renounce conspiratorial, secret, underground activities, we would have to renounce all revolutionary activity. But you also castigate us for not wanting to depart from our conspiratorial ways here in the European West and thus disturbing the great international labour movement." [c]

First, it is untrue that the Russian revolutionaries have no other means at their disposal than pure conspiracy. Mr. Tkachov himself has just stressed the importance of literary propaganda, from abroad into Russia! Even within Russia oral propaganda among the people themselves, particularly in the cities, can never be quite excluded as a method, whatever Mr. Tkachov may find it in his interest to say about it. The best proof of this is that, in the latest mass arrests in Russia, it was not the educated nor the students, but the workers who were in the majority.[49]

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.*— *Ed.*

[b] П. Лавровъ, *Русской социально-революціонной молодежи*, [London,] 1874, p. 47.— *Ed.*

[c] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 7.— *Ed.*

Second, I undertake to fly to the moon, even before Tkachov liberates Russia, as soon as he proves that I have ever, anywhere, at any time in my political career, declared that conspiracies were to be universally condemned in all circumstances. I undertake to bring him back a souvenir from the moon as soon as he proves that any other plots are mentioned in my article but the one against the International by the Alliance. Indeed, if only the Russian Bakuninists really were to conspire seriously against the Russian Government! If only, instead of fraudulent conspiracies based on lies and deceit against their co-conspirators, like that of Nechayev,[50] this "typical representative of our present-day youth" according to Tkachov,[a] instead of plots against the European labour movement like the Alliance, fortunately exposed and thus destroyed—if only they, the "doers" (*dejateli*), as they boastfully call themselves, would at last, for once, perform a deed proving that they really possess an organisation and that they are concerned with something else apart from the attempt to form a dozen! Instead, they cry out loud to all and sundry: We conspire, we conspire!—just like operatic conspirators roaring in four parts: "Silence, silence! Make not a sound!"[b] And all the tales about far-reaching conspiracies only serve as a cloak to hide nothing more than revolutionary inactivity vis-à-vis governments and ambitious cliquishness within the revolutionary party.

It is precisely our ruthless exposure of this entire fraud in the *Komplott gegen die Internationale* that causes these gentlemen to wax so indignant. It was "tactless". In exposing Mr. Bakunin we were seeking "to besmirch one of the greatest and most selfless representatives of the revolutionary epoch in which we live", and with "dirt", at that. The dirt that came to light on this occasion was, to the very last particle, of Mr. Bakunin's own making, and not his worst by any means. The pamphlet in question made him out to be far cleaner than he really was. We *simply quoted* § 18 of the "Revolutionary Catechism", the article stipulating how to behave vis-à-vis the Russian aristocracy and bourgeoisie, how "to seize hold of their dirty secrets and thereby make them our slaves, so that their wealth, etc., becomes an inexhaustible treasure and a valuable support in all kinds of undertaking".[51] We have not yet related how this article has been translated into practice. This is a story that would be long in the telling, but it will, in due course, be told.

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[a] П. Ткачёвъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи*, [London,] 1874, p. 19.—*Ed.*

[b] G. Verdi, *Rigoletto*, Scene II. Libretto by Piave with changes according to Victor Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse.*—*Ed.*

It thus turns out that all the accusations Mr. Tkachov has made against me, with that virtuous mien of injured innocence that becomes all Bakuninists so well, are all based on claims he not only knew to be false, but were also a pack of lies that he himself had concocted. Whereupon we take our leave of the personal part of his "Open Letter".

V

ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA[52]

On the subject matter, Mr. Tkachov tells the German workers that, as regards Russia, I possess not even a "little knowledge",[a] possess nothing but "ignorance", and he feels himself, therefore, obliged to explain the real state of affairs to them, particularly the reasons that, just at the present time, a social revolution could be accomplished in Russia with the greatest of ease, much more easily than in Western Europe.

> "We have no urban proletariat, that is undoubtedly true; but, then, we also have no bourgeoisie; ...our workers will have to fight only against the *political power*—the *power of capital* is with us still only in embryo. And you, sir, are undoubtedly aware that the fight against the former is much easier than against the latter."[b]

The revolution that modern socialism strives to achieve is, briefly, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a new organisation of society by the destruction of all class distinctions. This requires not only a proletariat to carry out this revolution, but also a bourgeoisie in whose hands the social productive forces have developed so far that they permit the final destruction of class distinctions. Among savages and semi-savages there likewise often exist no class distinctions, and every people has passed through such a state. It could not occur to us to re-establish this state, for the simple reason that class distinctions necessarily emerge from it as the social productive forces develop. Only at a certain level of development of these social productive forces, even a very high level for our modern conditions, does it become possible to raise production to such an extent that the abolition of class distinctions can constitute real progress, can be lasting without bringing about stagnation or even decline in the mode of social production. But the productive forces have reached this level of development only in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, therefore, in this respect also is just as necessary a precondition for the socialist revolution as is the proletariat itself. Hence a man who says that this revolution can be more easily carried out in a country where, *although* there is no proletariat, there is no bourgeoisie *either*, only proves that he has still to learn the ABC of socialism.

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[a] P. Tkatschov, *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels...*, pp 3-5.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid.—*Ed.*

The Russian workers—and these workers are, as Mr. Tkachov himself says, "tillers of the soil and, as such, not proletarians but *owners*"[a]—have, therefore, an easier task, because they do not have to fight against the power of capital, but "only against the political power", against the Russian state. And this state

> "appears only at a distance as a power... It has no roots in the economic life of the people; it does not embody the interests of any particular estate... In your country the state is no imaginary power. It stands four square on the basis of capital; it embodies in itself" (!!) "certain economic interests... In our country the situation is just the reverse—our form of society owes its existence to the state, to a state hanging in the air, so to speak, one that has nothing in common with the existing social order, and has its roots in the past, but not in the present."[b]

Let us waste no time over the confused notion that the economic interests need the state, which they themselves create, in order to acquire a *body*, or over the bold contention that the Russian form of society (which, of course, must also include the communal property of the peasants) owes its existence to the state, or over the contradiction that this same state "has nothing in common" with the existing social order, which is supposed to be its very own creation. Let us rather examine at once this "state hanging in the air", which does not represent the interests of even a single estate.

In European Russia, the peasants possess 105 million dessiatines,[c] the nobility (as I shall here term the big landowners for the sake of brevity)—100 million dessiatines of land, of which about half belong to 15,000 nobles, each of whom consequently possesses, on average, 3,300 dessiatines.[d] The area belonging to the peasants is, therefore, only a trifle bigger than that of the nobles. So, you see, the nobles have not the slightest interest in the existence of the Russian state, which protects them in the possession of half the country. To continue: the peasants pay 195 million rubles land tax annually for their half, the nobles—13 million! The lands of the nobles are, on average, twice as fertile as those of the peasants, because during the settlement[a] for the redemption of the *corvée*,[53] the state not only took the greater part, but also the best part of the land from the peasants and gave it to the nobles, and for this worst land the peasants had to pay the nobility the price of the best.* And the Russian nobility has no interest in the existence of the Russian state!

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 6.—*Ed.*

[c] *Dessiatine*—measure of land in Russia until 1917—equals 2,7 acres. Here and below Engels quotes data from *Военно-статистическій сборникъ*. Выпускъ IV. St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 105, 108, 200 and 203.—*Ed.*

[d] *Der Volksstaat* and the 1894 edition mistakenly have: "33,000".—*Ed.*

The peasants—taken in the mass—have been put by the redemption into a most miserable and wholly untenable position. Not only has the greatest and best part of their land been taken from them, so that, in all the fertile parts of the empire, the peasant land is far too small—under Russian agricultural conditions—for them to be able to make a living from it. Not only were they charged an excessive price for it, which was advanced to them by the state and for which they now have to pay interest and instalments on the principal to the state. Not only is almost the whole burden of the land tax thrown upon them, while the nobility escapes almost scot-free—so that the land tax alone consumes the entire ground rent value of the peasant land and more, and all further payments which the peasant has to make and which we will speak of immediately are direct deductions from that part of his income which represents his wages. Then, in addition to the land tax, to the interest and depreciation payments on the money advanced by the state, since the recent introduction of local administration there are the provincial and district imposts as well.[55] The most essential consequence of this "reform" was fresh tax burdens for the peasants. The state retained its revenues in their entirety, but passed on a large part of its expenditures to the provinces and districts, which imposed new taxes to meet them, and in Russia it is the rule that the higher estates are almost tax exempt and the peasants pay almost everything.

Such a situation is as if specially created for the usurer, and with the almost unequalled talent of the Russians for trading on a

* The exception was Poland,[54] where the government wanted to ruin the nobility hostile to it and to draw the peasants to its side. [Note to the text published in *Der Volksstaat*; in the 1875 and 1894 editions it was omitted.]

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[a] "Общее положеніе о крестьянахъ, вышедшихъ изъ крѣпостной зависимости", *Санктпетербургскія Вѣдомости*, Nos. 53 and 54, March 7 and 8, 1861.—*Ed.*

lower level, for taking full advantage of favourable business situations and the swindling inseparable from this—Peter I long ago said that one Russian could get the better of three Jews—the usurer makes his appearance everywhere. When taxes are about to fall due, the usurer, the *kulak*—frequently a rich peasant of the same village community—comes along and offers his ready cash. The peasant must have the money at all costs and is obliged to accept the conditions of the usurer without demur. But this only gets him into a tighter fix, and he needs more and more ready cash. At harvest time, the grain dealer arrives; the need for money forces the peasant to sell part of the grain he and his family require for their subsistence. The grain dealer spreads false rumours, which lower prices, pays a low price and often even part of this in all sorts of highly priced goods; for the TRUCK SYSTEM[56] is also highly developed in Russia. It is quite obvious that the great corn exports of Russia are based directly on starvation of the peasant population.—Another method of exploiting the peasant is the following: a speculator rents domain land from the government for a long term of years, and cultivates it himself as long as it yields a good crop without manure; then he divides it up into small plots and lets out the exhausted land at high rents to neighbouring peasants, who cannot manage on the income from their allotment. Here we have precisely the Irish MIDDLEMEN,[57] just as above the English TRUCK SYSTEM. In short, there is no country in which, in spite of the pristine savagery of bourgeois society, capitalistic parasitism is so developed, so covers and entangles the whole country, the whole mass of the population with its nets, as in Russia. And all these bloodsuckers of the peasants are supposed to have no interest in the existence of the Russian state, the laws and law courts of which protect their sleek and profitable practices!

The big bourgeoisie of Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa, which has developed with unprecedented rapidity over the last decade, chiefly owing to the railways, and which cheerfully "went smash" along with the rest during the last swindle years, the grain, hemp, flax and tallow exporters, whose whole business is built on the misery of the peasants, the entire Russian large-scale industry, which only exists thanks to the protective tariffs granted it by the state—have all these important and rapidly growing elements of the population no interest in the existence of the Russian state? To say nothing of the countless army of officials, which swarms over Russia and plunders her, and here constitutes a real social estate. And when Mr. Tkachov assures us that the Russian state has "no roots in the economic life of the people", that "it does not embody the interests of any particular estate", that it hangs "in the air", methinks it is not the Russian state that hangs in the air, but rather Mr. Tkachov.

It is clear that the condition of the Russian peasants, since the emancipation from serfdom, has become intolerable and cannot be maintained much longer, and that for this reason alone, if for no other, a revolution is in the offing in Russia. The question is only: what can be, what will be the result of this revolution? Mr. Tkachov says it will be a social one. This is pure tautology. Every real revolution is a social one, in that it brings a new class to power and allows it to remodel society in its own image. But he wants to say it will be a socialist one; it will introduce into Russia the form of society at which West European socialism aims, even before we in the West succeed in doing so—and that under the conditions of a society in which both proletariat and bourgeoisie appear only sporadically and at a low stage of development. And this is supposed to be possible because the Russians are, so to speak, the chosen people of socialism, and have artels and communal ownership of the land.

The artel, which Mr. Tkachov mentions only incidentally, but with which we deal here because, since the time of Herzen, it has played a mysterious role with many Russians[58]; the artel in Russia is a widespread form of association, the simplest form of free co-operation, such as is found for hunting among hunting tribes. Word and content are not of Slavic but of Tatar origin. Both are to be found among the Kirghiz, Yakuts, etc., on the one hand, and among the Lapps, Samoyeds[59] and other Finnish peoples, on the other.* That is why the artel developed originally in the North and East, by contact with Finns and Tatars, and not in the South-West. The severe climate necessitates industrial activity of various kinds, and so the lack of urban development and of capital is replaced, as far as possible, by this form of co-operation.—One of the most characteristic features of the artel, the collective responsibility of its members for one another to third parties, was originally based on blood relationship, like the mutual liability [Gewere] of the ancient Germans, blood vengeance, etc.—Moreover, in Russia the word artel is used for every form not only of collective activity, but also of collective institution. The *Bourse* is also an artel.[a]

* On the artel, compare *inter alia*: *Sbornik materialov ob Arteljach v Rossiji* (Collection of Material on Artels in Russia), St. Petersburg, 1873, Part I.

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[a] Engels left out this sentence from the 1894 edition.—*Ed.*

In workers' artels, an elder (*starosta, starshina*) is always chosen who fulfils the functions of treasurer, bookkeeper, etc., and of manager, as far as necessary, and who receives a special salary. Such artels are formed:

1. for temporary enterprises, after the completion of which they dissolve;
2. for the members of one and the same trade, for instance, porters, etc.;
3. for permanent enterprises, industrial in the proper sense of the word.

They are established by a contract signed by all the members. Now, if these members cannot bring together the necessary capital, as very often happens, such as in the case of cheeseries and fisheries (for nets, boats, etc.), the artel falls prey to the usurer, who advances the amount lacking at a high interest rate, and thereafter pockets the greater part of the income from the work. Still more shamefully exploited, however, are the artels that hire themselves in a body to an employer as wage-labourers. They direct their industrial activity themselves and thus save the capitalist the cost of supervision. The latter lets to the members huts to live in and advances them the means of subsistence, which in turn gives rise to the most disgraceful TRUCK SYSTEM. Such is the case with the lumbermen and tar distillers in the Archangel gubernia, and in many trades in Siberia, etc. (Cf. Flerovsky, *Položenie rabočago klassa v Rossiji*. "The Condition of the Working Class in Russia", St. Petersburg, 1869).[60] Here, then, the artel serves to *facilitate* considerably the exploitation of the wage-worker by the capitalist. On the other hand, there are also artels which themselves employ wage-workers, who are *not* members of the association.

It is thus seen that the artel is a co-operative society that has arisen spontaneously and is, therefore, still very undeveloped, and as such neither exclusively Russian, nor even Slavic. Such societies are formed wherever there is a need for them. For instance, in Switzerland among the dairy farmers and in England among the fishermen, where they even assume a great variety of forms. The Silesian navvies (Germans, not Poles), who built so many German railways in the forties, were organised in fully fledged artels. True, the predominance of this form in Russia proves the existence in the Russian people of a strong impulse to associate, but is far from proving their ability to jump, with the aid of this impulse, from the artel straight into the socialist order of society. For that, it is necessary above all that the artel itself should be capable of development, that it shed its primitive form, in which, as we saw, it serves the workers less than it does capital, and rise *at least* to the level of the West European co-operative societies. But if we are to believe Mr. Tkachov for once (which, after all that has preceded, is certainly more than risky), this is by no means the case. On the contrary, he assures us with a pride highly indicative of his standpoint:

> "As regards the co-operative and credit associations on the German" (!) "model, recently artificially transplanted to Russia, these have met with complete indifference on the part of the majority of our workers and have been a failure almost everywhere."[a]

The modern co-operative society has at least proved that it can run large-scale industry profitably on its own account (spinning and weaving in Lancashire). The artel is so far not only incapable of doing this; it must of necessity even be destroyed by big industry if it does not develop further.

The communal property of the Russian peasants was discovered in 1845 by the Prussian Government Councillor Haxthausen and trumpeted to the world as something absolutely wonderful, although Haxthausen could still have found survivals enough of it in his Westphalian homeland and, as a government official, it was even part of his duty to know them thoroughly. It was from Haxthausen that Herzen, himself a Russian landowner, first learned that his peasants owned the land in common, and he made use of the fact to describe the Russian peasants as the true vehicles of socialism, as born communists, in contrast to the workers of the aging, decayed European West, who would first have to go through the ordeal of acquiring socialism artificially. From Herzen this knowledge came to Bakunin, and from Bakunin to Mr. Tkachov. Let us listen to the latter:

> "Our people ... in its great majority ... is permeated with the principles of common ownership; it is, if one may use the term, instinctively, traditionally communist. The idea of collective property is so closely interwoven with the whole world outlook of the Russian people" (we shall see immediately how far the world of the Russian peasant extends) "that today, when the government begins to understand that this idea is incompatible with the principles of a 'well-ordered' society, and in the name of these principles wishes to impress the idea of individual property on the consciousness and life of the people, it can succeed in doing so only with the help of the bayonet and the knout. It is clear from this that our people, despite its ignorance, is much nearer to socialism than the peoples of Western Europe, although the latter are more educated."[b]

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 5.—*Ed.*

In reality, communal ownership of the land is an institution found among all Indo-Germanic peoples at a low level of development, from India to Ireland, and even among the Malays, who are developing under Indian influence, for instance, on Java. As late as 1608, in the newly conquered North of Ireland, the legally established communal ownership of the land served the English as a pretext for declaring the land to be ownerless and, as such, escheated to the Crown. In India, a whole series of forms of communal ownership has been in existence down to the present time. In Germany it was general; the communal lands still to be found here and there are a relic of it; and often still distinct traces of it, temporary divisions of the communal lands, etc., are also to be found, especially in the mountains. More exact references and details with regard to old German communal ownership may be consulted in the various writings of *Maurer*, which are classic on this question.[a] In Western Europe, including Poland and Little Russia, at a certain stage in social development, this communal ownership became a fetter, a brake on agricultural production, and was increasingly eliminated. In Great Russia (that is, Russia proper), on the other hand, it persists until today, thereby proving, in the first place, that here agricultural production and the social conditions in the countryside corresponding to it are still very undeveloped, as is actually the case. The Russian peasant lives and has his being only in his village community; the rest of the world exists for him only in so far as it interferes with his community. This is so much the case that, in Russian, the same word "*mir*" means, on the one hand, "world" and, on the other, "peasant community". "*Ves' mir*", the whole world, means to the peasant the meeting of the community members. Hence, when Mr. Tkachov speaks of the "*world* outlook" of the Russian peasants,[b] he has obviously translated the Russian "*mir*" incorrectly. Such a complete isolation of individual communities from one another, which creates throughout the country similar, but the very opposite of common, interests, is the natural basis for *oriental despotism*; and from India to Russia this form of society, wherever it has prevailed, has always produced it and always found its complement in it. Not only the Russian state in general, but even its specific form, tsarist despotism, instead of hanging in the air, is a necessary and logical product of Russian social conditions with which, according to Mr. Tkachov, it has "nothing in common"!—Further development of Russia in a *bourgeois* direction would here also destroy communal ownership little by little, without any need for the Russian government to intervene with "bayonet and knout". And this especially since the communally owned land in Russia is not cultivated by the peasants in common, so that the product may then be divided, as is still the case in some districts in India; on the contrary, from time to time the land is divided up among the various heads of families, and each cultivates his allotment for himself. Consequently, very great differences in degree of prosperity are possible and actually exist among the members of the community. Almost everywhere there are a few rich peasants among them—here and there millionaires—who play the usurer and suck the blood of the mass of the peasants. No one knows this better than Mr. Tkachov. While he wants the German workers to believe that the "idea of collective ownership" can be driven out of the Russian peasants, these instinctive, traditional communists, only by bayonet and knout, he writes on page 15 of his Russian pamphlet[a]:

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[a] G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf-, und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland*; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland*; *Geschichte, der Markenverfassung in Deutschland*.— *Ed.*

[b] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, p. 5.— *Ed.*

> "Among the peasants a class of *usurers* (*kulakov*) is making its way, a class of people who *buy up* and *rent* the lands of peasants and nobles—a muzhik aristocracy."

These are the same kind of bloodsuckers as we described more fully above.

The severest blow to communal ownership was dealt again by the redemption of the *corvée.* The greater and better part of the land was allotted to the nobility; for the peasant there remained scarcely enough, often not enough, to live on. In addition, the forests were given to the nobles; the wood for fuel, implements and building, which the peasant formerly might fetch there for nothing, he now has to buy. Thus, the peasant has nothing now but his house and the bare land, without means to cultivate it and, on average, without enough land to support him and his family from one harvest to the next. Under such conditions and under the pressure of taxes and usurers, communal ownership of the land is no longer a blessing; it becomes a fetter. The peasants often run away from it, with or without their families, to earn their living as migratory labourers, and leave their land behind them.*

* On the position of the peasants compare, *inter alia,* the official report of the government commission on agricultural production (1873), and further, Skaldin,

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[a] *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи.*—*Ed.*

It is clear that communal ownership in Russia is long past its period of florescence and, to all appearances, is moving towards its disintegration. Nevertheless, the possibility undeniably exists of raising this form of society to a higher one, if it should last until the circumstances are ripe for that, and if it shows itself capable of developing in such manner that the peasants no longer cultivate the land separately, but collectively*; of raising it to this higher form without it being necessary for the Russian peasants to go through the intermediate stage of bourgeois small holdings. This, however, can only happen if, before the complete break-up of communal ownership, a proletarian revolution is successfully carried out in Western Europe, creating for the Russian peasant the preconditions requisite for such a transition, particularly the material things he needs, if only to carry through the revolution, necessarily connected therewith, of his whole agricultural system. It is, therefore, sheer bounce for Mr. Tkachov to say that the Russian peasants, although "owners", are "nearer to socialism" than the propertyless workers of Western Europe. Quite the opposite. If anything can still save Russian communal ownership and give it a chance of growing into a new, really viable form, it is a proletarian revolution in Western Europe.

Mr. Tkachov treats the political revolution just as lightly as he does the economic one. The Russian people, he relates, "protests incessantly" against its enslavement, now in the form of "religious sects ... refusal to pay taxes ... robber bands" (the German workers will be glad to know that, accordingly, Schinderhannes[a] is the father of German Social-Democracy) "... incendiarism ... revolts ... and hence the Russian people may be termed an instinctive revolutionist". Therefore, Mr. Tkachov is convinced that "it is only necessary to evoke an outburst in a number of places at the same time of all the accumulated bitterness and discontent, which ... is always seething in the breast of our people". Then "the union of the revolutionary forces will come about *of itself*, and the fight ... must end favourably for the people's cause. Practical

W Zacholusti i w Stolice (In the Backwoods and in the Capital), St. Petersburg, 1870; the latter publication by a liberal conservative.

* In Poland, particularly in the Grodno gubernia, where the nobility for the most part was ruined by the insurrection of 1863, the peasants now frequently buy or rent estates from the nobles and cultivate them unpartitioned and *on their collective account*. And these peasants have not had communal ownership for centuries and are not Great Russians, but Poles, Lithuanians and Byelorussians.

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[a] *Schinderhannes*: nickname of Johann Bückler, a notorious German robber.—*Ed.*

necessity, the instinct of self-preservation", will then achieve, quite of themselves, "a firm and indissoluble alliance among the protesting village communities".[a]

It is impossible to conceive of a revolution on easier and more pleasant terms. One starts shooting, at three or four places simultaneously, and the "instinctive revolutionist", "practical necessity" and the "instinct of self-preservation" do the rest "of themselves". Being so dead easy, it is simply incomprehensible why the revolution has not been carried out long ago, the people liberated and Russia transformed into the model socialist country.

Actually, matters are quite different. The Russian people, this instinctive revolutionist, has, true enough, made numerous isolated peasant revolts against the *nobility* and against individual officials, but *never against the tsar*, except when *a false tsar* put himself at its head and claimed the throne. The last great peasant rising,[61] under Catherine II, was only possible because Yemelyan Pugachov claimed to be her husband, Peter III, who allegedly had not been murdered by his wife, but dethroned and clapped in prison, and had now escaped. The tsar is, on the contrary, the earthly god of the Russian peasant: *Bog vysok, Car daljok*—God is on high and the tsar far away, is his cry in hour of need. There is no doubt that the mass of the peasant population, especially since the redemption of the *corvée*, has been reduced to a condition that increasingly forces on it a fight also against the government and the tsar; but Mr. Tkachov will have to try to sell his fairy-tale of the "instinctive revolutionist" elsewhere.

Then again, even *if* the mass of the Russian peasants were ever so instinctively revolutionary, even *if* we imagined that revolutions could be made to order, just as one makes a piece of flowered calico or a teakettle—even then I ask, is it permissible for anyone over twelve years of age to imagine the course of a revolution in such an utterly childish manner as is the case here? And remember, further, that this was written after the first revolution made on this Bakuninist model—the Spanish one of 1873—had so brilliantly failed.[62] There, too, they let loose at several places simultaneously. There, too, it was calculated that practical necessity and the instinct of self-preservation would, of themselves, bring about a firm and indissoluble alliance between the protesting communities. And what happened? Every village community, every town defended only itself; there was no question of mutual assistance and, with only 3,000 men, Pavia overcame one town after another in a fortnight and put an end to the entire anarchist glory (cf. my *Bakuninists at Work*, where this is described in detail).

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[a] P. Tkatschoff, *Offener Brief...*, pp. 5-6, 9.—*Ed.*

Russia undoubtedly is on the eve of a revolution. Her financial affairs are in extreme disorder. Taxes cannot be screwed any higher, the interest on old state loans is paid by means of new loans, and every new loan meets with greater difficulties; money can now be raised only on the pretext of building railways! The administration, corrupt from top to bottom as of old, the officials living more from theft, bribery and extortion than on their salaries. The entire agricultural production—by far the most essential for Russia—completely dislocated by the redemption settlement of 1861; the big landowners, without sufficient labour power; the peasants without sufficient land, oppressed by taxation and sucked dry by usurers; agricultural production[a] declining by the year. The whole held together with great difficulty and only outwardly by an Oriental despotism the arbitrariness of which we in the West simply cannot imagine; a despotism that, from day to day, not only comes into more glaring contradiction with the views of the enlightened classes and, in particular, with those of the rapidly developing bourgeoisie of the capital, but, in the person of its present bearer, has lost its head, one day making concessions to liberalism and the next, frightened, cancelling them again and thus bringing itself more and more into disrepute. With all that, a growing recognition among the enlightened strata of the nation concentrated in the capital that this position is untenable, that a revolution is impending, and the illusion that it will be possible to guide this revolution along a smooth, constitutional channel. Here all the conditions of a revolution are combined, of a revolution that, started by the upper classes of the capital, perhaps even by the government itself, must be rapidly carried further, beyond the first constitutional phase, by the peasants; of a revolution that will be of the greatest importance for the whole of Europe, if only because it will destroy at one blow the last, so far intact, reserve of the entire European reaction. This revolution is surely approaching. Only two events could still delay it: a successful war against Turkey or Austria, for which money and firm alliances are necessary, or—a premature attempt at insurrection, which would drive the possessing classes back into the arms of the government.

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[a] The 1894 edition has: "agricultural output".—*Ed.*

Karl Marx

EPILOGUE [TO *REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE COMMUNIST TRIAL IN COLOGNE*][63]

The *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*, which the *Volksstaat* now considers it timely to reprint, originally appeared in Boston (Massachusetts) and in Basle. Most of the latter edition was confiscated at the German border. The pamphlet saw the light of day a few weeks after the trial closed. At that point, it was of prime importance to waste no time, hence a good many errors of detail were inevitable. An example of this is the list of names of the Cologne jury. Thus, a certain Levy and not M. Hess is said to have been the author of the Red Catechism.[64] And W. Hirsch assures us in his "Rechtfertigungsschrift"[a] that Cherval's escape from gaol in Paris was pre-arranged by Greif, the French police and Cherval himself, in order that the latter might act as an informer in London during the court proceedings. This is likely, as the forgery of a bill of exchange committed in Prussia and the resultant risk of extradition were bound to bring Crämer[b] (Cherval's real name) to heel. My account of the incident is based on Cherval's "confessions" to a friend of mine. Hirsch's statement casts an even harsher light on Stieber's perjury, the intrigues of the Prussian embassies in London and Paris, and the shameless intervention by Hinckeldey.

When the *Volksstaat* started to reprint the pamphlet in its columns, I was for a moment undecided whether or not it might be appropriate to omit Section VI (The Willich-Schapper Group).[a] On further consideration, however, any mutilation of the text appeared to me to be a falsification of an historical document.

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[a] W. Hirsch, "Die Opfer der Moucharderie. Rechtfertigungsschrift", *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, Nos. 3-6, April 1, 8, 15 and 22, 1853. See also Marx's *Herr Vogt* (present edition, Vol. 17, p. 64) and *Hirsch's Confessions* (ibid., Vol. 12, pp. 40-43).—*Ed.*

[b] A pun: *Crämer*—Cherval's real name, *Krämer* (in German) means huckster.—*Ed.*

The violent suppression of a revolution leaves behind a shock in the minds of its protagonists, particularly those forced into exile far from the domestic scene—a shock that, for a time, renders even the most able people, as it were, not responsible for their actions. They are unable to accept the course of history; they are loth to realise that the form of the movement has changed. Hence the conspiratorial and revolutionary games they play, equally compromising for themselves and for the cause they serve; hence, too, the errors of Schapper and Willich. In the North American Civil War, Willich showed that he was more than a visionary, and Schapper, a life-long champion of the labour movement, confessed and acknowledged his momentary aberration soon after the Cologne trial. Many years later, on his death-bed, the day before he died, he spoke to me with scathing irony about that time of "refugee foolishness".—Nevertheless, the circumstances in which the *Revelations* were written explain the bitterness of the attack on the involuntary accomplices of the common enemy. In times of crisis, thoughtlessness is a crime against the party calling for public expiation.

"The whole existence of the political police depends on the outcome of this trial!" With these words, written during the Cologne court proceedings to the embassy in London (see my pamphlet *Herr Vogt*, p. 27[b]), Hinckeldey betrayed the secret of the Communist trial. "The whole existence of the political police" is not merely the existence and activities of the staff immediately concerned with this area. It is the subordination of the entire governmental machinery, including the courts (see the Prussian disciplinary law for judicial officials of May 7, 1851[c]) and the press (see reptile funds[65]), to that institution, just as the entire state system of Venice was once subordinated to the State Inquisition.[66] The political police, paralysed during the revolutionary storm in Prussia, needed re-organising along the lines of the second French Empire.

After the demise of the 1848 revolution, the German labour movement continued to exist only in the form of theoretical propaganda, confined to narrow circles; the Prussian Government was not for a moment deceived about its harmlessness in practice. The government's Communist witch-hunt served simply as a prelude to its reactionary crusade against the liberal bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie itself steeled the main weapon of this reaction, the political police, by sentencing the workers' representatives and acquitting Hinckeldey-Stieber. Stieber thus earned his spurs at the assizes in Cologne. At that time Stieber was a humble low-ranking policeman ruthlessly pursuing a higher salary and promotion; now Stieber stands for the unrestricted rule of the political police in the new holy Prussian-German empire. Thus he has, to a certain extent, become a moral person, moral in the metaphorical sense, as, for example, the Reichstag is a moral creation. This time the political police is not striking at the workers in order to hit the bourgeoisie. Quite the reverse. Precisely in his position as dictator of the German liberal bourgeoisie, Bismarck considers himself strong enough to drive[a] the workers' party out of existence. The German proletariat can, therefore, measure the progress of the movement it has achieved since the Cologne Communist trial by Stieber's growth in stature.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 445-52.—*Ed.*

[b] A reference to the 1860 edition published in London (see present edition, Vol. 17, p. 67).—*Ed.*

[c] *Gesetz, betreffend die Dienstvergehen der Richter und die unfreiwillige Versetzung derselben auf eine andere Stelle oder in den Ruhestand. Vom 7. Mai 1851.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 13, 1851.—*Ed.*

The Pope's infallibility is small beer compared with that of the political police. After for decades sticking young hotheads in gaol in Prussia for advocating German unity,[67] the German Empire and the German monarchy, it is today even incarcerating bald-headed old men for refusing to advocate these divine gifts. Today it is just as vainly attempting to eradicate the *enemies of the Empire* as it once tried to eradicate the *friends of the Empire.* What glaring proof that it is not called on to make history, even if it were only the history of the quarrel over the Emperor's beard!

The Communist trial in Cologne itself brands the state power's impotence in its struggle against social development. The royal Prussian state prosecutor ultimately based the guilt of the accused on the fact that they secretly disseminated the subversive principles of the *Communist Manifesto.*[b] Are not the same principles being proclaimed openly in the streets in Germany twenty years later? Do they not resound even from the tribune of the Reichstag? Have they not journeyed round the world, in the shape of the *Programme of the International Working Men's Association,*[68] despite all the government arrest-warrants? Society simply does not find its equilibrium until it revolves around the sun of labour.

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[a] Marx uses here the verb *stiebern* coined from the name of Stieber.— *Ed.*

[b] by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.— *Ed.*

At the end of the *Revelations* it says: "*Jena*! ... that is the final outcome of a government[69] that requires such methods in order to survive and of a society that needs such a government for its protection. The word that should stand at the end of the Communist trial is—*Jena*!"[a]

An accurate prediction indeed, giggles the first Treitschke to happen along, with a proud reference to Prussia's latest feat of arms and the Mauser rifle. Suffice it for me to point out that there is not only an *inner Düppel*,[70] but also an *inner Jena*.

London, January 8, 1875

Karl Marx

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 11, p. 457.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

FOR POLAND[71]

This year, too, a memorial celebration was held in London to commemorate the Polish uprising of January 22, 1863. Large numbers of our German party comrades took part in the celebration; several of them made speeches, among whom were Engels and Marx.

"There has been talk here," said Engels, "about the reasons for the revolutionaries of all countries to sympathise with Poland's cause and intervene on its behalf. Only one thing has been forgotten to mention, namely this: that the political situation in which Poland has been placed is a thoroughly revolutionary one, leaving Poland with no other choice than to be revolutionary or to perish. This was already evident after the first partition, which was brought about by the efforts of the Polish nobility to maintain a constitution and privileges which had lost their right to existence and were harming the country and public order instead of preserving peace and securing progress.[72] Already after the first partition a section of the nobility acknowledged the mistake and came to the conviction that Poland could only be restored by revolution;—and ten years later we saw Poles fighting for liberty in America.[73] The French Revolution of 1789 found an immediate echo in Poland. The Constitution of 1791[74] with the rights of man became the banner of revolution on the banks of the Vistula and turned Poland into the vanguard of revolutionary France, and that at the very moment when the three powers which had already despoiled Poland once were uniting in order to march to Paris and strangle the revolution.[75] Could they stand back and allow revolution to gain a foothold in the centre of the coalition? Unthinkable. Again they hurled themselves on Poland, this time with the intention of completely depriving it of its national existence. The unfolding of the revolutionary banner was one of the chief reasons for the subjugation of Poland. The country that has been dismembered and struck off the list of nations because it was revolutionary can seek its salvation nowhere else but in revolution. And for this reason we find Poles in all revolutionary struggles. Poland realised this in 1863, and during the uprising whose anniversary we are celebrating today published the most radical revolutionary programme[a] that has ever been drawn up in Eastern Europe. It would be ridiculous should one consider the Polish revolutionaries to be aristocrats wishing to reconstruct the aristocratic Poland of 1772, just because there exists a Polish aristocratic party. The Poland of 1772 is lost and gone forever. No power will be capable of raising it out of the grave. The new Poland, which the revolution will put on its feet, is as fundamentally different socially and politically from the Poland of 1772 as the new society towards which we are hastening is fundamentally different from present-day society.

"One more word. No one can enslave a people with impunity. The three powers that murdered Poland have been severely punished. Look at my own country: Prussia-Germany. Under the signboard of national unification we brought upon us the Poles, the Danes and the French—and have a *threefold Venice*[76]; we have enemies everywhere, we have encumbered ourselves with debts and taxes in order to maintain countless masses of soldiers who must also serve to suppress the German workers. Austria, even official Austria, knows full well how dearly that little bit of Poland has cost her. At the time of the Crimean War, Austria was prepared to go to war against Russia provided that Russian Poland was occupied and liberated. However, that did not agree with Louis Napoleon's plans, and still less with Palmerston's. And as far as Russia is concerned, we see: in 1861 the first major movement broke out among the students, all the more dangerous since the people were everywhere in a state of great agitation as a result of the emancipation of the serfs; and what did the Russian government do, well realising the danger?—It *provoked the uprising of 1863 in Poland*[77]; for it has been *proved* that this uprising was its work. The movement amongst the students, the profound agitation of the people vanished at once, giving way to Russian chauvinism, which descended on Poland once it was a question of maintaining Russian rule there. Thus perished the first significant movement in Russia as a result of the calamitous struggle against Poland. The restoration of Poland is indeed in the interest of revolutionary Russia, and I hear tonight with pleasure that this opinion agrees with the convictions of the Russian revolutionaries" (who had expressed this view at the meeting[78]).

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[a] *Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy. Dan w Warszawie 22 Stycznia 1863.—Ed.*

Marx said roughly this: The Working Men's Party of Europe takes the keenest interest in the emancipation of Poland, and the original programme of the International Working Men's Association declares the restoration of Poland to be one of the goals of working-class politics.[a] What are the reasons for this special interest of the Working Men's Party in the fate of Poland?

Firstly, of course, sympathy for a subjugated people, which by continuous heroic struggle against its oppressors has proved its historic right to national independence and self-determination. It is by no means a contradiction that the *international* Working Men's Party should strive for the restoration of the Polish nation. On the contrary: only when Poland has re-conquered its independence, when it once again exercises control over itself as a free people, only then can its internal development recommence and will it be able to take part in its own right in the social transformation of Europe. As long as a viable people is fettered by a foreign conqueror, it must necessarily apply all its strength, all its efforts, all its energy against the enemy from without; for this length of time, then, its inner life remains paralysed, it remains unable to work for social emancipation. Ireland, Russia under Mongolian rule, etc., provide striking proof of this thesis.

Another reason for the sympathy of the Working Men's Party for the resurrection of Poland is its special geographical, military and historical position. The partition of Poland is the mortar binding together the three great military despotisms: Russia, Prussia and Austria. Only the reconstitution of Poland can break this bond and thus remove the greatest obstacle to the social emancipation of the peoples of Europe.

The main reason for the sympathy of the working class towards Poland is, however, this: Poland is not merely the only Slavic tribe, it is the only European people that has fought and is fighting as the *cosmopolitan soldier of the revolution*. Poland shed its blood during the American War of Independence; its legions fought under the banner of the first French Republic; by its revolution of

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[a] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 13).—*Ed.*

1830 it prevented the invasion of France that had been decided by the partitioners of Poland; in 1846 in Cracow it was the first in Europe to plant the banner of social revolution; in 1848 it played an outstanding part in the revolutionary struggle in Hungary, Germany and Italy; finally, in 1871 it supplied the Paris Commune with its best generals and most heroic soldiers.

In the brief moments when the popular masses of Europe were able to move freely, they remembered what they owe to Poland. After the victorious March Revolution in Berlin in 1848, the first deed of the people was to release the Polish prisoners, Mieroslawski and his comrades-in-suffering, and proclaim the restoration of Poland[79]; in Paris, in May 1848, Blanqui marched at the head of the workers against the reactionary National Assembly in order to force it to accept armed intervention for Poland[80]; finally, in 1871, when the Parisian workers had constituted themselves as the government, they honoured Poland by entrusting its sons with the military leadership of their forces.

Neither at the present moment does the German Working Men's Party allow itself to be the least misled by the reactionary conduct of the Polish deputies in the German Reichstag; it knows that these gentlemen are not acting on behalf of Poland but of their own private interests; it knows that the Polish peasant, the Polish worker, in short, every Pole who is not blinded by class interests, must realise that *Poland has and can only have one ally in Europe—the Working Men's Party.*[81]*—Long Live Poland!*

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Frederick Engels

SEMI-OFFICIAL WAR-CRIES[82]

Once again the press reptiles[83] of the German Empire have received orders to sound the war-trumpets. That godless and degenerate country France will simply not, at any price, leave Germany in peace, that god-fearing country bursting out in glorious bloom under the rule of stock-exchange swindles, floatation[84] and the crash. France is re-arming on the most colossal scale, and the high-pressure velocity at which these armaments are being carried out is the best proof that it intends, if possible next year, to attack the innocent, peace-loving Bismarckian Empire, which, as we all know, has never done anything to offend anyone, which is tirelessly disarming and about which only the subversive press has spread the slander that it has just turned two million citizens into reserve soldiers by a *Landsturm* Law.[85]

The press reptiles are in a difficult position. While in the service of the Foreign Office they have to portray the Empire as a lamb of infinite meekness, the Ministry of War finds it in its interest to make it clear to the German bourgeois that something is actually happening in return for their heavy taxes, that the armaments decided on are really being produced, the fortifications really being built, the cadres and mobilisation plans for the large number of soldiers "on leave" are being completed, that the combat readiness of the army is increasing with every day that passes. And as the announcements made in this connection are authentic and, moreover, originate from experts, we are perfectly able to judge the war-cries of the press toads.

The new French Cadre Law[86] provides the pretext for all the noise. Let us then compare the institutions thus created in France—for the time being still on paper—with those actually existing in Germany, restricting ourselves for brevity's sake to the decisive branch of the service, the infantry.

On the whole, the new French law turns out to be a considerably worsened version of the Prussian one.

The French infantry of the line is supposed to consist of 144 regiments of the line, 4 Zouave and 3 Turco regiments of 4 battalions each,[87] 30 rifle battalions, 4 foreign and 5 penal battalions, in all 643 battalions, while the German army of the line admittedly only amounts to 468 battalions. This superiority of the French line is, however, purely apparent.

Firstly, the French battalion, like the Prussian, does indeed have four companies, but each company has only four officers instead of five; and of these four, one is a reserve officer, which is a species that *simply does not yet exist* in France. In France they have hitherto had one officer to every 35-40 men, and on account of the outdated and cumbersome French drill regulations this is necessary, while Prussia has managed quite well with one officer to 50 men. But this is also the maximum, and the committee of the National Assembly that dealt with this law was agreed that *no more than* 200 men might be placed in each company. The French company is thus 25 per cent weaker numerically than the Prussian, and as the reserve officer does not exist at present, and will not exist for many years to come, it is also far from being its equal organisationally. But as the company—because of the breech-loader[88]—has now become the tactical unit in battle and the action of the company columns and of the skirmishers based on them requires *strong* companies, the National Assembly has hereby inflicted the greatest harm on the French Army that it could have inflicted.

The French line on a war-footing therefore comprises

606 battalions of the line with 800 men each	484,800 men
Zouaves, Turcos, Foreign Legion, Penal Battalions	46,000 "
total	530,800 men.

From this number, though, at least 40,000 men must be subtracted for Algeria, who only become available when new formations are capable of relieving them. This leaves, then, 490,800 infantrymen at the outbreak of war. The 468 battalions of the German infantry each comprise 1,050 men on a war-footing, a total of 490,480 men according to official figures, almost exactly as many as the French line.

So far, then, equality of numbers, with Germany having a better and stronger organisation. But now comes the difference.

As far as France is concerned, the above 643 weak battalions comprise all the infantry for which there exists any war organisation at all. Certainly, the 318 depot companies of the line and of the riflemen are said to contain a total of 249,480 extra reserves (including 50 or 40 officers and non-commissioned officers per company), but of these only the men actually exist up to now, and these are for the greater part quite untrained, and those who are trained have mostly had only six months' service. As for the officers and non-commissioned officers, *a quarter* are available, at the most. By the time these 318 depot companies are turned into 318 mobile battalions, the entire campaign may have been decided, and those who do go into action will not exceed the quality of the mobile guards of 1870.[89] Then there is the Territorial Army, which is composed of the men between 30 and 40 years old, and is to be organised in 144 regiments of 3 battalions each, making 432 battalions. All this exists only on paper. In order to put such a scheme really into effect, 10,000 officers and 20,000 non-commissioned officers are needed, of which almost literally not a single one is yet available. And where are these officers to come from? It took almost two generations before the one-year volunteers provided serviceable reserve and *Landwehr*[90] officers in Prussia; right up to the forties, they were regarded as a liability in nearly all regiments and treated accordingly. And in France, where such an institution infringes all traditions of revolutionary equality, where those serving one year are despised by the officers and hated by the men, there is quite simply no chance of getting anywhere. Yet no other source of reserve officers exists.

As far as the non-commissioned officers and men are concerned, it will be remembered that the victors of Sadowa in 1866[91] boasted that the long existence of the *Landwehr* system in Prussia gave them a lead of 20 years over any other country that might adopt the same system; not until the oldest annual intakes consisted of trained men would equality with Prussia be attained. This appears to have been forgotten now, as does the fact that in France only half of the annual contingent actually serves, the other half being released after six months' service (which is totally inadequate in view of the present pedantic regulations). The reserves and militia in France thus chiefly consist of recruits, in contrast to their Prussian counterparts. And they pretend to be frightened of the present French Territorial Army, which consists of the same untrained cannon-fodder that in 1870 and 1871 could not hold its ground on the Loire and at Le Mans against German units which were only half as strong, but disciplined![92]

But there is more to tell yet. In Prussia, after bitter experience, they have finally learnt how to mobilise. In eleven days the whole army is ready for combat, the infantry much sooner. But this requires that everything is organised in the simplest way and, in particular, that every individual soldier on leave is assigned in advance to the unit he is to join. The basis for this is that every regiment has its own permanent recruitment district, from which the corresponding *Landwehr* regiment also draws most of its recruits. The new French law, on the contrary, assigns the recruits and reservists to the regiment that happens to be in the district at the time of mobilisation. This was done out of attachment to a tradition handed down from the days of Napoleon whereby the individual regiments are garrisoned in all parts of France in turn and are supposed to be recruited as far as possible from the whole of France. Being obliged to drop the latter, they stuck all the more determinedly to the former, thus rendering impossible that permanent organic link between regiment command and territorial district command which ensures rapid mobilisation in Prussia. Even if this senseless change, which is bound to cause much more trouble for the specialised branches than for the infantry, *only* delays the mobilisation of the latter for three days, in the face of an active adversary they will be the most important three days of the entire campaign.

So what do all the immense French armaments come to? An infantry of the line equal to the German in numbers but more poorly organised, which, moreover, has to call up a number of men with only six months' training in order to get on a war-footing; a first reserve which is dominated by men with only six months' training for which at best a quarter of the necessary officers and non-commissioned officers are available; a second reserve of predominantly untrained men without any officers whatsoever, and for both reserves, of course, a total lack of regular cadres. In addition, the certain prospect of *never* being able to procure the officers that are lacking under the present system, so that in the case of war neither of the reserves will be able to perform better than the battalions hurriedly established in the autumn and winter of 1870.

Now let us take a look at the German Empire, which is gentle like a lamb and which supposedly does not even have any teeth, even less baring them. We have already shown the existence of an infantry of the line of 468 battalions, with 490,480 men on a war-footing. But to this must be added the following new formations.

Since the beginning of 1872 each battalion has been allocated another 36 recruits, making 17,000 men per year in round figures. Furthermore, a full quarter of the men have been released after two years' service, this, however, being compensated by an equal number of new recruits, making about 28,000 men. Thus a total of 45,000 more men are being recruited and trained every year than hitherto, making by the end of 1875, in three years, 135,000 men, to which must be added 12,000 one-year volunteers (at 4,000 per year); all in all 147,000 men, or just enough to form a fourth battalion in each of the 148 regiments. The surplus reserve companies for this purpose have already been "organisationally prepared" in all the regiments of the line since the same time, i.e. the officers and non-commissioned officers of the line and of the reserves due to enter these battalions have already been selected. The fourth battalions can thus be on the march at the most two or three days after the first three, reinforcing the army by 148 battalions of 1,050 men = 155,400 men. But these figures do not by any means express the full addition to its strength that the field army thereby receives. Anyone who saw the Prussian fourth battalions in 1866 knows that, consisting chiefly of strong, physically mature men of 24-27 years, they are the vital core of the army.

Alongside the formation of the fourth battalions, the organisation of the reserve battalions—148 in number, not to mention the reserve companies of the riflemen—is going ahead. They are composed of the surplus trained reservists and the untrained men of the second reserve.[93] Their strength was officially given as 188,690 men in 1871. By this it should be understood, however, that the cadres of officers and non-commissioned officers already appointed in peacetime are capable of training this number of men, for the second reserve alone, whose first class now has an annual intake of about 45,000 men, supplies in seven annual contingents far more than the above figure. The reserve battalions are, in fact, the reservoirs from which the battalions in the field, weakened by combat and even more by hardship, obtain the necessary re-inforcements of more or less trained men, and which then go on bringing themselves up to strength again from the second reserves.

At the same time as the line and the reserve troops, the *Landwehr* is mobilised. The cadres of the *Landwehr*, likewise already appointed in peacetime, comprise 287 battalions (to be brought up to 301). In the two last wars the *Landwehr* battalions were only brought up to 800 men; accepting this very low envisaged strength, we find that the German Empire can muster a *Landwehr* infantry of 229,600 organised troops, while an annually increasing surplus still remains available for subsequent use.

As if this were not enough, the *Landsturm* has also been revived. According to semi-official reports, by the end of 1874 the war-strength of the German infantry had already been increased by 234 *Landsturm* battalions (at 800 men = 187,200 men) excluding the rifle companies; which can only mean that the cadres for these battalions have at least been appointed after a fashion. But this is far from exhausting the *Landsturm* for according to Voigts-Rhetz's triumphant announcement in Reichstag it embraces "five per cent of the population, two million men".[a]

So what does the balance-sheet look like?

France has an infantry of the line, including the troops serving in Algeria, of 530,800 men, and that is its total organised infantry. Even if we include the whole of the first reserve, insofar as it possesses *any* apparent organisation at all, 254,600 men (288 depot companies of 800 men, 30 rifle depots of 540 men and 8,000 surplus convicts), it still only makes 785,400 men on foot.

As for the German Empire, eleven days after the mobilisation order it can muster:

an infantry of the line of	490,480 men
Two or three days later	
another 148 battalions	155,400 "
In another fortnight	
287 *Landwehr* battalions of 800 men	229,600 "
And after another fortnight	
234 *Landsturm* battalions of 800 men	187,200 "
making a total infantry of	1,062,680 men

which already in peace-time is completely organised and supplied in advance with all necessities, backed up by 148 reserve battalions with a strength of 188,690 (see above) for filling the gaps caused by the campaign. All in all, an organised infantry body of 1,251,370 men.

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[a] J. von Voigts-Rhetz made this announcement in his speech in the German Reichstag on January 11, 1875. See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages.* 2. Legislatur-Periode. II. Session 1874/75. Zweiter Band. Berlin, 1875, p. 945.—*Ed.*

Does anyone think we are exaggerating? By no means. We are still lagging behind the truth by neglecting various small factors which all the same amount to quite a respectable total when added up. Here is the evidence.

The *Kölnische Zeitung* of December 27, 1874 contains a "military announcement" emanating from the War Ministry[a] from which we gather the following. At the end of 1873 the German Army on a war-footing amounted to:

1,361,400 men, of which infantry	994,900 men.
In 1874 were added the fourth battalions	155,400 "
and 234 battalions of the *Landsturm*	187,200 "
a total infantry of	1,337,500 men,

in other words, almost 100,000 men more than in our estimate. The same article puts the strength of the entire war capability of all arms at 1,723,148 men, of whom 39,948 are officers; while the French, on the other hand, have at the most 950,000 troops organised in advance, of which 785,000 are infantrymen!

As regards the quality of the troops—assuming the average warlike tendencies of each nation to be the same—that of the French army has certainly not improved since the war. The government has done everything to demoralise the troops, particularly by placing them in barracks, where in winter a soldier can neither drill nor do anything else and is reduced exclusively, as it were, to drinking absinth. There is a lack of non-commissioned officers, the companies are weak, the cavalry regiments are seriously short of horses. The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* emphasised this fact as late as January 15[b]; at the time it was still preaching peace!

But the new army legislation places at the disposal of the French minister of war: 704,714 men of the line, 510,294 reserves, a territorial army of 582,523 men and its reserves of 625,633 men, making 2,423,164 men in all, which in an emergency can be brought up to 2,600,000! Certainly—although after careful scrutiny of the relevant documents, General Lewal announces that this total must be reduced to 2,377,000. And even this is enough to drive the best war minister mad. What on earth is he supposed to do with this host of men, almost two-thirds of whom are untrained? Where is he to obtain the officers and non-commissioned officers without whom he cannot train, much less organise, them?

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[a] "Die Steigerung der deutschen Kriegsstärke im Jahre 1874 und die Vergleichstellung derselben zu der Wehrmacht der andern europäischen Mächte", *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 358, December 27, 1874 (in the section *Militärische Mittheilungen. Deutschland*).— *Ed.*

[b] See *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 12, January 15, 1875 (in the section *Politischer Tagesbericht*).— *Ed.*

In Germany the position is quite different. The strength of the army on a war-footing is already assumed to be 1,500,000 men in the motives of the Imperial Military Law.[a] But as a result of this law, these are supplemented by five annual contingents of the second reserve, whose liability to service has been extended from their 27th year to the end of their 31st—45,000 men every year—making about 200,000 men. At least 200,000 surplus men over and above the war capability had already been on the registers. And in addition, there is the *Landsturm* with fully two million men; so that the German war minister has 3,900,000 men, if not *four million*, at his disposal. This army, as the semi-official quoted above says,

> "even with conscription up to 1,800,000 men *and more*, will, with the exception of the recruits conscripted into the reserve army, consist throughout of experienced soldiers with a complete military training, a state which is not likely to be reached in France, including the Territorial Reserve, *for another twenty years*".

We can see that it is not France but the German Empire of the Prussian Nation[94] that is the true representative of militarism. Four million soldiers, ten per cent of the population! Let them go on. It suits us perfectly that the system is being taken to the furthest extremes. This system cannot be ultimately broken from without by another victorious military state, only from within, by its own inevitable consequences. And the more it is exaggerated, the sooner it will collapse. Four million soldiers! Social-Democracy will also be indebted to Bismarck when he raises the figure to five or six million and then as soon as possible starts calling up girls too.

Written between April 6 and 18, 1875

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 46, April 23, 1875

Signed: *F. E.*

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] *Motive* [*zum Reichsmilitärgesetz*]. See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*. 2. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session 1874. Dritter Band. *Anlagen zu den Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, Berlin, 1874.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

LETTER TO AUGUST BEBEL[95]

London, March 18-28, 1875

Dear Bebel,

I have received your letter of February 23 and am glad to hear that you are in such good bodily health.

You ask me what we think of the unification affair. We are, unfortunately, in exactly the same boat as yourself. Neither Liebknecht nor anyone else has let us have any kind of information, and hence we too know only what is in the papers—not that there was anything in them until a week or so ago, when the draft programme appeared. That astonished us not a little, I must say.

Our party had so often held out a conciliatory hand to the Lassalleans, or at least proffered co-operation, only to be rebuffed so often and so contemptuously by the Hasenclevers, Hasselmanns and Tölckes as to lead any child to the conclusion that, should these gentlemen now come and themselves proffer conciliation, they must be in a hell of a dilemma. Knowing full well what these people are like, however, it behoves us to make the most of that dilemma and insist on every conceivable guarantee that might prevent these people from restoring, at our party's expense, their shattered reputation in general working-class opinion. They should be given an exceedingly cool and cautious reception, and union be made dependent on the degree of their readiness to abandon their sectarian slogans and their state aid,[96] and to accept in its essentials the Eisenach Programme of 1869[97] or an improved edition of it adapted to the present day. Our party has *absolutely nothing to learn* from the Lassalleans in the theoretical sphere, i.e. the crux of the matter where the programme is concerned, but the Lassalleans doubtless have something to learn from the party; the first prerequisite for union was that they cease to be sectarians, Lassalleans, i.e. that, first and foremost, they should, if not wholly relinquish the universal panacea of state aid, at least admit it to be a secondary provisional measure alongside and amongst many others recognised as possible. The draft programme shows that our people, while infinitely superior to the Lassallean leaders in matters of theory, are far from being a match for them where political guile is concerned; once again the "honest men"[98] have been cruelly done in the eye by the dishonest.

To begin with, they adopt the high-sounding but historically false Lassallean dictum: in relation to the working class all other classes are only one reactionary mass. This proposition is true only in certain exceptional instances, for example in the case of a revolution by the proletariat, e.g. the Commune, or in a country in which not only has the bourgeoisie constructed state and society after its own image but the democratic petty bourgeoisie, in its wake, has already carried that reconstruction to its logical conclusion. If, for instance, in Germany, the democratic petty bourgeoisie were part of this reactionary mass, then how could the Social-Democratic Workers' Party have gone hand in hand with it, with the People's Party,[99] for years on end? How could the *Volksstaat* derive virtually all its political content from the petty-bourgeois democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*? And how can one explain the adoption in this same programme of no less than seven demands that coincide exactly and word for word with the programme of the People's Party and of petty-bourgeois democracy? I mean the seven political demands, 1 to 5 and 1 to 2, of which there is not one that is not *bourgeois*-democratic.[100]

Secondly, the principle that the workers' movement is an international one is, to all intents and purposes, utterly denied in respect of the present, and this by men who, for the space of five years and under the most difficult conditions, upheld that principle in the most laudable manner. The German workers' position in the van of the European movement rests *essentially* on their genuinely international attitude during the war[101]; no other proletariat would have behaved so well. And now this principle is to be denied by them at a moment when, everywhere abroad, workers are stressing it all the more by reason of the efforts made by governments to suppress every attempt at its practical application in an organisation! And what is left of the internationalism of the workers' movement? The dim prospect—not even of subsequent co-operation among European workers with a view to their liberation—nay, but of a future "international brotherhood of peoples"—of your Peace League bourgeois "United States of Europe"![102]

There was, of course, no need whatever to mention the International as such. But at the very least there should have been no going back on the programme of 1869, and some sort of statement to the effect that, *though first of all* the German workers' party is acting within the limits set by its political frontiers (it has no right to speak in the name of the European proletariat, especially when what it says is wrong), it is nevertheless conscious of its solidarity with the workers of all other countries and will, as before, always be ready to meet the obligations that solidarity entails. Such obligations, even if one does not definitely proclaim or regard oneself as part of the "International", consist for example in aid, abstention from blacklegging during strikes, making sure that the party organs keep German workers informed of the movement abroad, agitation against impending or incipient dynastic wars and, during such wars, an attitude such as was exemplarily maintained in 1870 and 1871, etc.

Thirdly, our people have allowed themselves to be saddled with the Lassallean "iron law of wages" which is based on a completely outmoded economic view, namely that on average the workers receive only the *minimum* wage because, according to the Malthusian theory of population, there are always too many workers (such was Lassalle's reasoning). Now in *Capital* Marx has amply demonstrated that the laws governing wages are very complex, that, according to circumstances, now this law, now that, holds sway, that they are therefore by no means iron but are, on the contrary, exceedingly elastic, and that the subject really cannot be dismissed in a few words, as Lassalle imagined. Malthus' argument, upon which the law Lassalle derived from him and Ricardo (whom he misinterpreted) is based, as that argument appears, for instance, on p. 5 of the *Arbeiterlesebuch*, where it is quoted from another pamphlet of Lassalle's,[103] is exhaustively refuted by Marx in the section on "Accumulation of Capital"[a]. Thus, by adopting the Lassallean "iron law" one commits oneself to a false proposition and false reasoning in support of the same.

Fourthly, as its *one and only social* demand, the programme puts forward—Lassallean state aid in its starkest form, as stolen by Lassalle from Buchez.[104] And this, after Bracke has so ably demonstrated the sheer futility of that demand[a]; after almost all, if not all, of our party speakers have, in their struggle against the Lassalleans, been compelled to make a stand against this "state aid"! Our party could hardly demean itself further. Internationalism sunk to the level of Amand Goegg, socialism to that of the bourgeois republican Buchez, who *confronted the socialists* with this demand in order to supplant them!

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part VII (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

But "state aid" in the Lassallean sense of the word is, after all, at most only *one* measure among many others for the attainment of an end here lamely described as "paving the way for the solution of the social question", as though in our case there were still a social *question* that remained *unsolved* in theory! Thus, if you were to say: The German workers' party strives to abolish wage labour and hence class distinctions by introducing co-operative production into industry and agriculture, and on a national scale; it is in favour of any measure calculated to attain that end!—then no Lassallean could possibly object.

Fifthly, there is absolutely no mention of the organisation of the working class as a class through the medium of trade unions. And that is a point of the utmost importance, this being the proletariat's true class organisation in which it fights its daily battles with capital, in which it trains itself and which nowadays can no longer simply be smashed, even with reaction at its worst (as presently in Paris). Considering the importance this organisation is likewise assuming in Germany, it would in our view be indispensable to accord it some mention in the programme and, possibly, to leave some room for it in the organisation of the party.

All these things have been done by our people to oblige the Lassalleans. And what have the others conceded? That a host of somewhat muddled and *purely democratic demands* should figure in the programme, some of them being of a purely fashionable nature—for instance "legislation by the people" such as exists in Switzerland and does more harm than good, if it can be said to do anything at all. *Administration* by the people—that would at least be something. Similarly omitted is the first prerequisite of all liberty—that all officials be responsible for all their official actions to every citizen before the ordinary courts and in accordance with common law. That demands such as freedom of science and freedom of conscience figure in every liberal bourgeois programme and seem a trifle out of place here is something I shall not enlarge upon.

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[a] W. Bracke, *Der Lassalle'sche Vorschlag*, Brunswick, 1873.—*Ed.*

The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Grammatically speaking, a free state is one in which the state is free vis-à-vis its citizens, a state, that is, with a despotic government. All the palaver about the state ought to be dropped, especially after the Commune, which had ceased to be a state in the true sense of the term. The *people's state* has been flung in our teeth *ad nauseam* by the anarchists, although Marx's anti-Proudhon piece[a] and after it the *Communist Manifesto*[b] declare outright that, with the introduction of the socialist order of society, the state will dissolve of itself and disappear. Now, since the state is merely a transitional institution of which use is made in the struggle, in the revolution, to keep down one's enemies by force, it is utter nonsense to speak of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still *makes use* of the state, it makes use of it, not for the purpose of freedom, but of keeping down its enemies and, as soon as there can be any question of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist. We would therefore suggest that *Gemeinwesen*[c] be universally substituted for *state*; it is a good old German word that can very well do service for the French "Commune".

"The elimination of all social and political inequality", rather than "the abolition of all class distinctions", is similarly a most dubious expression. As between one country, one province and even one place and another, living conditions will always evince a *certain* inequality which may be reduced to a minimum but never wholly eliminated. The living conditions of Alpine dwellers will always be different from those of the plainsmen. The concept of a socialist society as a realm of *equality* is a one-sided French concept deriving from the old "liberty, equality, fraternity", a concept which was justified in that, in its own time and place, it signified a *phase of development*, but which, like all the one-sided ideas of earlier socialist schools, ought now to be superseded, since they produce nothing but mental confusion, and more accurate ways of presenting the matter have been discovered.

I shall desist, although almost every word in this programme, a programme which is, moreover, insipidly written, lays itself open to criticism. It is such that, should it be adopted, Marx and I could *never* recognise a *new* party set up on that basis and shall have to consider most seriously what attitude—public as well as private—we should adopt towards it.[105] Remember that abroad *we* are held responsible for any and every statement and action of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. E.g. by Bakunin in his work *Statehood and Anarchy*,[a] in which we are made to answer for every injudicious word spoken or written by Liebknecht since the inception of the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*. People imagine that we run the whole show from here, whereas you know as well as I do that we have hardly ever interfered in the least with internal party affairs, and then only in an attempt to make good, as far as possible, what we considered to have been blunders—and *only theoretical* blunders at that. But, as you yourself will realise, this programme marks a turning-point which may very well force us to renounce any kind of responsibility in regard to the party that adopts it.

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*—*Ed.*

[c] Commonalty.—*Ed.*

Generally speaking, less importance attaches to the official programme of a party than to what it does. But a *new* programme is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it. Hence, whatever happens there should be no going-back, as there is here, on the Eisenach programme. It should further be considered what the workers of other countries will think of this programme; what impression will be created by this genuflection on the part of the entire German socialist proletariat before Lassalleanism.

I am, moreover, convinced that a union on *this* basis would not last a year. Are the best minds of our party to descend to repeating, parrot-fashion, Lassallean maxims concerning the iron law of wages and state aid? I'd like to see you, for one, thus employed! And were they to do so, their audiences would hiss them off the stage. And I feel sure that it is precisely on *these* bits of the programme that the Lassalleans are insisting, like Shylock the Jew on his pound of flesh.[b] The split will come; but we shall have "made honest men" again of Hasselmann, Hasenclever and Tölcke and Co.; we shall emerge from the split weaker and the Lassalleans stronger; our party will have lost its political virginity and will never again be able to come out whole-heartedly against the Lassallean maxims which for a time it inscribed on its own banner; and then, should the Lassalleans again declare themselves to be the sole and most genuine workers' party and our people to be bourgeois, the programme would be there to prove it. All the socialist measures in it are *theirs*, and *our* party has introduced nothing save the demands of that petty-bourgeois democracy which it has *itself* described in that same programme as part of the "reactionary mass"!

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[a] Бакунинъ, *Государственность и анархія*, [Geneva,] 1873 (for Marx's notes on this book see this volume, pp. 485-526).—*Ed.*

[b] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 3.—*Ed.*

I had held this letter back in view of the fact that you would only be released on April 1, in honour of Bismarck's birthday,[106] not wanting to expose it to the risk of interception in the course of an attempt to smuggle it in. Well, I have just had a letter from Bracke, who has also felt grave doubts about the programme and asks for our opinion. I shall therefore send this letter to him for forwarding, so that he can read it without my having to write the whole thing over again. I have, by the way, also spoken my mind to Ramm; to Liebknecht I wrote but briefly. I cannot forgive his not having told us a *single word* about the whole business (whereas Ramm and others believed he had given us exact information) until it was, in a manner of speaking, too late. True, this has always been his wont—hence the large amount of disagreeable correspondence which we, both Marx and myself, have had with him, but this time it really is too bad, and *we definitely shan't act in concert with him.*

Do see that you manage to come here in the summer; you would, of course, stay with me and, if the weather is fine, we might spend a day or two taking sea baths, which would really do you good after your long spell in jail.

Ever your friend,
F. E.

Marx has just moved house. He is living at 41 Maitland Park Crescent, NW London.

First published in the book:
A. Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben,* Part 2,
Stuttgart, 1911

Printed according to the book

Karl Marx

CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHA PROGRAMME[107]

Written in April-early May 1875

First published abridged in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18, 1891

Printed according to the manuscript

LETTER TO WILHELM BRACKE

London, May 5, 1875

Dear Bracke,

Will you be so kind, after you have read the following marginal notes on the unity programme,[a] to pass them on for Geib and Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht to see. Notabene. *The manuscript should be returned to you* so as to be at my disposal if needs be. I have more than enough to do, and, as it is, must take on far more work than laid down for me by my doctor. Hence it was by no means a "pleasure" to write such a lengthy screed. Yet it was necessary if the steps I shall have to take later on are not to be misinterpreted by the party friends for whom this communication is intended.

After the Unity Congress is over, Engels and I will publish a short statement to the effect that we entirely disassociate ourselves from the said programme of principles and have nothing to do with it.

This is indispensable because of the view taken abroad—a totally erroneous view, carefully nurtured by party enemies—that we are secretly directing the activities of the so-called Eisenach Party from here. Only recently, in a newly published Russian work,[b] Bakunin suggests that I, for instance, am responsible, not only for that party's every programme, etc., but actually for every step taken by Liebknecht from the day he began co-operating with the People's Party.

Aside from this, it is my duty to refuse recognition, even by maintaining a diplomatic silence, to a programme which, I am convinced, is altogether deplorable as well as demoralising for the party.

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[a] "Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 7, 1875.—*Ed.*

[b] Бакунинъ, *Государственностъ и анархія*.—*Ed.*

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes. Hence, if it was impossible to advance *beyond* the Eisenach Programme—and circumstances at the time precluded this—they should simply have come to an agreement about action against the common foe. But to draw up programmes of principles (instead of waiting till a longish spell of common activity has prepared the ground for that sort of thing) is to set up bench marks for all the world to see, whereby it may gauge how far the party has progressed.

The leaders of the Lassalleans came because circumstances forced them to. Had they been told from the start that there was to be no haggling over principles, they would have been *compelled* to content themselves with a programme of action or a plan of organisation for common action. Instead, our people allow them to present themselves armed with mandates, and recognise those mandates as binding, thus surrendering unconditionally to men who are themselves in need of help. To crown it all, they are holding another congress *prior to the congress of compromise,* whereas our own party is holding its congress *post festum.*[a] Obviously their idea was to elude all criticism and not allow their own party time for reflection. One knows that the mere fact of unification is enough to satisfy the workers, but it is wrong to suppose that this momentary success has not been bought too dear.

Besides, the programme's no good, even apart from its canonisation of the Lassallean articles of faith.

I shall shortly be sending you the final instalments of the French edition of *Capital.* Printing was held up for a considerable time by the French government ban. The thing will be finished this week or at the beginning of next. Have you received the six previous instalments?[108] Would you also very kindly send me the *address* of Bernhard Becker, to whom I must likewise send the final instalments.

The *bookshop* of the *Volksstaat* has peculiar manners. For instance, they haven't as yet sent me so much as a single copy of their reprint of the *Cologne Communist Trial.*[b]

With kind regards.

Your

Karl Marx

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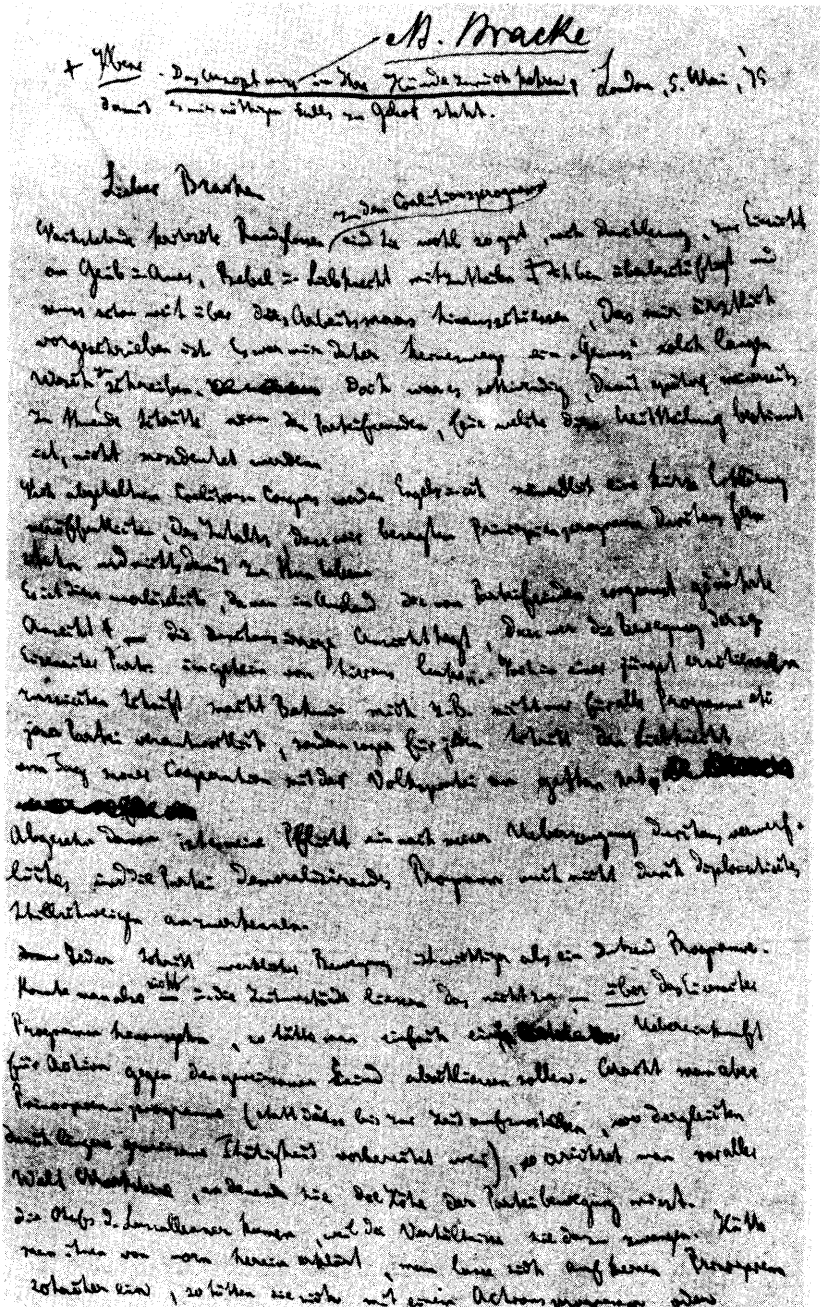
[a] After the event.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*—*Ed.*



The first page of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*

MARGINAL NOTES ON THE PROGRAMME OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' PARTY

I

> 1. "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture, *and since* useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society." [a]

First part of the paragraph: "Labour is the source of all wealth and all culture."

Labour is *not the source* of all wealth. *Nature* is just as much the source of use values (and it is surely of such that material wealth consists!) as labour, which itself is only the manifestation of a force of nature, human labour power. The above phrase is to be found in all children's primers and is correct insofar as it is *implied* that labour is performed with the pertinent objects and instruments. But a socialist programme cannot allow such bourgeois phrases to pass over in silence the *conditions* that alone give them meaning. And insofar as man from the outset behaves towards nature, the primary source of all instruments and objects of labour, as an owner, treats her as belonging to him, his labour becomes the source of use values, therefore also of wealth. The bourgeois have very good grounds for ascribing *supernatural creative power* to labour; since precisely from the fact that labour is determined by nature, it follows that the man who possesses no other property than his labour power must, in all conditions of society and culture, be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the material conditions of labour. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission.

Let us now leave the sentence as it stands, or rather limps. What would one have expected in conclusion? Obviously this:

"Since labour is the source of all wealth, no one in society can appropriate wealth except as the product of labour. Therefore, if he himself does not work, he lives by the labour of others and also acquires his culture at the expense of the labour of others."

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[a] Here and below Marx quotes the draft of the "Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 7, 1875.—*Ed.*

Instead of this, by means of the verbal rivet "*and since*" a second proposition is added in order to draw a conclusion from this and not from the first one.

Second part of the paragraph: "Useful labour is possible only in society and through society."

According to the first proposition, labour was the source of all wealth and all culture; therefore no society is possible without labour. Now we learn, conversely, that no "useful" labour is possible without society.

One could just as well have said that only in society can useless and even socially harmful labour become a gainful occupation, that only in society can one live by being idle, etc., etc.—in short, one could just as well have copied the whole of Rousseau.

And what is "useful" labour? Surely only labour which produces the intended useful result. A savage—and man was a savage after he had ceased to be an ape—who kills an animal with a stone, who collects fruits, etc., performs "useful" labour.

Thirdly. The conclusion: "And since useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society."

A fine conclusion! If useful labour is possible only in society and through society, the proceeds of labour belong to society—and only so much therefrom accrues to the individual worker as is not required to maintain the "condition" of labour, society.

In fact, this proposition has at all times been made use of *by the champions of the state of society prevailing at any given time.* First come the claims of the government and everything that sticks to it, since it is the social organ for the maintenance of the social order; then come the claims of the various kinds of private owners for the various kinds of private property are the foundations of society, etc. One sees that such hollow phrases can be twisted and turned as desired.

The first and second parts of the paragraph have some intelligible connection only in the following wording:

"Labour becomes the source of wealth and culture only as social labour", or, what is the same thing, "in and through society".

This proposition is incontestably correct, for although isolated labour (its material conditions presupposed) can create use values, it can create neither wealth nor culture.

But equally incontestable is the other proposition:

"In proportion as labour develops socially, and becomes thereby a source of wealth and culture, poverty and destitution develop among the workers, and wealth and culture among the non-workers."

This is the law of all history hitherto. What, therefore, had to be done here, instead of setting down general phrases about "*labour*" and "*society*", was to prove concretely how in present capitalist society the material, etc., conditions have at last been created which enable and compel the workers to lift this historical curse.

In fact, however, the whole paragraph, bungled in style and content, is only there in order to inscribe the Lassallean catchword of the "undiminished proceeds of labour" as a slogan at the top of the party banner. I shall return later to the "proceeds of labour", "equal right", etc., since the same thing recurs in a somewhat different form further on.

> 2. "In present-day society, the means of labour are the monopoly of the capitalist class; the resulting dependence of the working class is the cause of misery and servitude in all their forms."

This sentence, borrowed from the Rules of the International, is incorrect in this "improved" edition.[109]

In present-day society the means of labour are the monopoly of the landowners (the monopoly of land ownership is even the basis of the monopoly of capital) *and* the capitalists. In the passage in question, the Rules of the International mention neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. They speak of the "*monopoly of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life*". The addition, "sources of life", makes it sufficiently clear that land is included in the means of labour.

The correction was introduced because Lassalle, for reasons now generally known,[110] attacked *only* the capitalist class and not the landowners. In England, the capitalist is mostly not even the owner of the land on which his factory stands.

> 3. "The emancipation of labour demands the raising of the means of labour to the common property of society and the collective regulation of the total labour with a fair distribution of the proceeds of labour."

"The raising of the means of labour to common property"! Ought obviously to read their "conversion into common property". But this only in passing.

What are "*proceeds of labour*"? The product of labour or its value? And in the latter case, is it the total value of the product or only that part of the value which labour has newly added to the value of the means of production consumed?

"Proceeds of labour" is a loose notion which Lassalle has put in the place of definite economic concepts.

What is "fair" distribution?

Do not the bourgeois assert that present-day distribution is "fair"? And is it not, in fact, the only "fair" distribution on the basis of the present-day mode of production? Are economic relations regulated by legal concepts or do not, on the contrary, legal relations arise from economic ones? Have not also the socialist sectarians the most varied notions about "fair" distribution?

To understand what is implied in this connection by the phrase "fair distribution", we must take the first paragraph and this one together. The latter presupposes a society wherein "the means of labour are common property and the total labour is collectively regulated", and from the first paragraph we learn that "the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society".

"To all members of society"? To those who do not work as well? What remains then of "the undiminished proceeds of labour"? Only to those members of society who work? What remains then of "the equal right" of all members of society?

But "all members of society" and "equal right" are obviously mere phrases. The crucial point is this, that in this communist society every worker must receive his "undiminished" Lassallean "proceeds of labour".

Let us take first of all the words "proceeds of labour" in the sense of the product of labour; then the collective proceeds of labour are the *total social product.*

From this must now be deducted:

First, cover for replacement of the means of production used up.

Secondly, additional portion for expansion of production.

Thirdly, reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, disturbances caused by natural factors, etc.

These deductions from the "undiminished proceeds of labour" are an economic necessity and their magnitude is to be determined according to available means and forces, and party by computation of probabilities, but they are in no way calculable by equity.

There remains the other part of the total product, intended to serve as means of consumption.

Before this is divided among the individuals, there has to be again deducted from it:

First, the general costs of administration not directly appertaining to production.

This part will, from the outset, be very considerably restricted in comparison with present-day society and it diminishes in proportion as the new society develops.

Secondly, that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs, such as schools, health services, etc.

From the outset this part grows considerably in comparison with present-day society and it grows in proportion as the new society develops.

Thirdly, funds for those unable to work, etc., in short, for what is included under so-called official poor relief today.

Only now do we come to the "distribution" which the programme, under Lassallean influence, has alone in view in its narrow fashion, namely, to that part of the means of consumption which is divided among the individual producers of the collective.

The "undiminished proceeds of labour" have already unnoticeably become converted into the "diminished" proceeds, although what the producer is deprived of in his capacity as a private individual benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society.

Just as the phrase of the "undiminished proceeds of labour" has disappeared, so now does the phrase of the "proceeds of labour" disappear altogether.

Within the collective society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour employed on the products appear here *as the value* of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contrast to capitalist society, individual labour no longer exists in an indirect fashion but directly as a component part of the total labour. The phrase "proceeds of labour", objectionable even today on account of its ambiguity, thus loses all meaning.

What we are dealing with here is a communist society, not as it has *developed* on its own foundations, but on the contrary, just as it *emerges* from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birth-marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.

Accordingly, the individual producer receives back from society—after the deductions have been made—exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual quantum of labour. For example, the social working day consists of the sum of the individual hours of work; the individual labour time of the individual producer is the part of the social working day contributed by him, his share in it. He receives a certificate from society that he has furnished such and such an amount of labour (after deducting his labour for the common funds), and with this certificate he draws from the social stock of means of consumption as much as the same amount of labour costs. The same amount of labour which he has given to society in one form he receives back in another.

Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities, as far as this is the exchange of equal values. Content and form are changed, because under the altered circumstances no one can give anything except his labour, and because, on the other hand, nothing can pass to the ownership of individuals except individual means of consumption. But, as far as the distribution of the latter among the individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents: a given amount of labour in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labour in another form.

Hence, *equal right* here is still in principle—*bourgeois right,* although principle and practice are no longer at loggerheads, while the exchange of equivalents in commodity exchange only exists *on the average* and not in the individual case.

In spite of this advance, this *equal right* is still constantly encumbered by a bourgeois limitation. The right of the producers is *proportional* to the labour they supply; the equality consists in the fact that measurement is made with an *equal standard,* labour. But one man is superior to another physically or mentally and so supplies more labour in the same time, or can work for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard of measurement. This *equal* right is an unequal right for unequal labour. It recognises no class distinctions, because everyone is only a worker like everyone else; but it tacitly recognises the unequal individual endowment and thus productive capacity of the workers as natural privileges. *It is, therefore, a right of inequality, in its content, like every right.* Right by its nature can exist only as the application of an equal standard; but unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals if they were not unequal) are measurable by an equal standard only insofar as they are made subject to an equal criterion, are taken from a *certain* side only, for instance, in the present case, are regarded *only as workers* and nothing more is seen in them, everything else being ignored. Besides, one worker is married, another not; one has more children than another, etc., etc. Thus, given an equal amount of work done, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, etc. To avoid all these defects, right would have to be unequal rather than equal.

But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth-pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development which this determines.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and thereby also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of common wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!

I have dealt at greater length with the "undiminished proceeds of labour", on the one hand, and with "equal right" and "fair distribution", on the other, in order to show what a crime it is to attempt, on the one hand, to force on our Party again, as dogmas, ideas which in a certain period had some meaning but have now become obsolete verbal rubbish, while again perverting, on the other, the realistic outlook, which it cost so much effort to instil into the Party but which has now taken root in it, by means of ideological, legal and other trash so common among the Democrats and French Socialists.

Quite apart from the analysis so far given, it was in general a mistake to make a fuss about so-called *distribution* and put the principal stress on it.

Any distribution whatever of the means of consumption is only a consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves. The latter distribution, however, is a feature of the mode of production itself. The capitalist mode of production, for example, rests on the fact that the material conditions of production are in the hands of non-workers in the form of capital and land ownership, while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production, of labour power. If the elements of production are so distributed, then the present-day distribution of the means of consumption results automatically. If the material conditions of production are the collective property of the workers themselves, then there likewise results a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present one. The vulgar socialists (and from them in turn a section of the Democrats) have taken over from the bourgeois economists the consideration and treatment of distribution as independent of the mode of production and hence the presentation of socialism as turning principally on distribution. After the real relation has long been made clear, why retrogress again?

> 4. "The emancipation of labour must be the work of the working class, in relation to which all other classes are *only one reactionary mass.*"

The main clause is taken from the introductory words of the Rules of the International,[a] but "improved". There it is said: "The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves"; here, on the contrary, the "working class" has to emancipate—what? "Labour". Let him understand who can.

In compensation, the subordinate clause, on the other hand, is a Lassallean quotation of the first water: "in relation to which (the working class) all other classes are *only one reactionary mass*".

In the *Communist Manifesto* it is said: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a *really revolutionary class.* The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."[b]

The bourgeoisie is here conceived as a revolutionary class—as the bearer of large-scale industry—in relation to the feudal lords and the middle estates, who desire to maintain all social positions that are the creation of obsolete modes of production. Thus they do not form *together with the bourgeoisie* only one reactionary mass.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 494.—*Ed.*

On the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary in relation to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the *Manifesto* adds that the "middle estates" are becoming revolutionary "in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat".

From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that they, "together with the bourgeoisie", and with the feudal lords into the bargain, "form only one reactionary mass" in relation to the working class.

Did anyone proclaim to the artisans, small manufacturers, etc., and *peasants* during the last elections: In relation to us you, together with the bourgeoisie and feudal lords, form only one reactionary mass?[111]

Lassalle knew the *Communist Manifesto* by heart, as his faithful followers know the gospels written by him. If, therefore, he has falsified it so grossly, this has occurred only to put a good colour on his alliance with absolutist and feudal opponents against the bourgeoisie.

In the above paragraph, moreover, his oracular saying is dragged in by the hair, without any connection with the botched quotation from the Rules of the International. Thus it is here simply an impertinence, and indeed not at all displeasing to Mr. Bismarck, one of those cheap pieces of insolence in which the Marat of Berlin[112] deals.

> 5. "The working class strives for its emancipation first of all *within the framework of the present-day national state,* conscious that the necessary result of its efforts, which are common to the workers of all civilised countries, will be the international brotherhood of peoples."

Lassalle, in opposition to the *Communist Manifesto* and to all earlier socialism, conceived the workers' movement from the narrowest national standpoint. He is being followed in this—and that after the work of the International!

It is altogether self-evident that, to be able to fight at all, the working class must organise itself at home *as a class* and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle. To this extent its class struggle is national, not in substance, but, as the

Communist Manifesto says, "in form".[a] But the "framework of the present-day national state", for instance, the German Empire, is itself in its turn economically "within the framework of the world market", politically "within the framework of the system of states". Every businessman knows that German trade is at the same time foreign trade, and the greatness of Mr. Bismarck consists, to be sure, precisely in his pursuing his kind of *international* policy.

And to what does the German workers' party reduce its internationalism? To the consciousness that the result of its efforts "will be the *international brotherhood of peoples*"—a phrase borrowed from the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom, which is intended to pass as equivalent to the international brotherhood of the working classes in the joint struggle against the ruling classes and their governments. So not a word *about the international functions* of the German working class! And it is thus that it is to defy its own bourgeoisie—which is already linked up in brotherhood against it with the bourgeois of all other countries—and Mr. Bismarck's international policy of conspiracy!

In fact, the internationalism of the programme stands *even infinitely below* that of the Free Trade Party. The latter also asserts that the result of its efforts will be "the international brotherhood of peoples". But it also *does* something to make trade international and by no means contents itself with the consciousness—that all peoples are carrying on trade at home.

The international activity of the working classes does not in any way depend on the existence of the "*International Working Men's Association*". This was only the first attempt to create a central organ for that activity; an attempt which was a lasting success on account of the impulse which it gave, but which was no longer realisable in *its first historical form* after the fall of the Paris Commune.

Bismarck's *Norddeutsche* was absolutely right when it announced, to the satisfaction of its master, that the German workers' party had forsworn internationalism in the new programme.[113]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 495, 502-03.—*Ed.*

II

> "Starting from these basic principles, the German workers' party strives by all legal means for the *free state—and—*socialist society; the abolition of the wage system *together with* the *iron law of wages*—and—exploitation in every form; the elimination of all social and political inequality."

I shall return to the "free" state later.

So, in future, the German workers' party has got to believe in Lassalle's "iron law of wages" [114]! That this may not be lost, the nonsense is perpetrated of speaking of the "abolition of the wage system" (it should read: system of wage labour) "*together with* the iron law of wages". If I abolish wage labour, then naturally I abolish its laws too, whether they are of "iron" or sponge. But Lassalle's attack on wage labour turns almost solely on this so-called law. In order, therefore, to prove that the Lassallean sect has won, the "wage system" must be abolished "*together with* the iron law of wages" and not without it.

It is well known that nothing of the "iron law of wages" is Lassalle's except the word "iron" borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, iron, great laws".[a] The word *iron* is a label by which the true believers recognise one another. But if I take the law with Lassalle's stamp on it and, consequently, in his sense, then I must also take it with his substantiation. And what is that? As Lange already showed, shortly after Lassalle's death, it is the Malthusian theory of population (preached by Lange himself).[b] But if this theory is correct, then again I can*not* abolish the law even if I abolish wage labour a hundred times over, because the law then governs not only the system of wage labour but *every* social system. Basing themselves directly on this, the economists have been proving for fifty years and more that socialism cannot abolish destitution, *which has its basis in nature*, but can only make it *general*, distribute it simultaneously over the whole surface of society!

But all this is not the main thing. *Quite apart* from the *false* Lassallean formulation of the law, the truly outrageous retrogression consists in the following:

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[a] Quoted from Goethe's poem *Das Göttliche*, sixth stanza.—*Ed.*

[b] F. A. Lange, *Die Arbeiterfrage in ihrer Bedeutung für Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Duisburg, 1865, pp. 108-12.—*Ed.*

Since Lassalle's death there has asserted itself in *our* Party the scientific understanding that *wages* are not what they *appear* to be, namely the *value,* or *price, of labour,* but only a masked form for the *value,* or *price, of labour power.* Thereby the whole bourgeois conception of wages hitherto, as well as all the criticism hitherto directed against this conception, was thrown overboard once for all and it was made clear that the wage-worker has permission to work for his own subsistence, that is, *to live* only insofar as he works for a certain time gratis for the capitalist (and hence also for the latter's co-consumers of surplus value); that the whole capitalist system of production turns on increasing this gratis labour by extending the working day or by developing productivity, that is, increasing the intensity of labour power, etc.; that, consequently, the system of wage labour is a system of slavery, and indeed of a slavery which becomes more severe in proportion as the social productive forces of labour develop, whether the worker receives better or worse payment. And after this understanding has gained more and more ground in our Party, one returns to Lassalle's dogmas although one must have known that Lassalle *did not know* what wages were, but following in the wake of the bourgeois economists took the appearance for the essence of the matter.

It is as if, among slaves who have at last got behind the secret of slavery and broken out in rebellion, a slave still in thrall to obsolete notions were to inscribe on the programme of the rebellion: Slavery must be abolished because the feeding of slaves in the system of slavery cannot exceed a certain low maximum!

Does not the mere fact that the representatives of our Party were capable of perpetrating such a monstrous attack on the understanding that has spread among the mass of our Party prove by itself with what criminal levity and with what lack of conscience they set to work in drawing up this compromise programme!

Instead of the indefinite concluding phrase of the paragraph, "the elimination of all social and political inequality", it ought to have been said that with the abolition of class distinctions all social and political inequality arising from them would disappear of itself.

III

> "The German workers' party, in order *to pave the way for the solution of the social question,* demands the establishment of producers' co-operative societies with *state aid under the democratic control of the working people.* The producers' co-operative societies *are to be called into being* for industry and agriculture on such a scale *that the socialist organisation of the total labour will arise from them.*"

After the Lassallean "iron law of wages", the panacea of the prophet. The way for it is "paved" in worthy fashion. In place of the existing class struggle appears a newspaper scribbler's phrase: "*the* social *question*", for the "*solution*" of which one "paves the way". Instead of arising from the revolutionary process of the transformation of society, the "socialist organisation of the total labour" "arises" from the "state aid" that the state gives to the producers' co-operative societies which the *state,* not the worker, "*calls into being*". It is worthy of Lassalle's imagination that with state loans one can build a new society just as well as a new railway![115]

From the remnants of a sense of shame, "state aid" has been put—"under the democratic control of the working people".

In the first place, the "working people" in Germany consist in their majority of peasants, and not of proletarians.

Secondly, "democratic" means in German "*volksherrschaftlich*" ["by the rule of the people"]. But what does "control of the working people by the rule of the people" mean? And particularly in the case of working people who, through these demands that they put to the state, express their full consciousness that they neither rule nor are ripe for rule!

It would be superfluous to deal here with the criticism of the recipe prescribed by Buchez in the reign of Louis Philippe in *opposition* to the French Socialists and accepted by the reactionary workers of the *Atelier.* The chief offence does not lie in having inscribed this specific nostrum in the programme, but in taking a retrograde step at all from the standpoint of a class movement to that of a sectarian movement.

That the workers desire to establish the conditions for co-operative production on a social scale, and first of all on a national scale, in their own country, only means that they are working to transform the present conditions of production, and it has nothing in common with the foundation of co-operative societies with state aid. But as far as the present co-operative societies are concerned, they are of value *only* insofar as they are the independent creations of the workers and not protégés either of the governments or of the bourgeois.

[IV]

I come now to the democratic section.

A. "*The free basis of the state.*"

First of all, according to II, the German workers' party strives for "the free state".[a]

Free state—what is it?

It is by no means the purpose of the workers, who have got rid of the narrow mentality of humble subjects, to set the state "free". In the German Empire the "state" is almost as "free" as in Russia. Freedom consists in converting the state from an organ superimposed upon society into one completely subordinate to it, and even today forms of state are more free or less free to the extent that they restrict the "freedom of the state".

The German workers' party—at least if it adopts the programme—shows that its socialist ideas are not even skin-deep, in that, instead of treating existing society (and this holds good for any future one) as the *basis* of the existing *state* (or of the future state in the case of future society), it treats the state rather as an independent entity that possesses its own "*intellectual, ethical and libertarian bases*".

And what of the wild abuse which the programme makes of the words "*present-day state*", "*present-day society*", and of the still more riotous misconception it creates in regard to the state to which it addresses its demands?

"Present-day society" is capitalist society, which exists in all civilised countries, more or less free from medieval admixture, more or less modified by the particular historical development of each country, more or less developed. On the other hand, the "present-day state" changes with a country's frontier. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from that in Switzerland,

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[a] See this volume, p. 91.—*Ed.*

and different in England from that in the United States. "The *present-day* state" is, therefore, a fiction.

Nevertheless, the different states of the different civilised countries, in spite of their motley diversity of form, all have this in common that they are based on modern bourgeois society, more or less capitalistically developed. They have, therefore, also certain essential characteristics in common. In this sense it is possible to speak of the "present-day state", in contrast with the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, will have died off.

The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to present state functions? This question can only be answered scientifically, and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousandfold combination of the word people with the word state.

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*

Now the programme deals neither with this nor with the future state of communist society.

Its political demands contain nothing beyond the old democratic litany familiar to all: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular rights, a people's militia, etc. They are a mere echo of the bourgeois People's Party, of the League of Peace and Freedom. They are all demands which, insofar as they are not exaggerated in fantastic presentation, have already been *implemented.* Only the state to which they belong does not lie within the borders of the German Empire, but in Switzerland, the United States, etc. This sort of "state of the future" is a *present-day state,* although existing outside the "framework" of the German Empire.

But one thing has been forgotten. Since the German workers' party expressly declares that it acts within "the present-day national state", hence within its own state, the Prusso-German Empire—its demands would indeed otherwise be largely meaningless, since one only demands what one has not yet got—it should not have forgotten the chief thing, namely that all those pretty little gewgaws rest on the recognition of what is called sovereignty of the people and hence are appropriate only in a *democratic republic.*

Since one has not the courage—and wisely so, for the circumstances demand caution—to demand the democratic republic, as the French workers' programmes under Louis Philippe and under Louis Napoleon did, one should not have resorted to the subterfuge, neither "honest"[a] nor decent, of demanding things which have meaning only in a democratic republic from a state which is nothing but a police-guarded military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms, alloyed with a feudal admixture and at the same time already influenced by the bourgeoisie, and bureaucratically carpentered, and then assuring this state into the bargain that one imagines one will be able to force such things upon it "by legal means".

Even vulgar democracy, which sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no suspicion that it is precisely in this last form of state of bourgeois society that the class struggle has to be fought out to a conclusion—even it towers mountains above this kind of democratism which keeps within the limits of what is permitted by the police and not permitted by logic.

That, in fact, by the word "state" is meant the government machine or the state insofar as it forms a special organism separated from society through division of labour, is shown alone by the words

> "the German workers' party demands *as the economic basis of the state*: a single progressive income tax," etc.

Taxes are the economic basis of the government machinery and of nothing else. In the state of the future existing in Switzerland, this demand has been pretty well fulfilled. Income tax presupposes various sources of income of the various social classes, and hence capitalist society. It is, therefore, nothing remarkable that the Liverpool FINANCIAL REFORMERS, bourgeois headed by Gladstone's brother,[b] are putting forward the same demand as the programme.[116]

> B. "The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and ethical basis of the state:
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> 1. "Universal and *equal education of the people* by the state. Universal compulsory school attendance. Free instruction."

Equal education of the people? What idea lies behind these words? Is it believed that in present-day society (and it is only with this that one is dealing) education can be *equal* for all classes? Or is it demanded that the upper classes also shall be compulsorily reduced to the modicum of education—the elementary school—that alone is compatible with the economic conditions not only of the wage labourers but of the peasants as well?

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[a] See this volume, p. 68.—*Ed.*

[b] Robertson Gladstone.—*Ed.*

"Universal compulsory school attendance. Free instruction". The former exists even in Germany, the latter in Switzerland and in the United States in the case of elementary schools. If in some states of the latter country "upper" educational institutions are also "free", that only means in fact defraying the cost of the education of the upper classes from the general tax receipts. Incidentally, the same holds good for "free administration of justice" demanded under A, 5. The administration of criminal justice is to be had free everywhere; that of civil justice is concerned almost exclusively with conflicts over property and hence affects almost exclusively the propertied classes. Are they to carry on their litigation at the expense of the national coffers?

The paragraph on the schools should at least have demanded technical schools (theoretical and practical) in combination with the elementary school.

"*Education of the people by the state*" is altogether objectionable. Defining by a general law the expenditures on the elementary schools, the qualifications of the teaching staff, the subjects of instruction, etc., and, as is done in the United States, supervising the fulfilment of these legal specifications by state inspectors, is a very different thing from appointing the state as the educator of the people! Government and Church should rather be equally excluded from any influence on the school. Particularly, indeed, in the Prusso-German Empire (and one should not take refuge in the rotten subterfuge that one is speaking of a "state of the future"; we have seen how matters stand in this respect) the state has need, on the contrary, of a very stern education by the people.

But the whole programme, for all its democratic clang, is tainted through and through by the Lassallean sect's servile belief in the state, or, what is no better, by a democratic belief in miracles, or rather it is a compromise between these two kinds of belief in miracles, both equally remote from socialism.

"Freedom of science" says a paragraph of the Prussian Constitution.[a] Why, then, here?

"*Freedom of conscience*"! If one desired at this time of the *Kulturkampf*[117] to remind liberalism of its old catchwords, it surely could have been done only in the following form: Everyone should be able to attend to his religious as well as his bodily needs without the police sticking their noses in. But the workers' party ought at any rate in this connection to have expressed its awareness of the fact that bourgeois "freedom of conscience" is nothing but the toleration of all possible kinds of *religious unfreedom of conscience*, and that for its part it endeavours rather to liberate the conscience from the witchery of religion. But one chooses not to transgress the "bourgeois" level.

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[a] *Verfassungs-Urkunde für den preußischen Staat vom 31. Januar 1850,* Art. 20. In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* Berlin, 1850, Nr. 3.—*Ed.*

I have now come to the end, for the appendix that now follows in the programme does not constitute a *characteristic* component part of it. Hence I can be very brief here.

2. "*Normal working day.*"

In no other country has the workers' party limited itself to such a vague demand, but has always fixed the length of the working day that it considers normal under the given circumstances.

3. "Restriction of female labour and prohibition of child labour."

The standardisation of the working day must include the restriction of female labour, insofar as it relates to the duration, breaks, etc., of the working day; otherwise it could only mean the exclusion of female labour from branches of industry that are especially unhealthy for the female body or are morally objectionable to the female sex. If that is what was meant, it should have been said.

"*Prohibition of child labour*"*!* Here it is absolutely essential to state the *age limit*.

A *general prohibition* of child labour is incompatible with the existence of large-scale industry and hence an empty, pious wish.

Its implementation—if it were possible—would be reactionary, since, with a strict regulation of the working time according to the different age groups and other precautionary stipulations for the protection of children, an early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society.

4. "State supervision of factory, workshop and domestic industry."

In consideration of the Prusso-German state it should definitely have been demanded that the inspectors are to be removable only by a court of law; that any worker can have them prosecuted for neglect of duty; that they must belong to the medical profession.

5. "Regulation of prison labour."

A petty demand in a general workers' programme. In any case, it should have been clearly stated that there is no intention from fear of competition to allow ordinary criminals to be treated like beasts, and especially that there is no desire to deprive them of their sole means of betterment, productive labour. This was surely the least one might have expected from Socialists.

6. "An effective liability law."

It should have been stated what is meant by an "effective" liability law.

Let it be noted, incidentally, that in speaking of the normal working day the part of factory legislation that deals with health regulations and safety measures, etc., has been overlooked. The liability law only comes into operation when these regulations are infringed.

In short, this appendix too is distinguished by slovenly editing.

Dixi et salvavi animam meam.[a]

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[a] I have spoken and saved my soul (Ezekiel 3:18 and 19).—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

[INTRODUCTION TO THE PAMPHLET *ON SOCIAL RELATIONS IN RUSSIA*][118]

The following lines[a] were written on the occasion of a debate in which I became involved with a Mr. Peter Nikitich Tkachov. In an article about the Russian periodical *Forward*, published in London (*Volksstaat*, 1874, Nos. 117 and 118),[b] I had cause to mention this gentleman's name quite in passing, but in such a way as to draw his esteemed hostility down upon myself. Without delay Mr. Tkachov issued an "Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels", Zurich, 1874, in which he attributes all manner of odd things to me and then, in contrast to my crass ignorance, treats his readers to his own opinion on the state of things in general and the prospects for social revolution in Russia. Both form and content of this concoction bore the usual Bakuninist stamp. As it had been published in German, I thought it worth the effort to reply in the *Volksstaat* (cf. *Refugee Literature*, Nos. IV and V, *Volksstaat*, 1875, No. 36, et seq.). The first part of my reply dealt mainly with the Bakuninist approach to literary debate, which is simply to accuse your opponent of telling a pack of direct lies.[c] By virtue of being published in the *Volksstaat* this predominantly personal part has been given a sufficient airing. It is for that reason that I now set it aside and for this separate impression, which has been requested by the publishing house, leave only the second part intact, the part which deals mainly with the social conditions in Russia as they have taken shape since 1861, since what has become known as the emancipation of the peasants.

Developments in Russia are of the greatest importance for the German working class. The existing Russian Empire represents

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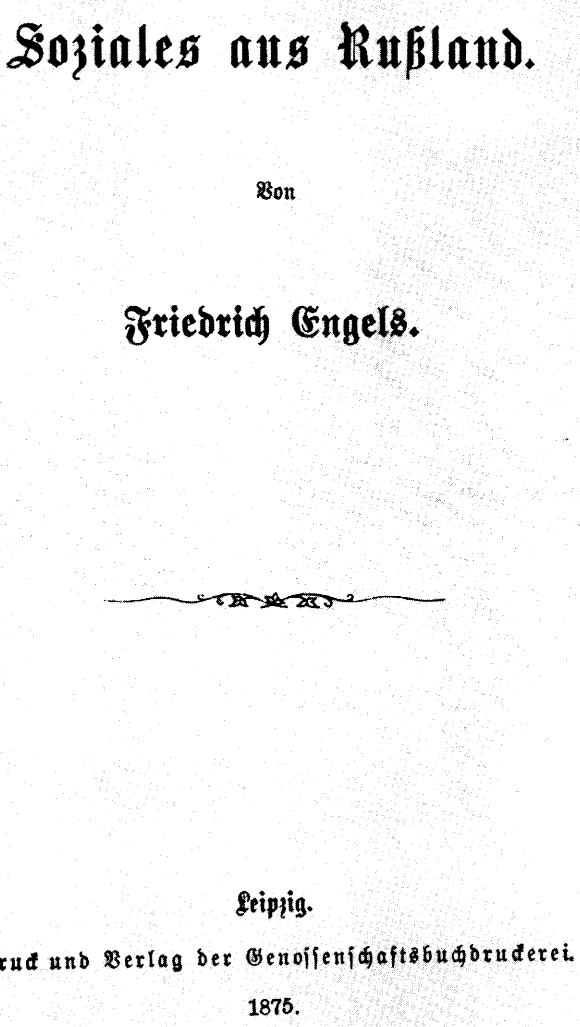
[a] See this volume, pp. 39-50.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 19-28.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., pp. 29-38.—*Ed.*



Soziales aus Rußland.

Von

Friedrich Engels.

Leipzig.
Druck und Verlag der Genoſſenſchaftsbuchdruckerei.
1875.

The title-page of Engels' pamphlet *On Social Relations in Russia*, Leipzig, 1875

the last great mainstay of all West European reaction. That was demonstrated with striking clarity in 1848 and 1849. Because Germany neglected to stir up revolt in Poland in 1848 and to wage war on the Russian Tsar[a] (as the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had demanded from the outset[119]) that same Tsar was able in 1849 to put down the Hungarian revolution, which has advanced to the gates of Vienna, to sit in judgement over Austria, Prussia and the minor German states at Warsaw in 1850, and to restore the old Federal Diet.[120] And only a few days ago at the beginning of May 1875—just the same as 25 years ago, the Russian Tsar[b] received the homage of his vassals in Berlin and proved that he is still today the arbiter of Europe's fate.[121] No revolution can achieve ultimate success in Western Europe whilst the present Russian state exists alongside it. But Germany is its closest neighbour, and it will therefore be Germany that will feel the first impact of the Russian armies of reaction. The overthrow of Tsarist Russia, the elimination of the Russian Empire, is therefore one of the first conditions of the German proletariat's ultimate triumph.

It is by no means essential, however, for this overthrow to be brought about from outside, although a foreign war could accelerate it considerably. Within the Russian Empire itself there are elements which are working energetically to bring about its ruin.

First there are the *Poles*. A century of oppression has placed them in a position where they must either be revolutionary, supporting every truly revolutionary uprising in the West as a first step towards the liberation of Poland, or they must perish. And at this very moment they are in a position where they can seek West European allies only in the camp of the proletariat. For a century now they have been continually betrayed by all the bourgeois parties of the West. The bourgeoisie in Germany has only been a force to be reckoned with since 1848, and since that time it has been hostile towards Poland. As for France, Napoleon betrayed Poland in 1812, and, as a consequence of that betrayal, lost his campaign, his crown and his empire; in 1830 and 1846 the bourgeois royalty followed his example, as did the bourgeois republic in 1848, and the Second Empire during the Crimean campaign and in 1863. Each betrayed Poland as contemptuously as the other. And even today the radical bourgeois republicans of France grovel before the Tsar, seeking in reward for a renewed betrayal of Poland to bargain on a revanchist alliance against

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[a] Nicholas I.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

Prussia, in just the same way as the German imperial bourgeois idolise that same Tsar as the protector of peace in Europe, i.e. of German-Prussian annexations. Only amongst the revolutionary workers do the Poles find sincere and unreserved support, because the two share the same interest in the overthrow of their common enemy, and because the liberation of Poland is synonymous with that overthrow.

But the activity of the Poles is confined to a particular locality. It is limited to Poland, Lithuania, and Little Russia; the actual core of the Russian Empire, Great Russia, remains practically untouched by their efforts. The forty million inhabitants of Great Russia constitute much too large a people and have had far too unique a development to force a movement on them from outside. That is not at all necessary, however. Of course, the mass of the Russian people, the peasants, have gone on for centuries, from generation to generation, living their dull, unimaginative lives in a sort of ahistorical torpor; and the only changes that occurred to interrupt this desolate condition were isolated and fruitless uprisings and new waves of repression carried out by nobility and government. The Russian government itself put an end to this ahistorical existence (in 1861) with the abolition of serfdom which could not be delayed any longer and the redemption of the *corvée*—a measure which was introduced with such amazing cunning that it is leading the majority of both the peasants and the nobility towards certain ruin. The very conditions themselves, therefore, which the Russian peasant is now obliged to face, force him into the movement, a movement which, of course, is still in its very initial stages, but which is bound to advance thanks to the daily worsening economic situation of the mass of the peasants. The rumbling dissatisfaction of the peasants is already a fact which must be acknowledged by the government, by all those who are disaffected, and by the opposition parties alike.

It follows from this that, if below the discussion centres on Russia, then what is meant is not the whole of the Russian Empire but Great Russia alone, i.e. the territory whose westernmost gubernias are Pskov and Smolensk, and whose southernmost gubernias are Kursk and Voronezh.

Written in the latter half of May 1875

First published in the pamphlet: F. Engels, *Soziales aus Rußland*, Leipzig, 1875; reprinted in the book: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)*, Berlin, 1894

Printed according to the pamphlet, checked with the 1894 edition

Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

[LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION IN NEW YORK]

London, August 13, 1875
122 Regent's Park Road, NW

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Citizens!

The circulars[122] sent to me with the letter from Secretary Speyer (June 4, received 21st) have been put into circulation according to the instructions, and I have been able to do the following in the interests of the cause:

1. On account of its amalgamation with the Lasselleans and its over-generous policy in accepting new members—roughly 120—the Working Men's Society (German section) here[123] would not be suitable for *confidential* communications, unless one wished them to be *published immediately*. I therefore gave circulars to Lessner and Frankel, who agreed with me that the content was not suitable for official release to the Society, and that we should have to confine ourselves to communicating it to suitable persons, and work behind the scenes in other ways to promote the matter in question. Since it is fairly certain that no *German* workers will be sent to Philadelphia from here, it will not affect the practical consequences in any way.
2. Our friend Mesa from Madrid, who now lives in Paris, happened to be here when the circular arrived. He showed a keen interest in the matter; I translated the circular for him, and as he knows members of the committee that administers the subscriptions in Paris to the workers' donations to Philadelphia, I dare say that, with his well-known energy, he will be able to get something done. He is also sending it to Spain.
3. I could not send it to Belgium, as the whole Belgian International supports the Alliancists,[124] and it is not in our interests to communicate the plan to *them*. I have no addresses for

Portugal and Italy. The *Plebe* of Lodi has virtually joined the Alliancists and would be quite capable of publishing the story straightaway.[a]

4. As Germany, Austria and Switzerland are not mentioned in the instructions, and the General Council has plenty of direct contacts with these countries,[125] I have taken *no* steps there, so as not to frustrate any action that may have been taken directly on the spot.

5. The circular has been very well received by all who have seen it, and the just proposal for a conference is universally regarded as the sole practical one. It appears impossible to us here, however, to hold a ballot on the issue. The Society here has already been mentioned. Other sections in England have all fizzled out; the best people have mostly left. In Denmark, France and Spain, where the International is officially prohibited, there can be no question of a ballot. In Germany there has never been a vote on anything like this and, after uniting with the Lassalleans, they have totally renounced the already loose connection with the International. In these circumstances, the American votes should be enough to cover the General Council if it tables the motion for a decision, especially since we know from a reliable source that the Alliancists are not holding a congress this year either (and probably never will again).

6. Would it not be a good thing if a brief announcement were placed in the European party newspapers around the time the exhibition opens, to the effect that: "Socialist workers visiting the exhibition in Philadelphia are asked to go to ... (address), where they will be put in touch with the Philadelphia party comrades", or if we founded a "committee for the accommodation of socialist workers, or to protect them against trickery" and published its address? The latter, in particular, would look very innocent, but a few private letters would suffice to make the true state of affairs known.

Fraternal greetings,
F. Engels

First published in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] See this volume, pp. 174-78.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

[SPEECH AT THE MEETING HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1863][126]

Citizens! The role of Poland in the history of Europe's revolutions is a role that stands apart. Any revolution in the West which does not succeed in involving Poland and ensuring its independence and liberty is doomed to defeat. Let us take the revolution of 1848 as an example. It covered an area more extensive than any previous revolution; it swept along in its current Austria, Hungary, Prussia. But it came to a halt at the borders of Poland occupied by the armies of Russia. When Tsar Nicholas received the news of the February Revolution, he said to his entourage: Gentlemen, we shall mount our horses.[127] At this he promptly mobilised his troops and concentrated them in Poland, in order to let them overrun rebellious Europe at the opportune moment. For their part, the revolutionaries knew perfectly well that the ground where the decisive battle would be fought was Poland. On May 15 the people of Paris, to cries of "Long Live Poland!", invaded the National Assembly to force it to go to war for Polish independence. At the same time, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and I demanded that Prussia should immediately declare war on Russia in order to set Poland free, and we were supported by all advanced democrats in Germany.[128] Thus in France and Germany they knew perfectly well where the decisive point was: with Poland, revolution was assured; without Poland, it was bound to fail. But in France M. Lamartine, in Prussia Frederick William IV, the Tsar's[a] brother-in-law, and his bourgeois minister Mr. Camphausen, had no intention whatever of themselves breaking the power of Russia, in which they saw quite rightly their last safeguard against the revolutionary tide. Nicholas was able to do without getting on his horse; his troops, for the time being, could confine themselves to containing Poland and threatening Prussia, Austria and Hungary until the moment when the progress of the Hungarian insurgents threatened Austrian reaction, victorious in Vienna. This was when the Russian armies overran Hungary, and by crushing the Hungarian revolution ensured the victory of reaction throughout the West. Europe was at the Tsar's feet because Europe had abandoned Poland. In truth, Poland is not like any other country. As far as revolution is concerned, it is the keystone of the European edifice; whichever is able to hold its ground in Poland, revolution or reaction, will end up by dominating the whole of Europe. And it is this quite special character which gives to Poland the importance which it has for all revolutionaries and which elicits from us, to this day, the cry: "*Long Live Poland!*"

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[a] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

Speech delivered on January 22, 1876

First published in the newspaper *Впередъ!* (London), No. 27, February 15, 1876

Printed according to the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

PRUSSIAN SCHNAPPS IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG[129]

Written in February 1876

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 23, 24 and 25, February 25 and 27 and March 1, 1876

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

I

On February 4, Mr. von Kardorff questioned the Imperial government about the high taxes imposed on German "*Sprit*"[a] in England and Italy. He drew the attention of the honourable gentlemen to the fact that (as reported by the *Kölnische Zeitung*[b])

> "in our eastern and northern provinces vast stretches of somewhat infertile, sterile land, covering hundreds of square miles, have, as a result of potato cultivation on a very large scale, successfully developed into arable land with a relatively high crop yield, and that the reason for growing potatoes here lies in turn in the fact that scattered throughout these regions are numerous distilleries where *Sprit* is manufactured as an agricultural side-line. Whereas in earlier times there used to be roughly 1,000 people to the square mile living in these parts, the land is now able to support roughly 3,000 people per square mile as a result of *Sprit* manufacture, because the distilleries provide an essential market for the potatoes which, on account of their bulk, are difficult to transport and cannot be transported at all in winter due to the frost. Secondly, the distilleries convert the potatoes into valuable and easily transportable alcohol, and, ultimately, make the land more fertile thanks to the numerous residues which can be used for fodder. Just how important the interests in question are, will be clear to anyone who considers that the taxation on spirits provides us with some 36 million marks of state revenue, despite the fact that Germany levies the lowest tax on spirits in the world, one fifth of that imposed in Russia, for example".

The Prussian Junkers must really have been getting above themselves recently, daring, as they have, to draw the attention of the world to their "*Sprit* industry", commonly known as schnapps distilling.

In the last century only small quantities of schnapps were distilled in Germany, and from grain only. Although they did not know how to remove the fusel oil which the schnapps also contained (we shall be returning to this point later), as they were still completely ignorant of the fusel oil's existence; they did know from experience that the quality of the schnapps improved considerably after it was stored for some time, that it lost its burning taste, and that when consumed it was less intoxicating and less damaging to one's health. The petty-bourgeois conditions under which it was distilled at that time and the still undeveloped demand, which was more concerned with quality than quantity, made it possible almost everywhere to store the product in cellars for years, thus giving it a less harmful character as the more damaging constituent parts were converted in a gradual chemical process. At the end of the last century we thus find distilling being carried out on a fairly wide scale mainly restricted to a few towns—Münster, Ulrichstein, Nordhausen and others—and their products usually bearing the epithet "old".

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[a] Spirit.— *Ed.*

[b] *Kölnische Zeitung,* No. 36, February 5, 1876 (in the section *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*).— *Ed.*

About the beginning of this century the distilleries increased in number in the countryside as side-lines of the larger landed proprietors and tenants, especially in Hanover and Brunswick. They found a market, on the one hand, due to the steady increase in the consumption of schnapps, and, on the other hand, due to the needs of the ever-growing and ever-warring armies which, for their part, again carried the taste for schnapps constantly further afield. Thus after the peace of 1814[130] the distilling industry was able to extend further and further and, in the form already described, quite different from that of the old town distilleries, to gain a firm foothold as a side-line run by the managers of large estates on the Lower Rhine, Prussian Saxony, Brandenburg and Lusatia.

However, the turning-point for the distilling industry was the discovery that one could produce schnapps profitably not only from grain but also from *potatoes.* That revolutionised the whole industry. On the one hand, the main activity of the distilling industry shifted once and for all from the town to the countryside, and the petty-bourgeois producers of the good old drink were ousted more and more by the infamous producers of potato rot-gut, the big landowners. On the other hand, and this is historically of much greater significance, the big grain-distilling landowner was displaced by the big potato-distilling landowner; the distilling industry moved increasingly from the fertile grain-growing land to the infertile potato-growing land, in other words from North-West Germany to North-East Germany—to *Old Prussia* east of the Elbe.

This turning-point came at the time of the harvest failure and famine of 1816. Despite the improved harvests of the two succeeding years, grain prices remained so high as a consequence of the continuing export of grain to England and other countries that it became almost impossible to use grain for distilling purposes. A hogshead of schnapps, which had only cost 39 talers in 1813, was sold in 1817 for 70 talers. At this point potatoes replaced grain and in 1823 a hogshead of schnapps was to be had for as little as 14 to 17 talers!

How was it, then, that the poor Junkers from the east of the Elbe, allegedly totally ruined by the war and the sacrifices they had made for their fatherland, obtained the means with which to convert their pressing mortgage debts into lucrative schnapps distilleries? It is true that the favourable trading conditions of the years 1816 to 1819 brought them very good returns and increased their credit as a result of the generally rising price of land, but this was far from sufficient. On top of that our patriotic Junkers received, in the first instance, state aid in various direct and indirect forms, and, secondly, there was a further factor at work, to which we must devote our particular attention. It will be remembered that in Prussia in 1811 the commutation of statute labour, and the dispute between the peasants and the landlords in general, were settled in law in such a way that payment in kind could be transformed into money payment.[a] This could be turned into capital and commuted either in cash in specific instalments, or by the peasant ceding a piece of land to the lord, or in a combination of cash and of land. This law remained a dead letter until the high grain prices of 1816 to 1819 put the peasants in a position to proceed with commutation. From 1819 onwards commutation went ahead rapidly in Brandenburg, more slowly in Pomerania, and slower still in Posen and Prussia. The money thus lawfully but unjustly misappropriated from the peasants (for they had had statute labour unjustly forced upon them), in so far as it was not immediately squandered according to traditional aristocratic custom, was employed mainly to finance the setting-up of distilleries. The distilling industry also expanded to the same extent in the three other provinces mentioned, as the peasants provided the financial means for it through the commutation of their statute labour. The schnapps industry of the Prussian

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[a] *Edikt die Regulirung der gutsherrlichen und bäuerlichen Verhältnisse betreffend, vom 14. September, 1811.* In: *Gesezt-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* No. 21, Berlin, 1811.—*Ed.*

Junkers was thus founded literally on the money taken from the peasants. And business boomed, particularly after 1825. Just two years later, in 1827, 125 million quarts of schnapps were distilled in Prussia, that is $10^1/_2$ quarts per head of the population, at an overall value of 15 million talers; in contrast to this, Hanover, fifteen years earlier Germany's first schnapps state, produced a mere 18 million quarts.

It will be evident that from now on the whole of Germany was caught in a veritable tidal wave of Prussian potato rot-gut, at least wherever the single states or customs unions of single states did not manage to stem the flow by raising customs barriers against it. Fourteen talers an awm consisting of 180 quarts, that is a quart for 2 groschen and 4 pfennigs on the wholesale market! Drunkenness, which previously had cost three and four times as much, was something available, day in day out, even to the very poorest now that a man could stay deeply under the influence for a whole week at a cost of 15 silver groschen.

The effects of these quite unprecedentedly low schnapps prices, which were felt at different places at different times but almost always completely without warning, were quite incredible. I can still well remember how, at the end of the twenties, the low cost of schnapps suddenly overtook the industrial area of the Lower Rhine and the Mark. In the Berg country particularly, and most notably in Elberfeld-Barmen, the mass of the working population fell victim to drink. From nine in the evening, in great crowds and arm in arm, taking up the whole width of the street, the "soused men" tottered their way, bawling discordantly, from one inn to the other and finally back home. Given the level of education of the workers at that time and the utter hopelessness of their situation, it was not surprising. Especially in blessed Wuppertal, where for sixty years one industry has given way to another, and where as a result one section of the workers was constantly oppressed if not unemployed, whilst another section (at that time the dye-workers) was well paid by the prevailing standards. And if, as was the case at that time, the workers of Wuppertal had only a choice between the earthly schnapps of the public houses and the divine schnapps of the pietistic priests—is it any wonder that they preferred the former, as bad as it was?

And it was very bad. It was sent out and drunk new, just as it emerged from the cooling apparatus, without further purification and containing all its fusel oils. All schnapps that is distilled from the husks of pressed grapes, from beet, grain or potatoes contains this fusel oil, which is a mixture of higher alcohols, i.e., of liquids of a similar composition to that of ordinary alcohol but containing more carbon and hydrogen (including primary propyl alcohol, isobutyl alcohol, but overwhelmingly amyl alcohol). All these types of alcohol are more noxious than the normal spirits of wine (ethyl alcohol), and the dose required to produce a toxic effect is much lower than with the latter. Professor Binz at Bonn proved recently,[a] after conducting numerous experiments, that the intoxicating effects of our alcoholic beverages, as well as the unpleasant after-effects they produce in the form of a laudable hangover or the more serious symptoms of illness and poisoning, are attributable much less to the usual spirits of wine, or ethyl alcohol, than to the higher alcohols, in other words fusel oil. Nor do they simply have a more intoxicating and more destructive effect, they also determine the nature of the intoxication. Everyone knows from his own observations, if not from experience, what the different effects on the brain are from getting drunk on wine (even different sorts of wine), on beer and on schnapps. The more fusel oil in the drink and the more unwholesome the composition of that fusel oil, the more excessive and wild the intoxication. But it is well known that of all distilled spirits new, unpurified potato schnapps contains the greatest quantity of fusel oil with the least favourable composition. The effect of such unusually large quantities of that drink on such an excitable and volatile population as that to be found in the Berg country was therefore just what one might have expected. The drunkenness proved to be of a totally different nature. That merry-making which previously ended in good-natured tipsiness and only seldom in excess, where of course it was then not uncommon for the knife to be involved, that kind of merry-making now degenerated into a riot and inevitably ended in a brawl, there never being any lack of knife wounds, and the fatal stabbings constantly increasing in their frequency. The priests put it down to increasing godlessness, the lawyers and other philistines to the dances held in public houses. The real cause was Prussian fusel oil flooding onto the scene, simply having its normal physiological effect and dispatching hundreds of poor souls off to prison, to work on fortress construction.

The acute effect of cheap schnapps continued to be felt for years, until it gradually more or less petered out. But its influence on people's morals lingered on; for the working class schnapps was more of a need in life than it had been before, and its quality, even if it did improve a little, stayed well below that of the old grain spirit.

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[a] See Carl Binz's speech on the intoxicating effect of alcoholic beverages, *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*, No. 4, January 24, 1876 (in the section *Niederrheinische Gesellschaft in Bonn. Sitzung vom 3. Juni 1875*).—*Ed.*

And what happened in the Berg country also happened elsewhere. At no time were the lamentations of the philistines about an increase in excessive schnapps consumption among the workers more widespread, more unanimous and more clamorous than during the period from 1825 to 1835. It is even open to question whether or not that state of dullness in which the North German workers passively witnessed the events of 1830, without being affected by them, was not due largely to schnapps, which at that time had them more than ever in its grip. Serious and especially successful uprisings occurred only in wine-producing regions, or in those German states which had more or less protected themselves against Prussian schnapps by means of tariffs.[131] That was not the first time that schnapps had saved the Prussian state.

The only industry to have had more devastating direct effects—and even then not on its own people, but on foreigners—was the Anglo-Indian opium industry used to poison China.

In the meantime schnapps production continued on its merry way, expanding further and further eastwards, and forcing acre upon acre of the North-East German desert of sand and marshes to surrender to the potato. Not content with bestowing its favours on its own country, it strove to make the blessings of old-Prussian fusel oil available to foreign lands. Ordinary schnapps was distilled once more, so that part of the water contained in it could be removed, and the aqueous and impure spirit of wine thus obtained was called *Sprit*, which is the Prussian translation of the word *Spiritus*. The higher alcohols all have higher boiling points than ethyl alcohol. Whilst the latter boils at 78$^1/_2$° on the centigrade thermometer, the boiling point of primary propyl alcohol is 97°, that of isobutyl alcohol 109° and that of amyl alcohol 132°. Now one would think that with careful distillation at least the major part of the latter, the main constituent of fusel oil, would be left behind along with a part of the isobutyl alcohol, and that at the very most a part of the latter would be distilled along with most of the primary propyl alcohol, which, however, is present in fusel oil in only very small quantities. But even the scientific chemists forgo using distillation to separate the three lower alcohols concerned here, and can only extract amyl alcohol from fusel oil by a process of fractionated distillation, which cannot be applied in a distillery. As it is, distilling in a schnapps factory in the country is a pretty unsophisticated business. No wonder then that the *Sprit* produced at the beginning of the forties still contained considerable amounts of fusel oil, as anyone could easily tell by smelling it; pure or only aqueous spirit of wine is almost odourless.

This *Sprit* went mainly to Hamburg. What happened to it? Part went to countries which did not bar its entry by means of tariffs—Stettin was also involved in this export trade; but the major portion was used in Hamburg and Bremen for the adulteration of rum. Distilled in the West Indies partly from sugar cane itself, but mainly from the waste products of the cane during the sugar-making process, this was the only spirit still able to compete, because of its low production costs, with potato schnapps as a sort of luxury drink for the masses. Now to produce a "fine" but also cheap rum, they would take, for example, a barrel of really fine Jamaica rum, three to four barrels of cheap, bad Barbary rum and two to three barrels of Prussian potato *Sprit*—and this or a similar mixture produced the required result. This "poison", as merchants themselves involved in the adulteration have called it in my presence, was shipped to Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Russia. To a very significant extent, however, it also made its way up the Elbe or via Stettin to the regions from which the noble *Sprit* had originally come, and was partly drunk there as rum, and partly smuggled into Austria and Poland.

The Hamburg merchants did not stop at producing adulterated rum. It was their own peculiar kind of ingenuity which made them the first to see the world-shaking role that Prussian schnapps was destined to play in the future. They had already tried their hands at all sorts of other drinks, and even at the end of the thirties nobody in the North German territories outside Prussia who knew anything about wine would take French white wines from Hamburg, because it was generally claimed that they were sweetened there with lead acetate and thus contaminated. Nevertheless, potato *Sprit* soon became the basis for an ever-growing liquor adulteration business. Rum was followed by cognac, which required somewhat more skill in its treatment. Soon they began treating wine with *Sprit*, and finally they got round, without using any wine at all, to producing port and Spanish wines from *Sprit*, water and vegetable juices, which were often displaced by chemicals. Business flourished all the more when such practices were either directly forbidden in many countries, or came so close to breaking the law that it was not considered advisable to try one's hand at them. But Hamburg was the centre of unrestricted free trade, and so "for Hamburg's health and happiness" they went on adulterating to their heart's content.

However, the adulteration business did not remain a monopoly for long. After the revolution of 1848, when in France the exclusive domination of big finance capital and a few prominent industrial magnates was temporarily replaced by the rule of the whole bourgeoisie, the French producers and traders began to realise what magic powers lay dormant in such a barrel of Prussian potato *Sprit*. They began to adulterate their cognac whilst it was still at home instead of sending it abroad in its pure state, and even more to ennoble the cognac (which is what, for the sake of brevity, I call all schnapps distilled from the husks of pressed grapes) intended for home consumption by adding considerable quantities of Prussian potato *Sprit*. This made cognac—the only spirit to be consumed on a large scale in France—significantly cheaper. The Second Empire supported this manoeuvre, of course, in the interests of the suffering masses, and thus we find on the fall of the Napoleonic dynasty that, thanks to the merciful effects of old Prussian schnapps, drunkenness, almost unknown there previously, had grown to significant proportions in France.

An unprecedented series of bad vintages and finally the commercial treaty of 1860, which opened up England to the French wine trade,[132] gave rise to a new advance. The weak wines from bad years, whose acidity was not to be removed with sugar, needed to have alcohol added to them so that they would keep. They were therefore mixed with Prussian *Sprit*. Furthermore, the English palate was accustomed to strong wines—the natural French country wines, which were now sent for export in great quantities, were too weak and too cold for the English. What better to give them robustness and warmth than Prussian *Sprit*? Bordeaux increasingly became the centre for the adulteration of French, Spanish and Italian wines, which were transformed there into "fine Bordeaux", and—for the use of Prussian *Sprit*.

Indeed, Spanish and Italian wines. Since the consumption of French red wines—and no bourgeois will drink any other—has increased so enormously in England, North and South America, and the colonies, even the almost inexhaustible abundance of wines in France no longer suffices. Almost all the useful vintage from Northern Spain, including the whole of the vintage from Rioja in the Ebro valley, which is rich in wines, goes to Bordeaux. And Genoa, Leghorn and Naples send whole shiploads of wine to the same place. Whilst Prussian *Sprit* makes these wines capable of withstanding transport by sea, the export trade forces up the price of wine in Spain and Italy to such an extent that it is way beyond the means of the working population, who used to drink it every day. In its place they drink schnapps, and the main ingredient of that schnapps is once again—Prussian potato *Sprit*. Indeed, Mr. von Kardorff complains in the Reichstag that in Italy this is not yet happening on a large enough scale.

Wherever we turn we find Prussian *Sprit*. Prussian *Sprit* extends incomparably further than the arm of the imperial German government. And wherever we find this *Sprit* it serves one main purpose—that of adulteration. It is used to make Southern European wines suitable for shipment and thus to deprive the indigenous working population of them. And just as Achilles' lance heals the wounds which it has made,[133] so Prussian *Sprit* at the same time offers the working classes who have been robbed of their wine a substitute in the form of adulterated schnapps! Potato *Sprit* is to Prussia what iron and cottons are to England, the article which represents her on the world market. The latest adept and, at the same time, regenerator of socialism, Mr. Eugen Dühring, may well therefore extol the virtues of distilling as "primarily a ... natural link (of industry) with agriculture", and proclaim triumphantly:

> "The production of spirits is of such significance that it will tend to be underrated rather than overrated!"[a]

To be sure, the Prussian for "Anch'io son pittore" (I too am a painter, as Correggio said[134]) is "I too am a schnapps distiller".

However, we have by no means exhausted the wondrous exploits of Prussian potato schnapps.

> "Whereas in earlier times," says Mr. von Kardorff, "there used to be roughly 1,000 people to the square mile living in these parts, the land is now able to support *roughly 3,000 people per square mile as a result of Sprit manufacture.*"[b]

And on the whole that is correct. I do not know what period Mr. von Kardorff refers to when he quotes the population as being a thousand per square mile. There must certainly have been such a period. If, however, we exclude the provinces of Saxony and Silesia, where distilling has a less conspicuous part to play alongside other industries, and also Posen, the greater part of which frustrates all government efforts by continuing to display no especial desire to be anything other than Polish, then we are left with the three provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania and Prussia. Together these three provinces cover a surface area of 2,415 square miles. In 1817 they had a total population of 3,479,825, or 1,441 per square mile; in 1871 it was 7,432,407, or 3,078 per square mile. We quite agree with Mr. von Kardorff in regarding the growth in population mainly as a consequence, direct or indirect, of schnapps distilling. If we add the Altmark, northern agricultural Lower Silesia, and the predominantly German part of Posen, where the population will have developed in a similar way, then we have the actual schnapps-producing area, and at one and the same time the *heart of the Prussian monarchy.* And this opens up an entirely new perspective. Distilling now reveals itself as being the real material basis of present-day Prussia. Without it the Prussian Junkers would have perished; their estates would have been bought up in part by large land magnates who would have formed a less numerous aristocracy along English lines[135]; in part they would have been broken up and would have formed the basis for an independent peasantry. Without it the heart of Prussia would have remained a land with a population of about 2,000 inhabitants to the square mile, incapable of playing any part in history, either good or bad, until bourgeois industry developed sufficiently to rule the roost socially and perhaps politically here as well. Distilling has given a different turn to developments. On ground which produces practically nothing except potatoes and clod-hopping Junkers, and the latter en masse, it was able to defy the competition of the world. Favoured more and more by demand—for reasons already explained—it was able to elevate itself to the position of the world's central schnapps-producing factory. Under the prevailing social relations, this meant nothing other than the development, on the one hand, of a class of medium-size landowners whose younger sons provided the main material for the army officers and for the bureaucracy, i.e., a new lease of life for the Junkers, and, on the other hand, the development of a relatively rapidly growing class of semi-bondsmen, from which the mass of the "core regiments" of the army are recruited. If anyone is interested in the situation of this mass of workers, who are free in name, but for the most part kept almost completely in bondage to the squire by means of annual contracts, through payments in kind, through housing conditions, and finally by the manorial police, which with the advent of the new district regulations[136] only assumed a different form, he can consult the writings of Professor von der Goltz.[137] In short, then, the question is: What was it that enabled Prussia more or less to digest the morsels west of the Elbe that it swallowed in 1815,[138] to stifle the revolution in Berlin in 1848, to assume the leadership of German reaction in 1849 despite the uprisings in Rhenish Westphalia,[139] to wage war with Austria in 1866, and in 1871 to get the whole of Little Germany[140] to accept the leadership of this most backward, most stable, least educated, still semi-feudal part of Germany? It was the distilling of schnapps.

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[a] E. Dühring, *Cursus der National- und Socialökonomie*, Berlin, 1873, pp. 263-64.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

II

Meanwhile let us return to the Reichstag.[a] The protagonists in the debate are Mr. von Kardorff, Mr. von Delbrück and the Hamburg representative in the Federal Council[141] Krüger.[b] Listening to this debate, it seems almost as if we are doing a shameful wrong to Prussian potato spirits. It is not Prussian but rather Russian *Sprit* which is causing all the trouble. Mr. von Kardorff complains that Hamburg industrialists are converting Russian schnapps (which, as Mr. Krüger expressly emphasises, is distilled from *grain*, not potatoes) into *Sprit*, "sending it out as German *Sprit*, and thus damaging the reputation of German *Sprit*". Mr. Delbrück "has been told that passing it off as *Sprit* in this way would involve great difficulties, since as yet no one has succeeded in producing *odourless Sprit* from Russian schnapps as has been done with German schnapps". However, he added cautiously: "Of course, gentlemen, I am in no position to judge."

So, it is not Prussian potato spirit but Russian grain spirit which is causing all the trouble. Prussian potato *Sprit* is "odourless", i.e. free from fusel oil; no one has as yet managed to produce an odourless Russian *Sprit* from grain, and it therefore contains fusel oil, and if it is sold as Prussian *Sprit*, then it detracts from the reputation that the latter has as being free from fusel oil. If we accept this, however, then we have, in a roguish and most disloyal manner, slandered Prussian *Sprit*, free from fusel oil as it is. Let us examine the position as it really is.

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[a] See this volume, p. 111.—*Ed.*

[b] See the speeches made by W. von Kardorff, M. F. R. von Delbrück and D. Ch. F. Krüger in the German Reichstag on February 4, 1876, *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 36, February 5, 1876 (in the section *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages*).—*Ed.*

Indeed a process exists for removing fusel oil from schnapps by treating it with red-hot charcoal. As a consequence of this the *Sprit* which has come onto the market recently has generally contained less fusel oil. However, there is the following difference between the two kinds of *Sprit* that we are concerned with here: grain spirit can be freed of fusel oil *completely* without any great effort, whilst, on the other hand, removing fusel oil from potato *Sprit* is a much more difficult process, and is actually impossible in large-scale production, so that even the purest spirit distilled from potato schnapps always leaves behind a smell of fusel oil when rubbed onto the hand. Therefore it is a rule that only spirit distilled from grain is used by dispensing chemists and in the making of fine liqueurs, and never *Sprit* distilled from potatoes, or at least this should be the case (for adulteration takes place here too!).

And a few days after the *Kölnische Zeitung* reported on the above schnapps debate it carried (February 8, first page) in its miscellaneous reports the following plaintive cry from a tippler on the Rhine:

> "It would be particularly desirable now to prove that *potato Sprit is being added to weak wine as well. A disconcerting dazed feeling in the head* afterwards does indeed point to it, too late however. Potato *Sprit still has fusel oil in it*, the otherwise unpleasant smell of which is concealed by the wine's own particular taste. *This kind of adulteration is among the most common.*"[a]

Finally, in order to pacify the old-Prussian schnapps distillers, Mr. Krüger lets the doubtful fact be known that Russian spirit distilled from grain is fetching *four marks more* on the Hamburg market than Prussian potato *Sprit*. On February 7 the latter was quoted in Hamburg at 35 marks for 100 litres, and that means that Russian spirit fetches a price which is 12% better than that paid for Prussian *Sprit*, the reputation of which it is allegedly damaging!

And now, after hearing all these facts, look at the expression of injured innocence of this maligned, "odourless", reputation-conscious and virtuous Prussian product, allegedly so completely free of fusel oil, and which costs only 35 pfennigs a litre, cheaper than beer! If one examines that debate in the light of these facts, is one not tempted to ask: Just exactly who is making a fool of whom?

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[a] *Kölnische Zeitung*, No. 39, February 8, 1876 (in the section *Vermischte Nachrichten*).— *Ed.*

The benign influence of Prussian fusel oil is world-embracing, for it finds its way, with potato *Sprit*, into every kind of drink. From the sour, weak and badly seasoned Mosel wine and Rhine wine, which is magically transformed with the aid of potato sugar and potato *Sprit* into Brauneberger and Niersteiner, from the bad red wine which has been flooding England since Gladstone's commercial treaty,[142] and which is called "Gladstone" there, to the Château Lafitte and champagne, port and Madeira, which the bourgeois drink in India, China, Australia and America, there is not a drink in whose composition Prussian fusel oil does not play a part. The production of these drinks is flourishing wherever wine is grown and wherever wine is stored in great quantities, and the producers hail potato *Sprit* with dithyrambic shouts of joy. But what about the consumers? Well, the consumers become aware of it when they suffer that "disconcerting dazed feeling in the head", which is how fusel oil confers its blessings on one, and they try to avoid suffering its blessings. In Italy, as Mr. von Kardorff says, the commercial treaty[143] is applied in such a way as to make Prussian *Sprit* pay far too high a tariff. Belgium, America and England make it impossible to export *Sprit* to them by levying high tariffs. In France the customs officials stick red labels on barrels of *Sprit*, so as to distinguish them as Prussian—which is really quite the first time that the French customs officials have done anything beneficial to the community! In short, things have gone so far that Mr. von Kardorff cries out in desperation:

> "Gentlemen, if you visualise the position of the German *Sprit* industry you will find *that all countries are closing their borders to our Sprit in the greatest of fear!*"

Naturally enough. The gracious effects of this *Sprit* have gradually become known the world over, and the only way to avoid that "disconcerting dazed feeling in the head" is not to allow the confounded rot-gut into the country in the first place.

And now, on top of this, a storm cloud is rising from the East, heavy and moist, above the heads of the hard-pressed schnapps Junkers. Their big brother in Russia, the last refuge of all time-honoured institutions for combatting modern destructive mania, has also begun to distill schnapps and to export it, and it is grain schnapps, and, what is more, he is supplying it just as cheaply as the Prussian Junkers their potato schnapps. The production and export of this Russian schnapps is increasing year by year, and, though it may so far have been purified into *Sprit* in Hamburg, Mr. Delbrück now tells us that

> "in the Russian ports ... already in the process of being constructed are a number of plants, equipped with first-rate apparatus for the purification of Russian schnapps",[a]

and he tells the Junker gentlemen to expect Russian competition to outstrip them with every passing year. Mr. von Kardorff is only too well aware of this and he demands that the government forbid the transporting of Russian spirits across Germany forthwith.

As a free conservative member of parliament, Mr. von Kardorff really ought to be in a better position to appreciate the attitude of the German imperial government with respect to Russia. After the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and the scandalous war reparations of five thousand million,[144] as a result of which France was bound to become an ally of *each and every* enemy of Germany, and given the policy of seeking to be respected, or rather feared, but never looked on with affection by others, there remained only *one* choice: either quickly to defeat Russia as well, or to secure the alliance with Russia (in as much as Russia can be depended upon) by becoming the obedient servant of Russian diplomacy. As they were unable to decide in favour of the first alternative, they were obliged to choose the second. Prussia, and with it the empire, is once more as dependent on Russia as it was after 1815 and 1850; and just as in 1815 the "Holy Alliance"[145] serves as the cloak for this dependence. The result of all those glorious victories is that Germany continues, as before, to be the fifth wheel on the coach of Europe. And then Bismarck is surprised that the German public should continue to be concerned about affairs abroad where the really crucial decisions are being taken, instead of being concerned about the doings of the imperial government, which is of no consequence in Europe, and about the speeches in the Reichstag, which is of no consequence in Germany! Forbid the transporting of Russian *Sprit* across Germany! I should like to see the Imperial Chancellor who would dare such a thing without at the same time having a declaration of war against Russia safely in his pocket! And with Mr. von Kardorff making such a curious demand of the imperial government one might almost be led to believe that not only *drinking* schnapps but even the very act of *distilling* it was sufficient to cloud the mind. For indeed more famous distillers of schnapps than Mr. von Kardorff have lately made up their minds to do things for which, from their own point of view, there has been absolutely no rational explanation.

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[a] See this volume, p. 122.—*Ed.*

For the rest, nothing is easier to understand than the fact that the Russian competition should be filling our schnapps Junkers with an uncanny feeling of dread. In the interior of Russia there are great tracts of land where grain is to be had just as cheaply as potatoes are in Prussia. In addition to that, fuel is mostly cheaper in Russia than in our distilling districts. All the necessary material conditions are on hand. Small wonder then that a section of the Russian nobility should do just as the Prussian Junkers do and invest in distilleries the money advanced by the state as credit to the peasants for commutation of statute labour. Nor is it any wonder that these distilleries should spread rapidly, given the constantly growing market and the preference that there will be for schnapps distilled from grain costing the same or slightly more than schnapps distilled from potatoes, and that even now the time can be envisaged when their product pushes Prussian potato *Sprit* off the market completely. Complaining and moaning will be to no avail. The laws of capitalist production, as long as it continues to exist, are just as unrelenting for Junkers as for Jews. Thanks to the Russian competition, the day is fast approaching when Holy Ilion will collapse, when the glorious Prussian schnapps industry will vanish from the world market and continue at most to befuddle the home market. But on the day that the distiller's helmet is wrested from the Prussian Junkers and they are left only with their coats of arms or at most their army helmets, on that day Prussia is finished. Irrespective of the course that world history might otherwise take, and disregarding the possibility, probability or even inevitability of fresh wars or upheavals—the competition from Russian schnapps alone is bound to ruin Prussia by destroying the industry which keeps the agriculture of the eastern provinces at its present level of development. In so doing, it also destroys the conditions essential for the life of the Junkers east of the Elbe and of their 3,000 bondsmen to the square mile; and in doing that, it destroys the basis of the Prussian state: the material that goes to make up the officers as well as the non-commissioned officers and the soldiers who obey their orders whatever happens, and in addition to that the material that goes to make up the core of the bureaucracy, the material that stamps its specific character on present-day Prussia. With the collapse of schnapps distilling, Prussian militarism collapses, and without it Prussia is nothing. Then those eastern provinces will sink back into that station in Germany that befits them in accordance with their low population density, their industry, which is enslaved to agriculture, their semi-feudal conditions, and their lack of bourgeois development and general culture. Then, relieved of the pressure of this semi-medieval rule, the remaining regions of the German Empire will heave a sigh of relief and assume the position befitting them in accordance with their industrial development and more advanced culture. The eastern provinces themselves will seek out other industries, less dependent on agriculture and conceding less ground to the feudal mode of production, and in the intervening period they will place their army at the disposal not of the Prussian state but of Social-Democracy. The rest of the world will rejoice to see the end at last of Prussian fusel-oil poisoning; but the Prussian Junkers and the Prussian state, then at last "dissolved into Germany",[a] will have to console themselves with the words of the poet:

> Surviving immortal in song,
> In life it must perish.[b]

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[a] Frederick William IV, "An mein Volk und die deutsche Nation, am 21. März 1848". In: *Reden, Proklamationen, Botschaften, Erlasse und Ordres*, Berlin, 1851, p. 10.— *Ed.*

[b] F. Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands*.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

WILHELM WOLFF[146]

Written between June and September 1876

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Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the journal, checked with the text of the book

Published in English for the first time

If I am not mistaken it was towards the end of April 1846. Marx and I were then living in a Brussels suburb; we were engaged in a joint piece of work[a] when we were informed that a gentleman from Germany wished to speak to us. We found a short but very stockily built man; the expression on his face proclaimed both goodwill and quiet determination; the figure of an East German peasant in the traditional clothes of an East German provincial bourgeois. It was Wilhelm Wolff. Persecuted for infringing the press laws,[147] he had been fortunate enough to evade the Prussian prisons. We did not suspect at first sight what a rare man lay concealed under this inconspicuous exterior. A few days were enough to put us on terms of cordial friendship with this new comrade in exile and to convince us that it was no ordinary man we were dealing with. His cultured mind schooled in classical antiquity, his wealth of humour, his clear understanding of difficult theoretical problems, his passionate hatred of all oppressors of the masses, his energetic and yet tranquil nature soon revealed themselves; but it took long years of collaboration and friendly association in struggle, victory and defeat, in good times and bad, to prove the full extent of his unshakable strength of character, his absolute, unquestionable reliability, his steadfast sense of duty equally exacting towards friend, foe and self.

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[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*.— *Ed.*

I

Wilhelm Wolff was born on June 21, 1809 in Tarnau, near Frankenstein in Silesia. His father was an hereditary serf and also kept the court *kretscham* (the inn—Polish *karczma*—where the village assizes took place), which did not save him from having to perform statute labour with his wife and children for his worthy lord. Wilhelm was thus not only familiar with the frightful plight of the East German bondsmen from early childhood, but also suffered it himself. But he learnt more besides. His mother, of whom he always spoke with particular affection and who possessed an education unusual for her station, roused and nursed in him anger at the shameless exploitation and disgraceful treatment of the peasants by the feudal lords. And we shall see how this anger fermented and seethed in him all his life when we reach the period when he was finally able to give vent to it in public. This peasant lad's talents and lust for knowledge soon attracted attention; if possible he was to go to grammar school, but what obstacles there were to be surmounted before this could be achieved! Quite apart from financial difficulties there was the worthy lord and his steward, without whom nothing could be done. Although serfdom had been abolished in name in 1810,[148] feudal tributes, statute labour, patrimonial jurisdiction and the manorial police remained in existence, thus preserving serfdom in practice. And the worthy lord and his officials were far more inclined to make peasant lads into swineherds than students. However, all barriers were successfully negotiated. Wolff gained admission to the grammar school at Schweidnitz and then went to university in Breslau. At both of these institutions he had to earn the greater part of his living by giving private lessons. At university he preferred to devote his energies to classical philology; but he was not one of those hair-splitting philologists of the old school; the great poets and prosaists of the Greeks and Romans were received by him with genuine understanding and remained his favourite reading as long as he lived.

He had almost concluded his university studies when the persecution of the Demagogues[149] by the Federal Diet[150] and the Austrian and Prussian governments, which had died down in the twenties, was resumed. A member of the Students' Association,[151] he too was arrested in 1834, dragged from prison to prison for years while inquiries proceeded, and finally sentenced. For what? I do not think that he ever found it worth the trouble of saying. Suffice it to say that he was taken to the fortress at Silberberg. There he found comrades in suffering, Fritz Reuter among others. A few months before Wolff's death, the latter's *Ut mine Festungstid* came into his hands, and no sooner had he discovered the author to be his old fellow-sufferer than he sent news to him through the publisher.[152] Reuter answered him straightaway in a long and very friendly letter, which I have here in front of me and which proves that on January 12, 1864, at least, the old Demagogue was certainly not the kind of man to knuckle under meekly:

> "I've been sitting here now for nearly thirty years," he writes, "until my hair has turned grey, waiting for a thorough-going revolution, documenting the people's will energetically once and for all, but to what avail? ... If only the Prussian people would at least refuse to pay taxes; it is the only means of getting rid of Bismarck and Co. and worrying the old king to death."[153]

At Silberberg Wolff experienced the many sufferings and few joys of the incarcerated Demagogues which Fritz Reuter has described so vividly and with such humour in the above book. It was pitiful compensation for the damp casemates and bitterly cold winters that the old cliffside castle had a garrison of old invalids, so-called *Garnisöner,* who were not unduly harsh and were sometimes approachable at the price of a schnapps or a four groschen piece. Be that as it may, by 1839 Wolff's health had suffered so much that he was pardoned.[154]

He went to Breslau and tried to make his way as a teacher. But he had reckoned without his host, and his host was the Prussian government. Interrupted in the middle of his studies by his arrest, he had not been able to complete the prescribed three years at the university, let alone take his examinations. And in Prussian China only someone who had done all this in accordance with the rules and regulations was considered to be a competent scholar. Anyone else, however learned he might be in his field, as Wolff was in classical philology, was outside the guild and prevented from making public use of his knowledge. There remained the prospect of struggling through as a private tutor. But a government permit was needed for that, and when Wolff applied for one it was *denied* him. The Demagogue would have had to starve to death or return to do statute labour in his native village if there had been no Poles in Prussia. A landowner from Posen[a] took him on as a domestic tutor; he spent several years here, of which he always spoke with particular pleasure.[155]

Having returned to Breslau, after much tribulation and contention he finally obtained the permission of a highly esteemed royal government to give private lessons, and could now at least earn a modest living. Being a man of very few needs, he did not ask for more. This was when he resumed the struggle against the prevailing oppression, as far as this was possible under the dreadful conditions of the time. He had to restrict himself to bringing to public attention isolated instances of the despotism of civil servants, landowners and manufacturers, and even then encountered obstacles with the censors. But he refused to be diverted from his purpose. The newly established High Court of Censorship had no more regular and persistent client than Wolff, the private tutor from Breslau. Nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to dupe the censors, which, given the stupidity of most of them, was not all that difficult as soon as one became somewhat familiar with their weak spots. Thus it was he who scandalised pious spirits to the limit by discovering the following popular "song" of the repentant sinner in an old hymn book which was still in use in some places, and publishing it in the Silesian local newspapers:

I really am a gallows-bird,
One of the truly bad ones,
And gobble up my sins unheard
As Russians eat up onions.

A cringing dog, I pray to Thee,
Lord, cast the bone of grace to me,
Do take me by the ear and throw
Me to Thy Heaven, though I be low.[b]

This song spread throughout Germany like wildfire, provoking the resounding laughter of the godless and the indignation of those "that are quiet in the land".[156] The censor received a harsh reprimand, and the government once again began to keep a watchful eye on this private tutor Wolff, this turbulent hare-brain whom five years' fortress had failed to tame. And it was not long before another pretext was found to put him on trial. After all, the old Prussian legislation[157] was spread out over the country like an ingeniously contrived system of traps, snares, pitfalls and nets which not even loyal subjects could always avoid, while the disloyal ones were all the more certain to get caught in them.

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[a] Tytus Adam Dzialyński.— *Ed.*

[b] *Gesangbuch.* See *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter,* Breslau, Vol. 112, 1840.— *Ed.*

The press offence with which Wolff was charged at the end of 1845 or early 1846 was so trifling that none of us can now recall the exact circumstances.[158] But the persecution attained such dimensions that Wolff, who had had quite enough of Prussian prisons and fortresses, evaded imminent arrest by leaving for Mecklenburg.* Here he found a safe refuge amongst friends until his unimpeded passage from Hamburg to London could be arranged. In London, where he participated for the first time in a public association—the still existing German Communist Workers' Educational Society[160]—he did not remain long but then came, as we have already related, to Brussels.

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* According to Wermuth-Stieber: *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, II, p. 141,[159] Wolff was sentenced to three months' confinement in a fortress by the Breslau Supreme Court in 1846 for "offences against the press laws". [Added by Engels in 1886.]

II

In Brussels he soon found employment in a correspondence agency[161] which had been set up there, supplying German newspapers with French, English and Belgian news, edited, as far as circumstances permitted, along Social-Democratic lines. When the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* placed itself at the disposal of our party Wolff worked for that too. In the Brussels German Workers' Society,[162] which was founded by us at this time, Wolff was soon among the favourite speakers. He would give a weekly survey of current events which was always a masterpiece of popular presentation, both humorous and powerful, in which he castigated in particular, and quite rightly, the pettiness and meanness of both masters and subjects in Germany. These political surveys were such a favourite theme of his that he would deliver them to any society in which he took part, and always with the same mastery of popular presentation.

The February Revolution broke out and found an immediate response in Brussels. Every evening crowds of people gathered in the Great Market place in front of the City Hall, which was occupied by the civil guard and gendarmerie; the numerous public houses around the market place were packed. People were shouting, "Vive la République!", and singing the *Marseillaise*,[a] pushing and shoving and being shoved back. The government was apparently keeping as quiet as a mouse, but called up the reserves and men on leave in the provinces. It had the most respected Belgian republican, Mr. Jottrand, secretly informed that the King[b] was prepared to abdicate should the people so wish, and that he could hear this from the King himself as soon as he liked. Jottrand was in fact told by Leopold that he was himself a republican at heart and would never stand in the way if Belgium should wish to constitute itself a republic; his only wish was that everything should take place properly and without bloodshed, and he hoped incidentally to receive a decent pension. The news was swiftly and secretly put out and had such a soothing effect that no attempt at insurrection was made. But scarcely were the reserves gathered together and the majority of troops concentrated around Brussels—three or four days were enough in that tiny country—when there was no more talk of abdication; suddenly one evening the gendarmerie went into action with the flats of their swords against the crowds in the market place, and arrests were made right, left and centre. Among the first to be beaten and arrested was Wolff, who had been quietly proceeding home. Dragged into the City Hall, he was given a further beating by the raging and drunken city militia, and, after several days' imprisonment, dispatched over the border to France.

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[a] Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, *Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin* (*Marseillaise*).— *Ed.*

[b] Leopold I.—*Ed.*

He did not stay long in Paris. The March Revolution in Berlin and the preparations for the Frankfurt Parliament and the Berlin Assembly prompted him first to go to Silesia to campaign for radical elections there.[163] As soon as we had started a newspaper, whether in Cologne or in Berlin, he wanted to join us. His general popularity and his powerful vernacular eloquence succeeded in getting radical candidates elected, particularly in the rural constituencies, who without him would not have stood a chance.

In the meanwhile the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* appeared on June 1 in Cologne, with Marx as editor-in-chief, and Wolff soon came to take over his duties on the editorial board.[164] His inexhaustible energy, his scrupulous, unswerving conscientiousness had the drawback for him that the young people, of whom the entire editorial board consisted, sometimes took an extra break in the certitude that "Lupus[a] will see that the paper comes out", and I cannot claim to have been wholly innocent of this myself. Thus it was that in the early days of the paper Wolff had less to do with leading articles than with the day-to-day jobs. But he soon found a way of turning these, too, into an independent activity. Under the regular heading "Aus dem Reich" the news from the small states of Germany was assembled; the small-state and small-town narrow-mindedness and philistinism of both the rulers and the ruled were treated with incomparable humour. At the same time he gave his survey of current events in the Democratic Society[165] every week, which soon made him one of the most popular and effective speakers here too.

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[a] Nickname of Wilhelm Wolff (Latin *Lupus* means "wolf").—*Ed.*

The stupidity and cowardice of the bourgeoisie, which had been rising ever higher since the June battle in Paris,[166] had again allowed reaction to summon up its strength. The camarillas of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, etc., were working hand in hand with the noble Imperial Regent[a] and behind the scenes was Russian diplomacy, pulling the strings on which these puppets danced. Now, in September 1848, the moment for action was approaching for these gentlemen. Under direct and indirect Russian pressure (conveyed by Lord Palmerston) the first Schleswig-Holstein campaign was decided by the ignominious Malmö ceasefire. The Frankfurt Parliament stooped so far as to ratify it, thus publicly and unquestionably renouncing the revolution. The Frankfurt uprising of September 18 was the response; it was put down.[167] Almost simultaneously the crisis between the Constitutional Agreement Assembly[168] and the Crown had broken out. On August 9, the Assembly had requested the government in an extremely mild, indeed timid resolution to be so good as to do something to prevent the reactionary officers from indulging in their shameless conduct so publicly and offensively.[169] When it demanded in September that this resolution be put into effect, the response was the appointment of the openly reactionary Pfuel ministry with a general at its head (September 19) and the appointment of the notorious Wrangel as Supreme General of Brandenburg: two broad hints to the Berlin Agreers either to go down on their knees or to expect a rude dispersal. General excitement set in. In Cologne, too, public meetings were held and a Committee of Public Safety appointed.[170] The government decided to deliver the first blow in Cologne. Consequently on the morning of September 25, a number of democrats were arrested, including the present Mayor,[b] then generally known as "Red Becker".[c] The excitement mounted. In the afternoon a public meeting was held on the Altenmarkt. Wolff presided. The civic militia were formed up on all sides, not objecting to the democratic movement but giving first priority to their own welfare. In response to an inquiry, they stated that they were there to protect the public. Suddenly people crowded into the market place with the cry: "The Prussians are coming!" Joseph Moll, also arrested the same morning but freed by the people, who was then speaking, shouted: "Citizens, do you intend to run away from the Prussians?" "No, no!" was the answer. "Then we must build barricades!" and they set to work at once.—The outcome of the day of barricades in Cologne is well known. Provoked by a false alarm, without encountering any resistance, without any arms—the civic militia went prudently home—the whole movement came, quite bloodlessly, to nothing; the government achieved its purpose: Cologne was declared in a state of siege, the civic militia disarmed, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* banned and its editorial staff compelled to go abroad.

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[a] Archduke John.— *Ed.*

[b] In the 1886 edition: "the recently deceased, subsequent Mayor".— *Ed.*

[c] Hermann Heinrich Becker.— *Ed.*

III

The state of siege in Cologne was short-lived. It ended on October 4. On the 12th the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* resumed publication.[171] Wolff had gone to Dürkheim in the Palatinate where he was left in peace. There was a warrant out for his arrest as for several others of the editorial staff, for conspiracy, etc.; but our Wolff did not bide long in the Palatinate, and when the grape harvest was over he suddenly turned up in the editorial office again, 17 Unter Hutmacher. He managed to find rooms next door, from where he was able to cross the yard into the office without setting foot in the street. However, he soon tired of captivity; disguised in a long overcoat and a cap with a long peak, he sallied out into the darkness nearly every evening on the pretext of buying tobacco. He believed that no one recognised him, although his curiously gnarled figure and determined gait were absolutely unconcealable; anyway he was not betrayed. Thus he lived for several months while the warrants out for the rest of us were gradually lifted. Finally on March 1, 1849 we were informed that there was no longer any danger, and Wolff now went before the examining magistrate, who also declared that, being based on exaggerated police reports, the whole case had been dropped.[172]

Meanwhile the Berlin Assembly had been sent packing and Manteuffel's period of reaction had set in.[173] One of the first measures of the new government was to reassure the feudal lords of the Eastern Provinces regarding their disputed right to unpaid peasant labour. After the March days the peasants of the Eastern Provinces had ceased to perform statute labour, and in places even forced the worthy lords to give them a written disclaimer concerning such labour. It was thus merely a matter of declaring this existing state of affairs legal, and the long oppressed peasant east of the Elbe would be a free man at last. But the Berlin Assembly, a full 59 years after August 4, 1789, when the French National Assembly had abolished *all* feudal burdens without compensation, had still not been able to summon up the courage to take the same step. It somewhat eased the terms for the commutation of statute labour; but only a few of the most scandalous and infuriating feudal rights were to be abolished without compensation. Yet before this Bill[174] was finally passed the Assembly was broken up, and Mr. Manteuffel declared that *this* Bill would not be passed into law by the government.[a] This destroyed the hopes of the Old Prussian peasants subject to statute labour, and the need now was to influence them by explaining to them the position they were facing. And Wolff was just the man for this. Not only was he the son of a bondsman and had himself been forced to do statute labour as a child; not only had he retained the full fervour of his hatred towards the feudal oppressors which this childhood had aroused in him; no one knew the feudal method of enslavement so well in all its details as he did, and this in the very province that provided a complete pattern-card of all its manifold forms—Silesia.[b]

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[a] [Declaration of the Prussian ministry regarding "Entwurf eines Gesetzes betreffend die unentgeltliche Aufhebung verschiedener Lasten und Abgaben vom 10. Juli 1848,] *Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*, No. 223, December 13, 1848 (in the section *Nichtamtlicher Theil, Deutschland. Preußen*).—*Ed.*

[b] In place of the following text, up to "Few of the many inflammatory articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*..." (see this volume, p. 146), Engels wrote in 1886:

"Thus Wolff opened the campaign against the feudal lords, which culminated in the *Silesian Milliard* and to which I refer below. It was a campaign which by right ought to have been waged by the bourgeoisie. It was, after all, precisely the struggle against feudalism that was the mission of this class in world history. But as we have seen, it failed to wage it, or only pretended to do so. Thanks to the social and political backwardness of Germany, the German bourgeoisie everywhere left its own political interests in the lurch, because the proletariat was already looming up behind it. The vague hopes and desires of the Parisian workers in February, but even more their four-day battle of desperation in June 1848, terrified not only the bourgeoisie of France but of all Europe. And in Germany even simple democratic demands, such as they had themselves long since carried out legally in Switzerland, seemed to the quaking bourgeois to be attacks on their property, their security, their lives, etc. As cowardly as ever, the German bourgeois sacrificed their common, i.e., political interests so that each might save his private interest, his capital. Rather a return to the old bureaucratic-feudal absolutism than a victory of the bourgeoisie as a class, than a modern bourgeois state attained in a revolutionary way and strengthening the revolutionary class, the proletariat! That was the German bourgeoisie's cry of anguish, in the midst of which reaction triumphed all along the line.

In the issue of December 17, 1848 he opened the campaign in an article on the above-mentioned statement by the ministry.[a] On December 29 there followed a second, more blunt one on the imposed "Decree concerning the interim settlement of seignorial-peasant relations in Silesia".[b]

This decree, says Wolff,

"is an invitation to our lords the princes, counts, barons, etc., to make haste 'in the interim' to rob and plunder the rural population under the semblance of law to an extent that will enable them, after this fat year, to survive the lean ones all the more easily. Before March Silesia was the promised land of the worthy landowners. By the redemption laws since 1821[175] the feudal Junkers had made themselves as comfortable as they conceivably could. As a result of the redemptions, which were always and everywhere passed and put into effect for the benefit of the privileged and the ruination of the rural people, the Silesian Junkers had obtained the tidy sum of about 80 millions in hard cash, arable land, and interest from the hands of the rural population. And the redemptions were still far from being completed. Hence their rage at the godless revolution of 1848. The country people refused to go on doing statute labour for the worthy lords like docile cattle, and to go on paying the terrible impositions, interest and dues of all kinds. The amounts of money flowing into the coffers of the landowners underwent a serious decline."

The Berlin Assembly took the settlement of these relations in hand.

"There was danger in delay. This was understood by the camarilla of Potsdam, which is equally adept at filling its money-bags from the sweat and blood of the country folk. So, away with the Assembly! Let us make the laws ourselves as they seem most lucrative to us!—And so it happened. The decree for Silesia published in the *Staats-Anzeiger* is nothing but an entangled snare with all the trimmings, in which the rural population, should it once venture in, will be irrevocably lost."

Wolff then demonstrates that the decree essentially marks the restoration of the pre-March conditions, concluding:

"Only what's the use? The worthy lords need money. Winter is here with its balls, masquerades, enticing gambling-tables, etc. The peasants who have furnished the funds for amusement hitherto, must go on supplying them. The Junkers wish to enjoy at least one more merry carnival and exploit the November achievements

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"Thus the party of the proletariat had to take up the struggle at the point where the bourgeoisie had absconded from the battlefield. And Wolff took up the struggle against feudalism in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. But not in such a way as to afford the bourgeois any joy; no, in truly revolutionary fashion, in such a manner that the bourgeoisie was just as appalled at these articles exhaling the spirit of the great French Revolution as the feudal lords and the government themselves."—*Ed.*

[a] See Wolff's article on Manteuffel's statement against the abolition of feudal duties, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 171, December 17, 1848 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Engels quotes Wolff's article ["Decree on the Abolition of Feudal Duties without Compensation in Silesia",] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 181, December 29, 1848 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

of absolutism to the utmost. They are right to make haste, dancing and celebrating with defiant arrogance. For soon these divinely favoured aristocratic orgies may be mingled with scenes of Galician fury." [176]

There followed on January 20 a new article by Wolff[a] which dealt with this field. The party of reaction had got a village mayor, Krengel from Nessin near Kolberg, and a number of day labourers to address an inquiry to the King[b] whether it was true that His Majesty really intended to *split up landed property* and *turn it over to the propertyless.*

"One can imagine", says Wolff, "the mortal terror and sleepless nights of the day labourers of Nessin when they heard of such intentions. What? The King wants to split up landed property? We day labourers who have up till now tilled the field of our worthy lords so joyously for 5 silver groschen a day—are we supposed to cease being day labourers and work on our own fields? Our worthy lord, who owns 80 to 90 domains and a mere few hundred thousand *morgen*[c]—is he to be forced to give up so and so many *morgen* to us?—No, at the mere thought of such a frightful disaster our day labourers were atremble in every limb. They had never a peaceful moment until they were reassured that they were not to be pitched into this bottomless misery, that the menacing *morgen* of land were to be warded off and the worthy lords left in peace just as before."

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[a] "(Das königl. Patent an die Bauern)", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 200, January 20, 1849 (in the section *Deutschland. Köln*).—*Ed.*

[b] See [An Inquiry from the Electors of Nessin to Frederick William IV, "Berlin. 12. Januar"], *Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger,* No. 14, January 14, 1849.—*Ed.*

[c] *Morgen* = 0.6 or 0.9 of an acre depending on local variations.—*Ed.*

IV

All that, however, was still only skirmishing. Around the beginning of 1849 the French Social-Democrats started with increasing frequency to raise the proposal made earlier that the thousand million francs given by the state to the aristocrats returning from emigration in 1825 as compensation for estates lost in the Great Revolution should be demanded back and employed in the interest of the working masses.[a] On March 16, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* carried a leading article on this question and on the very next day Wolff published a piece called *The Prussian Milliard.*

> "The knight Schnapphanski" (Lichnowski) "is dead.[177] But highwaymen we still have in plenty. The Junkers of Pomerania and Brandenburg have joined forces with the other Prussian Junkers. They have donned the holy coat of the respectable bourgeois and call themselves 'Association for the Protection of Property of All Classes of the People', *feudal* property naturally... Their intention is nothing less than to cheat the Rhine Province, among others, out of some 20 million talers and to pocket the money. The plan is not a bad one. The Rhinelanders may particularly pride themselves on the fact that the Junkers of Thadden-Trieglaff in Eastern Pomerania, the von Arnims and the von Manteuffels as well as a few thousand cabbage Junkers wish to do them the honour of paying their debts in Rhenish money."

The fact of the matter was that Mr. von Bülow-Cummerow, then known as Bülow-Kummervoll,[b] had hit on a little plan[c] and got it accepted by the above association of Junkers—or as Wolff called it, the Junker Parliament—and sent to the government and the chambers as a petition, a plan for settling the question of land tax in Prussia. On the one hand, the landowning peasants, especially of the Western Provinces, were complaining that they had to pay *too much* land tax; on the other, the aristocratic big landowners of the Eastern Provinces were paying *no* land tax *at all*, although the law of October 27, 1810[a] had imposed it on them along with all other landowners. The Junker Parliament had found a way of alleviating *both* evils. Let us listen to Wolff:

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[a] See K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Milliard" (present edition, Vol. 9, pp. 79-83).—*Ed.*

[b] A play on words: *Cummerow* is a proper name, *Kummervoll*—woeful.—*Ed.*

[c] [E. G. G. von] Bülow-Cummerow, *Die Grundsteuer und Vorschläge zu ihrer Ausgleichung.*—*Ed.*

"The Junkers are willing 'to make sacrifices in order to eliminate the discord now prevailing'.[b] So they say. Who would have expected such magnanimity of them? Of what do these sacrifices consist, however? They propose that the revenue from all land-holdings should be fixed by a rough assessment, and then the land tax distributed throughout the state at the same percentage of this revenue. Well, their generosity is by no means large, since they are now simply intending to do what they have been legally obliged to do for the last 38 years. But to continue! Do they demand that the Junkers and the landowning knights who have hitherto illegally refused to pay tax—should repay this tax, perhaps? No: since from now on they are to have the grace to pay their taxes, they should be *compensated by an appropriate capital payment*",—namely, 25 times the amount of the future tax. "On the other hand, those who have hitherto been unfairly debited an excessive land tax should—not, for instance, have the excess refunded to them—but, on the contrary, they should be enabled to *discharge the surplus*", by buying themselves out with a single payment of 18-20 times the amount involved, according to the circumstances.—"The higher taxes will be paid by the peasants in the Eastern Provinces and, apart from them, particularly by the Rhine Province. The peasants of Altland and the Rhinelanders are thus now expected to pay for this with their capital too. Hitherto the noble landowners of the Eastern Provinces have been paying no land taxes at all, or very little.... And they, then, are to receive the money which the Rhinelanders and the peasants are supposed to raise."

There follows a survey of the land tax paid by the various provinces in 1848 and their land areas, from which it emerges:

"The Rhineland pays for every square mile on average approximately five times as much land tax as Prussia, Posen and Pomerania, and four times as much as the March of Brandenburg."

Admittedly the land is better; however,

"at a conservative estimate, the Rhine Province probably has to pay about a million talers more in land tax than would be its due according to the average valuation. According to the Bill proposed by the Junker Parliament the Rhinelanders would thus have to pay as a punishment for this another 18 to 22 million talers in cash, which would flow into the pockets of the Junkers of the Eastern Provinces! The state would simply act as the banker. These are the tremendous sacrifices which these cabbage Junkers and pigs are inclined to make; that is the protection which they wish to extend to property. Just as every pickpocket protects property....

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[a] *Edikt über die Finanzen des Staats und die neuen Einrichtungen wegen der Abgaben u.s.w.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten*, No. 2, Berlin, 1810.—*Ed.*

[b] [E. G. G. von] Bülow-Cummerow, *Die Grundsteuer...*, Berlin, 1849, p. 36.—*Ed.*

"The Rhinelanders, especially the Rhenish peasants, and no less the Westphalian and Silesian ones, would do well to look around without delay to see where they can raise the money to pay the Junkers. A hundred million talers are not so easy to come by these days.

"So whilst in France the peasants are demanding a thousand million francs from the aristocracy, in Prussia the aristocracy is demanding five hundred million francs from the peasants!

"Three cheers for the Berlin March Revolution!"

Mere defence, however, was not sufficient to counter the insolence of the Prussian Junkers. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* sought and found its strength in attack, and thus in the issue of March 22, 1849 Wolff commenced a series of articles called *The Silesian Milliard*, in which he calculated what sums of money, money-value and landed property the *Silesian* aristocracy alone had wrested from the peasants since the redemption of feudal dues began. Few of the many inflammatory articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had such an effect as these, eight in number, which appeared between March 22 and April 25. Orders for the newspaper from Silesia and the other Eastern Provinces increased at a furious rate; individual issues were requested and eventually, since the exceptional freedom of the press allowed us by Rhenish law was lacking in the other provinces, and there was no question of a reprint under their noble local law, someone came up with the idea of secretly reprinting in Silesia the entire eight issues as near to the original in appearance as possible and disseminating them in thousands of copies—a procedure to which the editorial board was naturally the last to object.

V[a]

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 22, 1849 Wolff opened his attack on the Silesian Junkers as follows:

"Scarcely had the Chamber of the Court and cabbage Junkers" (which met on February 26, 1849 on the basis of the imposed constitution and the imposed electoral law 178) "been constituted when a motion for the settlement, i.e. redemption of feudal dues, was proposed. The worthy lords are in a hurry. They wish to squeeze enough out of the rural population before closing-time to be able to put by a tidy sum for any hard times that may be on the way and send it abroad in advance of their persons.

"For the terror, for the nameless dread which they suffered during the period after the March 'misunderstanding' in Berlin and its immediate consequences, they are now seeking to extract a doubly dear balsam out of the pockets of their beloved village subjects.

"*Silesia*, particularly, hitherto the golden land of feudal and industrial barons, is to be thoroughly rifled once again in order that the splendour of its land-owning knights may shine on, enhanced and fortified.

"Immediately after the appearance of the imposed provisional Redemption Law in December last year, we demonstrated[b] that it is solely calculated to benefit the worthy landowners, that the so-called little man is entirely at the mercy of the whims and caprices of the powerful, even in the composition of the court of arbitration. Nevertheless, the knights are still not content with it. They are demanding a law bestowing yet more concessions on the knightly purse.

"In March and April 1848, many noble lords in Silesia made out written documents to their peasants renouncing all tithes and duties previously required of those subject to the estate. To save their manors from burning and themselves from becoming strange adornments on many a stately lime or courtly poplar, they gave away their so-called well-earned rights with a stroke of the pen. Luckily for them, paper was very patient at that time too.

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[a] Sections V-VIII and part of Section IX up to the words: "On May 19 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed..." (see this volume, p. 164) are omitted in the 1886 edition.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 142.— *Ed.*

> "When, instead of marching forward, the revolution got stuck in the bog of philistinism and complacent temporising, these gentlemen pulled out their deeds of renunciation, not in order to fulfil them but to submit them to the criminal court as evidence in the inquiry into the rebellious peasant mob."

Wolff now relates how the bureaucracy, under the leadership of the Oberpräsident Pinder and with the aid of mobile military columns, forced the peasants to perform their old duties; how the peasants were left with no other hope but the Berlin Agreement Assembly; how Messrs. Agreers, instead of declaring first and foremost all feudal tithes abolished without compensation, frittered away the time with inquiries into the nature, origins, etc. of these admirable feudal duties and tithes, until the reactionaries had regained sufficient strength to send the entire Assembly packing before it had reached any decision at all about the abolition of feudal burdens; how the new Redemption Law was imposed and how even this arch-reactionary law failed to satisfy the worthy lords and they made even more extravagant demands.

But our lord knights had reckoned without their host, this host being

> "the Silesian peasant, not the bourgeois peasant with three, four or more hides of land but that mass of smaller peasants, estate gardeners and free gardeners, cottagers and livers-in,[179] who have hitherto been the real beasts of burden of the big landowners and who, according to the plans of the latter, should continue as such in future in a different form.
>
> "In 1848 this mass would have been content with abolition of feudal burdens without compensation.... After the bitter apprenticeship of the final months of 1848 and those that have elapsed of 1849, the Silesian agrarian population, the 'little man', is increasingly coming to realise that the knightly landowners, instead of seizing new riches by means of a cleverly devised Redemption Law, should by right return at least that part of the booty with which they lined their pockets with the aid of the previous redemption laws.... From village to village people are now occupied with the question of how much our lords the robber knights have stolen from the rural people over the last thirty years alone."

The situation is not as simple as in France, where compensation of 1,000 million francs in round figures—almost 300 million talers—was extorted from the nation, so that "the French peasant knows how much he must be refunded in capital and interest". In Prussia the exploitation took place year in, year out, and up till now only the individual peasant knew what he and his village had paid.

> "But now a rough estimate has been made for the whole province, showing that in the guise of redemption the rural population has paid the worthy lords more than 80 million talers, partly in land and partly in hard cash and interest. In addition to this there are the annual tithes and duties of the hitherto non-emancipated. For the last thirty years this sum amounts to at least 160 million talers, yielding together with the above a total of approximately 240 million talers.

"Now that these calculations have come to their knowledge, the country people have seen the light, and its brightness is causing the feudal accomplices to cower in fear. They have devoured 240 million from the pockets of the country people and 'we must get back our 240 million at the first opportunity'—that is now the idea circulating among the Silesian country people; it is the demand which is already being spoken aloud in thousands of villages.

"The ever-growing awareness that *if* there is to be any talk of compensation for feudal burdens then it is the *peasants* who must be compensated for the knightly robbery perpetrated on them—this is an 'achievement' which will soon bear fruit. It will not be overthrown by any dictatorial wiles. The next revolution will bring it to bear in practice, and the Silesian peasants will then probably be able to devise a 'Compensation Law' restoring not only the stolen capital but also the 'customary interests' to the pockets of the people."

By what "legal title" the Junker gentlemen appropriated this sum is the lesson of the second article in the issue of March 25, 1849.[a]

"With regard to the manner in which the 'rights' of the robber knights were acquired, eloquent testimony is provided not only by every page of mediaeval history but by every year right up to recent times. The mediaeval knightly sword managed splendidly to ally itself with the goose-quill of the lawyer and the civil service horde. Force was transformed with a fortune-teller's sleight of hand into 'rights', into 'well-earned rights'. An example from last century. In the eighties in Silesia at the initiative of the aristocracy, commissions were created for the establishment of land registers,[180] the mutual duties and obligations of landowner and peasant.... The commissions, composed of nobles and their creatures, worked in exemplary fashion—in the interest of the aristocracy. Nevertheless these gentlemen by no means succeeded everywhere in producing land registers that were 'confirmed'" (recognised by the peasants). "Where they did, though, it was solely by force or trickery.... It is rather naively stated in the introduction to a number of such deeds that the peasants had not consented to put their crosses to them (at that time only very few were able to write) and that they had been forced partly by threats and partly by the actual use of armed force to sign these documents defrauding themselves and their descendants. On the basis of such 'well-earned rights' the worthy knights of Silesia have been able over the last thirty years to distil that tidy little sum of 240 million talers from the sweat and blood of the peasant estate into their ancestral coffers."

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[a] [Wilhelm Wolff,] "Die schlesische Milliarde", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 255, March 25, 1849.—*Ed.*

VI

From the direct exploitation of the peasants by the aristocracy, Wolff proceeds to the various indirect forms, in which the participation of the state plays a major role.

Firstly, *land tax*, which was still levied in Silesia in 1849 according to a land register devised in 1749.[181] In this land register the acreage entered for the land of the nobles was less than the real amount, and for the peasants more, right from the outset; the yield of a *morgen* of pasture or arable land was assessed at one taler and the land tax levied on this basis. Woods and pastures were exempt. Since then the nobles had cleared whole stretches of forestland and brought considerable areas of wasteland under cultivation. Tax continued to be paid according to the acreage of cultivable land entered in the land register of 1749! The tax remaining constant for both parties, the peasant with no wasteland to bring under cultivation was thus considerably overburdened, or to put it bluntly: swindled. Furthermore:

> "A large section of the knights, precisely that section which *owns the largest* and *most lucrative estate complexes*, has hitherto, under the style of 'well-earned rights' as mediatised peers[182] *not yet paid a penny in land tax*.
>
> "If we estimate the land tax which the worthy knights have failed to pay (either too little or none at all) over the last thirty years at about 40 million talers—and that is probably letting them off lightly—and add to it the 240 million talers stolen directly from the pockets of the Silesian country people, we arrive at a total of 280 million" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 25, 1849).

Then follows the graduated tax. A Silesian peasant, whom Wolff singles out of the masses,

> "owns 8 *morgen* of land of medium quality, paying a host of tithes annually to his 'worthy' lord, is obliged to perform a large amount of statute labour every year, and still has to pay graduated tax of 7 Sgr. 6 Pf. per month, making 3 talers per

annum. Contrasted with him we have a worthy lord with the most extensive estates, with forests and meadows, iron-works, zinc ore mines, coal mines, etc., e.g. arch-wailer,[183] Russophile, democrat-eater and Deputy to the Second Chamber, Count Renard. This man has an annual income of 240,000 talers. He pays on the highest grade 144 talers graduated tax annually. Compared with the above peasant owner with 8 *morgen* he should have been paying at least 7,000 talers per year in graduated tax, making 140,000 talers over 20 years. Thus in 20 years he has paid 137,120 talers too little."

Wolff then compares the amount of graduated tax paid by the same Count Renard with the tax paid by a farmhand with a wage of 10 talers per year, paying $^1/_2$ taler or 5 per cent of his cash income, and with that of a farm-maid who out of a wage of 6 talers per year also pays $^1/_2$ taler in graduated tax, or $8\,^1/_3$ per cent of her income. The result is that over 20 years the noble count has paid 237,120 talers graduated tax too little compared with the farmhand and even 397,120 talers too little compared with the maid.

"According to the sovereign will of Frederick William IV, Eichhorn-Ladenberg and the rest of the Christian-Germanic fellowship, primary school" (cf. the Eichhorn rescripts until the beginning of 1848) "should be restricted purely to reading, writing and the most elementary arithmetic. The first four rules of arithmetic, then, would still be allowed to the peasants. There was no need for the primary school, however, to teach the peasant the various rules, particularly subtraction, or deduction and extraction. In Silesia, at least, the divinely favoured robber knights have subtracted so much from around him and out of him that he for his part now ought to succeed at the first possible opportunity with flying colours in this form of subtraction applied to the worthy lords."

Wolff then gives another example of this subtraction practice of the Silesian nobility: The waste hides.

"Wherever rustic hosts" (i.e. peasants) "were ruined by war, epidemics, conflagrations or other disasters, the seigneur was swiftly at hand in order to absorb the land of the farm concerned, either wholly or partly, into his dominion as a 'waste hide'. But you lords were careful not to take over land tax, house tax and the other burdens. These had to be borne either by the whole community or by the subsequent owner, who often only received a third, a sixth or an eighth of the previous land area in the bill of sale, but all the previous taxes, tithes and services. You did the same with common grazing and arable land when, for example, the above-mentioned causes had led to a more or less complete depopulation of the village. You seized these and other opportunities to combine as many lands as possible. But the communities and the individual peasants had to bear communal, school, church, district and other burdens unextenuated, as if they had never been deprived of a whit.... The yardstick with which you seek to measure us, shall be used to measure you, the peasant will reply to you.

"In your raging appetite for compensation, you have blindly rushed into a veritable hornets' nest of popular damages; if, provoked as they are, they one day fly out, you may easily find yourselves suffering scrupulously accurate *damages* as well as a good helping of *damage*!"[a] (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of March 27).

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[a] A play on words in the original: *Entschädigung*—compensation, damages, *Beschädigung*—damage, injury.—*Ed.*

In the next article (in the issue of March 29) Wolff describes the procedure during redemption of the actual feudal dues. Under the notorious General Commissions, which were charged with the execution of this business throughout the province, there were the Royal Landed Estate Commissaries and their aides, the Royal Conductors of Surveying and the actuaries. As soon as the application for redemption had been made by the landowner or the peasant, these officials appeared in the village, where they were straightaway lavishly entertained and suborned by the worthy lord up at the manor-house.

> "Often this suborning had already taken place earlier, and since the worthy knights do not spare the champagne if anything may be thereby achieved, the seignorial efforts to please were generally successful."

Certainly there were incorruptible officials here and there, yet they were exceptions and even then the peasants were not helped.

> "In cases in which the Landed Estate Commissary himself observed the letter of the law, it was of little benefit to the peasants as soon as the Conductor or his officials were won over by the lord of the dominion. It was even worse for the peasants if, as was generally the case, the most cordial understanding prevailed between Landed Estate Commissary, Conductor and sovereign. Then the knightly heart was gay and rejoiced.
>
> "In all the plenitude of power with which the Old Prussian bureaucracy was adept at decking out its dependents, the Royal Commissary would now enter the district *kretscham*[a] where the peasants were assembled. He would never fail to remind the peasants that he was here 'in the name of the King' to negotiate with them.
>
> "'In the name of the King!' At this phrase all the sombre figures such as gendarmes, executors, seignorial judges, district councillors, etc. appear simultaneously in front of the peasant's eyes. Had he not always been oppressed and exploited by them all in that name! 'In the name of the King!' That sounded to him like the stocks and prison, it sounded like taxes, tithes, statute labour and fees.[184] For he was obliged to pay all these 'in the name of the King'. If the Commissary's introduction did not do the trick, if the community or the individual peasant proved to be refractory and went against the plans of the lord of the domain and Commissary, then the latter would be transmogrified into the Olympian Thunderer, hurling one holy hell and damnation after the other into the midst of the nonplussed peasant throng, then adding more mildly: If you persist in such foolish excesses, I tell you that you will *pay* for it in full. This symbolic seizure of the peasant's purse would then generally decide the issue: obligations and counter-obligations could now be adjusted to suit the wishes of the lord."

Now came the surveying, and in the process the corrupt Conductor would cheat the peasants for the benefit of the landowner. For the assessment of usufruct, land quality, etc. the district mayors were brought in as experts, and these too would usually deliver judgment in favour of the landowner. After all this had been settled and the size in *morgen* of the land left for the peasants after the deduction of the area to be relinquished to the worthy lord as compensation for the loss of feudal dues had finally been established, the worthy knights generally prevailed on the Landed Estate Commissary to place the fields of the little man, if at all possible, on the worst side. The good land was added to that of the estate, and in return the peasants would be allocated estate fields which were regularly flooded in wet years. And then again, the peasants would be tricked out of another part of their fields by the Conductor during the final survey. In the vast majority of cases the peasants were helpless; as a rule anyone who brought a court case was ruined by it; only in quite exceptionally favourable circumstances was a peasant able to obtain his rightful dues.

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[a] See this volume, p. 132.—*Ed.*

The end of the business came with the drafting and signing of all the recesses and documents of settlement by the General Commission and—the general expenses account, which betokened the real beginning of the countryman's distress.

> "To characterise these accounts there is no other epithet than: shameless. No matter how the peasant protested or tore his hair: it was all to no avail. After all, it was his purse they were after; the exchequer took its share of stamp duty in advance, and the rest went to pay the General Commission, the Landed Estate Commission etc. This veritable swarm of officials lived in ease and plenty. Through their position as Landed Estate Commissary, poor lads have with the aid of knightly nefariousness risen very quickly to become the owners of knightly estates themselves. It scarcely needs pointing out that the power in the General Commission lay in the hands of the nobles. Without them the little deals of our worthy knights would not have prospered so well."

In good Old Prussian fashion, no account of the total expenses of the General Commission has ever been published, so the people even do not know how much the redemption of feudal dues, insofar as it had been effected by 1848, actually cost them. But the individual communities and peasants will never forget how much they were forced to "cough up" at this time.

> "For instance, a small village, whose peasants did not even own 30 *morgen* between them, had to pay recess expenses of 137 talers; in another, a peasant with 7 *morgen* of fields incurs costs of no less than 29 talers... The robber-knights' compensation dish was so delicious that, spiced with a few Christian-Germanic ingredients, it will not be missing from the table of the high and noble lords in days to come, either. This tastes of more!—say the Silesian robber-knights, wiping their whiskers with a chuckle and smacking their chops as the cabbage Junkers do."

Wolff wrote this 27 years ago, and the events he describes belong to the period 1820-48; but on reading them today one seems to be reading an account of the procedure by which the serfs of Russia were emancipated and became so-called free peasants after 1861. It agrees to the finest detail. In one feature after another this cheating of the peasants in favour of the worthy lords is the same. And just as in all official and liberal accounts the Russian redemption is described as an enormous benefit for the peasants, as the greatest step forward in Russian history, in the same way official and national-servile historiography describes to us that piece of Old Prussian peasant-swindling as a world-liberating event which puts the great French Revolution—which in fact was the cause of the redemption business—in the shade!

VII

The Silesian nobility's list of sins is still not exhausted. In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 5, Wolff recounts how the introduction of freedom of trade in Prussia[a] offered the robber-knights a new opportunity to swindle the country folk.

> "As long as he was still under the obligation to join a guild, the rural artisan or tradesman paid the worthy landowner an annual fee, as a rule quite high, for his craft or business. In return he enjoyed the advantage of being protected by the landowner against competition from others through refusal of trading permits; and in addition, the landowner had to bring his work to him. This was precisely the position faced by the millers, brewers, butchers, smiths, bakers, *kretscham-* or inn-keepers, shopkeepers, etc."

When freedom of trade was introduced, the protection afforded to the privileged artisans ceased and everywhere competition sprang up. In spite of this the landowners continued to exact the fee paid up till then, under the pretext that it did not relate to the craft but to the land, and the courts, likewise overwhelmingly on the side of the nobility, recognised these preposterous claims in the great majority of cases. Yet this was not enough. In time the worthy lords had their own water mills and windmills constructed, and later steam-powered mills too, thus constituting unbeatable competition for the previously privileged miller, and yet they still forced him to go on paying the old tax for the former monopoly, under the pretext that it was either ground rent or compensation for certain insignificant repairs to the watercourse incumbent on the landowner, or such like. Thus Wolff quotes the case of a water mill with two conduits, without any arable land, which had to pay 40 talers per annum to the landowner, although he had built a rival mill so that one miller after the other went bankrupt at the first mill. All the better for the landowner: the mill had to be sold and at every change of hands the worthy lord levied 10% of the purchase sum in fees for himself! Similarly, a windmill to which belonged no more than the ground on which it stood had to pay the landowner 53 talers per annum. Such was also the situation of the blacksmiths, who had to continue to pay or redeem the old monopoly fee, although not only was the monopoly abolished but the same landowner who pocketed the fee was competing with them with his own smithy—and likewise with the other artisans and tradesmen: the fee was either discharged by "recess" or still paid, although the other part of the agreement, protection against outside competition, had long since been dropped.

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[a] *Edikt über die Einführung einer allgemeinen Gewerbe-Steuer. Vom 28. Oktober 1810.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* No. 4, Berlin, 1810.—*Ed.*

So far we have considered only the various forms of exploitation which the feudal nobility employed against the landowning country people, peasants with two or more hides down to free gardeners, free cottagers and meadow cottagers and whatever all the people may be called who possess at least a little cottage and generally a garden as well. There remained a numerically strong class neither in the service of the worthy lord nor owning a cottage or even a square foot of land.

> "This is the class of lodgers, the livers-in, in short the *tenants*; people who have rented a room, usually a wretched hovel, for 4-8 talers per year from the peasants, gardeners, landless cottagers. Either they are movers, i.e. people who, having passed on their farms to relatives or sold them to strangers, have retired into a small room there, with or without retaining 'a share' in their former property, or—and these are the majority—they are poor day-labourers, village artisans, weavers, miners, etc."[a]

How to get at these people? Patrimonial jurisdiction, that splendid state of affairs (only now due to be abolished by the district regulations) whereby the landowner exercises jurisdiction over his ex-subjects, had to provide the pretext. It stipulated that when the worthy lord delivered one of the subjects of his jurisdiction into gaol, then he had to bear the cost of the prisoner's keep as well as that of the inquiry. For this the worthy lord received all the fees which were payable under patrimonial jurisdiction. If the arrested person was a peasant, the worthy lord made him pay back all the costs, and in extreme cases had his house and farm sold. But in order to cover the costs which any arrested lodgers might cause him, the landowner imposed an annual *caution money*, called by the more genteel name of jurisdiction money, on all persons of this class under his jurisdiction.

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[a] [Wilhelm Wolff,] "Zur schlesischen Milliarde (Das Schutzgeld)", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 270, April 12, 1849.—*Ed.*

"Some of the worthy lords," says Wolff (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 12), "contented themselves with one taler a year; others imposed 1 $^1/_2$ talers, and others took their impertinence so far as to demand 2 talers per year from this section of the rural proletariat. With this blood money gathered in there was all the more gambling and whoring in the capital and at the spas.

"When there was no money whatsoever to be squeezed out, the worthy lord or his bailiff would convert the caution money into 6, 10 or even 12 gratis days' labour" (which the lodger had to work gratis for the worthy lord). "Cash laughs! So if the lodger could not pay, the executor was usually set on him to take away his last remaining rags, the last bed, table and chair. A few of the worthy lords refrained from this barbarism and demanded no caution money, not because it was an arrogant right but because in their patriarchal clemency they did not care to make use of this alleged right.

"In this way then, with few exceptions, the lodger has been shamefully plundered year in, year out for the benefit of the landowner's purse. The poor weaver, for instance, exploited by the factory-owner on the one hand, with a wage of 3-4 silver groschen a day, with $^1/_2$ taler of graduated tax for the state, with dues to the school, Church and community, was nevertheless forced to pay the worthy lord one or two talers caution money, which should be properly called blood money. It was the same for the miner, and for all the other landless people.

"What benefit does he, the lodger, derive from this? The fact that if he has been driven by poverty, misery and brutality to stealing or other crimes and is brought to justice, then he may remain in prison or house of correction happy in the knowledge that he and the class of lodgers to which he belongs have already paid the prison costs into the landowner's purse a hundredfold in advance.... The lodger who has paid caution money—let us put it at 1 $^1/_3$ talers per year on average—for thirty years *without* going to gaol has been obliged to throw 40 talers cash into the landowner's purse, not counting interest and interest on interest. For this the landowner pays interest on capital of more than 1,000 talers borrowed from the *Landschaft*" (the credit association of the knightly landowners).

"What a lucrative source of income the robber-knights found in caution money may be deduced from the fact that in most villages there are as many if not more lodgers than householders. We recollect one of the smallest robber-knights who owned three domains and extorted from the lodgers in his three villages 240 talers per year in caution money, with which he paid off the interest on capital borrowed from the *Landschaft*" (raised on his estate) "of 6,000 talers...

"After all this the naive may believe that the worthy knights really do pay any criminal costs which may arise out of their prenumerando" (by prepayment) "filled purses. Such naive faith will be utterly shattered by knightly speculation. Many cases are known to us from the twenties and from later years in which the knights in their insolence not only raised the caution money from the lodgers but forced their beloved village subjects to meet partly $^1/_3$, partly $^1/_2$ and in several villages $^2/_3$ of any inquiry and gaol expenses."

VIII

In the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 14, Wolff deals with the *hunting right*, which was abolished without compensation in 1848 and whose restoration or purchase with "damages" the noble Junkers were then vociferously demanding.

"The *sanctification of game* had the consequence that they preferred to shoot down a confounded peasant rather than a hare, partridge or similar protected creatures. When hunting with drovers, taken from among their beloved village subjects, they were not unduly inhibited; even if one of the drovers was shot at or stretched out dead there was at most an inquiry and no more was said. Moreover, several cases from that patrimonial heyday are known to us in which the noble knight fired a charge of buckshot into the legs or hindparts of one drover or another—purely for his private delectation. Even beyond the actual hunt the worthy knights would indulge in such pastimes with passion. We always recall in this connection the baron who fired a round of buckshot into the thigh of a woman gleaning corn in one of his harvested fields despite his prohibition, and then recounted his heroic exploit at the dinner table in select robber-knightly company with undisguised self-satisfaction.... On the other hand, the beloved village subjects had the pleasure of 'roboting' (doing service) as drovers at the great noble hunt. Every farmer, i.e. every owner of a field and every cottager, was directed to provide a drover 'first thing in the morning' for the great noble hunt for so and so many days. It must certainly have made the worthy knights' hearts beat with ecstasy to have a mob of ill-clad, often barefoot, starving villagers trotting along beside them on cold, wet October and November days. The whip hung by the hunting bag for the good and edification of hounds and drovers. It was usually the latter who received the lion's share.... Other knights started large pheasant farms.... Woe to the woman or girl who through carelessness or lack of tracking sense came too close to one of the count's pheasant nests or alarmed the hen.... I have myself in my youth been an eye-witness to how a peasant's wife for the said reason was thrashed in a most barbaric and bestial manner and crippled by a young robber-knight, without even a cock crowing afterwards. They were a poor people, and protesting, i.e. bringing a court-case, requires money, and also some confidence in justice, things which in the majority of the Silesian peasants are found sparingly, if at all.

> "Seething with rage, the peasant had to watch as the knightly gentlemen, with or without their hunters, or as these alone chased across the field which he had cultivated with toil and trouble, trampling and putting to waste, sparing no fruit of the field, high or low, thick or thin. Right through the middle or over and away they galloped with the hunters and hounds. If the peasant presumed to object, a laugh of derision was his answer, in the mildest case; many are those who have suffered worse, with beaten bodies to show for it. The cabbage in the peasant's field was sought out by the divinely favoured and protected hare as fodder, and the peasant planted his trees so as to still the hunger of the hare in winter.... But this damage cannot compare with that inflicted on him by deer and wild boar, which were protected throughout most of Silesia. Wild boar, red deer and roe deer often rooted up, devoured and trampled in a single night what was supposed to serve the peasant or the 'little man' as food and payment of taxes and tithes for a whole year. Of course, the injured party was free to sue for damages. Indeed, individuals and whole communities have tried it. The outcome of such cases will be self-evident to anyone who has acquired during his life even a remote idea of the old Prussian civil service, judiciary and trial procedure.... After interminable writing and petitioning the peasant would obtain judgement in a few years, if fortune favoured him, against the noble lord, and if he viewed it in broad daylight and added it all up, he would find that he had been cheated to the extreme.... But the number of villages on whose rustic fields the divinely favoured wild boar, red deer and roe deer have harried and ravaged for thirty years, more severely every year, amounts to over a thousand. We know several of them, by no means among the largest, which have suffered 200-300 talers worth of damage annually solely on account of the protected big game."

And if the nobility now demands compensation for the abolition of this hunting right, then Wolff counters that demand with this one:

> "Full compensation for all damage done by game, for all the ravages which have been inflicted on our lands for the last thirty years by the divinely favoured roe deer, red deer, wild boar and by the worthy knights themselves; to put it in round figures:
>
> "Compensation of at least 20 million talers!"

The conclusion of the whole thing (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of April 25, 1849) is an article on the Polish part of the province, Upper Silesia, which in autumn 1847 was struck by a famine as severe as that which was simultaneously depopulating Ireland. As in Ireland, famine typhus also broke out in Upper Silesia and spread like the plague. The following winter it broke out once again, yet without any failure of the harvest, flooding or other calamity having occurred. What is the explanation? Wolff replies:

> "The greater part of the land is in the hands of big landowners, the fiscus" (state) "and in mortmain.[185] Only $^2/_5$ of the total landed property is in the hands of the peasants, and is overloaded with statute labour and tithes to the landowners, as well as taxes to the state, the Church, school, district and community to the most incredible and shameless extent, whereas the worthy lords, compared with the peasants, pay the state a mere pittance at the most.... When rent-day arrives the silver interest is wrung out of the peasant with the knout, should he fail to pay

voluntarily. And so lack of capital and credit and an excess of tithes and services to the robber-knights as well as to the state and Church, forced the peasant to throw himself into the arms of the Jew and perish helplessly struggling in the toils of the artful usurer.

"In the age-old humiliation and servitude to which the rural population of Upper Silesia has been subjected by the Christian-Germanic government and its robber-knights, the peasant has found his only solace, as well as a restorative and half his nourishment, in *alcohol.* One must give the worthy lords their due: they supplied the peasants with ample quantities of this commodity from their distilleries at ever cheaper prices.... Alongside the mud-huts of the Water-Polack[186] peasants where famine, typhus and brutishness have made their abode, the sumptuous palaces, castles and other properties of the Upper Silesian magnates appear all the more romantic.... On the one hand, the incredibly rapid accumulation of riches and colossal annual revenues of their 'lordships'. On the other, the advancing impoverishment of the masses.

"The day wage for agricultural labourers is mean in the extreme: for a man 5-6 silver groschen, for a woman $2^1/_2$-3 silver groschen may even be regarded as a high rate. Many are compelled to work for a day wage of 4 and 2 silver groschen respectively, and even less. Their diet consists almost solely of potatoes and schnapps. If only the labourer had even had these two items in sufficient quantity, then at least starvation and typhus would have spared Upper Silesia. When, however, the staple food became steadily dearer and scarcer as a result of potato blight, and the day wage not only failed to rise but actually fell—people had resort to plants which they picked in the fields and woods, couch grass and roots, making soup with stolen hay and eating the flesh of dead animals. Their strength evaporated. Schnapps became more expensive—and even worse than before. *Schenker* is the name given to those persons, most often Jews, who in return for an enormous rent to the worthy lords sell the schnapps to the public. The *Schenker* was already accustomed to diluting the schnapps with appropriate amounts of water and then strengthening it again with all kinds of ingredients, chief among which being *oil of vitriol.* This poisonous adulteration increased from year to year, being carried to an extreme after the outbreak of potato blight. The stomach of the peasant, weakened by hay and couch-grass soups, could no longer take such medicine. Considering the poor clothing, the filthy, unsanitary housing, the cold in winter, and the lack either of work or of strength to work, one realises how, no more and no less than in Ireland, these famine conditions very soon gave rise to typhus. 'The people had nothing in reserve!' There we have the explanation of it all. They were continually exploited and drained dry by the state and the robber-knights to such an extent that at the slightest increase in their misery they were bound to perish.... The robber-knights, the civil servant caste, and the whole divinely favoured royal Prussian government horde did business, drew salaries, distributed gratuities, while down below in the common strata of the people, lashed by famine and typhus, they started to die off in their hundreds like animals and went on dying.

"Not much better off than the day-labourers are the farmers, or those who possess a house with a plot of land, whether larger or smaller. They too derive their main sustenance from potatoes and schnapps. They have to sell what they produce to raise the tithes payable to the landowner, the state, etc.... And to be forced to perform estate service" (for the worthy lord), "to be barbarically maltreated by the lord or his officials with the knout, to be forced, toiling, starving and beaten, to witness and endure the luxury and arrogance of the robber-knights and a snarling caste of officials—this was and is the lot of a great part of the Water-Polack population....

"The sort of treatment meted out to the estate servants, the farmhands and maids of the lords may be readily gauged from what the village subjects liable to labour service and the so-called wage-labourers had to endure. Here, too, the knout is the Alpha and Omega of the robber-knights' gospel....

"The robber-knights rule and dispose as they please. From their ranks are taken the *Landrats*; they train the domanial and district police, and the entire bureaucracy works in their interests. Then there is the fact that the Water-Polack peasant does not have German officialdom over him—which might be too humane—but an old Prussian one, with its Prussian language and its own provincial law. Exploited, maltreated, derided, whipped and cast into fetters by all quarters, the Upper Silesian peasant was bound eventually to reach the point he has reached. Starvation and plague were bound to ripen as the final fruits in this genuine Christian-Germanic soil. Whoever still has the power to steal, does so. That is the only form for the Irishised Upper Silesian to actually put up opposition to Christian Teutonism and the robber-knights. The next step is beggary; the pauperised figures may be seen moving from one place to another in droves. In the third rank we discover those who lack the strength or aptitude for either stealing or begging. It is to their beds of mouldering straw that the epidemic angel of death pays his most productive visits. These are the fruits of a century of divinely favoured monarchist government and the robber knighthood and bureaucracy allied with it."

And as before, Wolff now demands that the knights compensate the peasants, that all statute labour and money dues be abolished without compensation, and finally that all the large estates of the Upper Silesian magnates be broken up. This would naturally not occur, he notes, under the Manteuffel-Brandenburg government, and thus "the Upper Silesians would continue as before to fall prey to famine and famine typhus in huge numbers", which proved to be literally true, until the tremendous upsurge of Upper Silesian industry in the fifties and sixties entirely revolutionised the living conditions of the whole region, and increasingly replaced brutal feudal exploitation with civilised, but even more thorough, modern bourgeois exploitation.

IX

We have deliberately quoted large extracts from *The Silesian Milliard*, not only because it conveys with the utmost clarity the character of Wolff, but also because it gives a true picture of the conditions which prevailed until 1848 throughout rural Prussia, with the exception of the Rhine Province, in Mecklenburg, Hanover, and a few other small states, as well as the whole of Austria. Where redemption had taken place the peasant had been defrauded; but for half to two-thirds of the peasant population—according to locality—feudal service and tithes to the landowner remained, with little prospect of a more rapid rate of redemption until the thunderbolt of 1848 and the ensuing period of industrial development all but swept away these relics of the Middle Ages as well. We say "all but" because in Mecklenburg feudalism continues to exist with undiminished power, and also in other backward areas of Northern Germany there are as likely as not districts where redemption has not yet been effected. In 1849 caution money and a few other less important feudal dues were abolished without compensation in Prussia; the other burdens were redeemed more rapidly than before because the nobility, after the experiences of 1848 and with the constant difficulty of extracting profitable labour from the recalcitrant peasants, was now itself pressing for redemption. Finally, with the district regulations, there disappeared the landowners' seignorial jurisdiction, eliminating, at least formally, feudalism in Prussia.

But only formally. Wherever large-scale landed property is prevalent, the big landowners retain a semi-feudal dominance, even under otherwise modern bourgeois conditions of management. Only the forms of this dominant position vary. They are different in Ireland, where the land is cultivated by small tenant farmers, and different in England and Scotland, where moneyed tenants run large leasehold farms with the aid of wage labourers. The domination of the nobility prevalent in Northern Germany, especially in the East, approaches the latter form. The large estates are mostly run by the owners themselves and more rarely by large tenants, with the aid of servants and day labourers. The servants are subject to the Regulations for Servants, which in Prussia date from 1810 and are so clearly designed for feudal conditions that they *expressly permit* "minor acts of violence" by the nobility against the servants, while *expressly forbidding* the latter on pain of criminal punishment to offer active resistance to assault from their master, except if their life or health be endangered! (General Regulations for Servants, §§ 77, 79).[a] Partly by their contracts but partly by the predominant system of payment in kind—which also includes housing—the day labourers are reduced to a state of dependence on the landowner quite equal to that of the servants; and so even today there flourishes east of the Elbe the patriarchal treatment of farm labourers and domestic servants, with the punches in the face, blows from the stick and cuts of the whip which Wolff has described to us in Silesia. Unfortunately the common people are getting more and more rebellious and are in some places already refusing to tolerate any longer these paternal measures for their betterment.

Since Germany is still preponderantly an agricultural country, and the mass of the population therefore gain their livelihood from farming and live in the country, it remains the chief but also the most difficult task of the workers' party to make the agricultural workers' interests and position clear to them. The first step towards this is that the party should itself become familiar with the interests and position of the agricultural workers. Those party comrades whom circumstances permit would be doing the cause a great service by comparing Wolff's accounts with present conditions, collating the changes which have occurred and describing the present situation of the agricultural workers. In addition to the day labourer proper, the small peasant should not be ignored either. How have the redemptions progressed since 1848? Has the peasant had his ears boxed as soundly as before in the process? Such questions, among others, emerge on their own from reading *The Silesian Milliard*, and if the business of answering them were undertaken seriously and the resulting material published in the party organ, this would be a greater service to the workers' cause than any number of articles about the organisation in detail of the society of the future.[187]

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[a] *Gesinde-Ordnung für sämmtliche Provinzen der Preußischen Monarchie. Vom 8. November 1810.* In: *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* No. 5, Berlin, 1810.—*Ed.*

One more point is raised by the conclusion of Wolff's articles. Since 1849 Upper Silesia has developed into one of the focal points of German industry. As in the rest of Silesia, this industry is situated mainly in the countryside, in large villages or newly emerging towns, far from the urban centres. If we are concerned with spreading Social-Democracy in the countryside, Silesia, and particularly Upper Silesia, offers the most suitable locality for use as a lever. In spite of this, Upper Silesia, at least, seems to have been virgin soil for socialist propaganda up till now. The language cannot amount to an obstacle; on the one hand, the use of German has greatly increased there with the growth of industry, on the other, there are surely enough socialists who speak Polish.

But back to our Wolff. On May 19 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed after the last issue had appeared printed in red. Apart from 23 pending press trials the Prussian police had so many other pretexts for seizing each individual member of the editorial board that they all left Cologne and Prussia immediately. Most of us went to Frankfurt, where the decisive point seemed near at hand. The victories of the Hungarians provoked the Russian invasion; the conflict between the governments and the Frankfurt Parliament on account of the Imperial Constitution had given rise to various insurrections, of which those in Dresden, Iserlohn and Elberfeld had been suppressed, while those in the Palatinate and in Baden were still in progress. Wolff had an old Breslau mandate in his pocket as the substitute for that old distorter of history, Stenzel; they had only got wailer Stenzel through by including the agitator[188] Wolff as his substitute. Like all good Prussians, Stenzel had naturally obeyed the Prussian government's order of recall from Frankfurt. Wolff now took his place.[189]

The Frankfurt Parliament, having sunk through its own idling and stupidity from the position of the most powerful assembly that had ever convened in Germany to the most utter impotence, now evident to all the governments, even to the Imperial Government it had appointed itself and to the very Parliament itself, was at a loss what to do, caught between the governments which had massed their forces, and the people who had risen to defend the Imperial Constitution. There was still everything to be gained if only the Parliament and the leaders of the South German movement showed courage and determination. A parliamentary decision calling the armies of Baden and the Palatinate to Frankfurt to defend the Assembly would have sufficed. The Assembly would thereby have regained the confidence of the people at a stroke. The defection of the troops of Hesse and Darmstadt, and the accession of Württemberg and Bavaria to the movement could then have been anticipated with certainty; the small states of central Germany would likewise have been brought in; Prussia would have had its hands full, and, in the face of such a mighty movement in Germany, Russia would have been compelled to retain in Poland part of the troops subsequently employed with success in Hungary. Thus Hungary could have been saved at Frankfurt, and moreover there was every likelihood that with the spread of a victorious revolution in Germany, the outbreak that was daily expected in Paris would not have dissolved into the uncontested defeat of the radical philistines which occurred on June 13, 1849.[190]

The prospects were as favourable as they could be. The advice to summon the guard of Baden and the Palatinate was given[a] in Frankfurt, that to march to Frankfurt even without a summons, in Mannheim.[b] But neither the Baden leaders nor the Frankfurt parliamentarians had the courage, energy, intelligence or initiative.[c]

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[a] In the 1886 edition Engels added: "by all of us".—*Ed.*

[b] In the 1886 edition Engels added: "by Marx and myself".—*Ed.*

[c] See also Engels' "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution" (present edition, Vol. 10).—*Ed.*

X

Instead of acting, the Parliament decided—as if it had not spoken too much already—to speak again, namely, in a "Proclamation to the German Nation". A commission was appointed which produced two drafts, the one approved by the majority having been prepared by Uhland. Both of them were feeble, bloodless and powerless, expressing nothing but their own helplessness and dejection and the bad conscience of the Assembly itself. At the debate on May 26, they gave our Wolff the opportunity to speak his mind to the honourable parliamentarians once and for all. The shorthand record of this speech runs[a]:

"Wolff of Breslau:

"'Gentlemen! I have registered my name against the Proclamation to the Nation that has been composed by the majority and read out here, because I think it utterly inadequate in the present conditions, because I find it too weak—suitable solely as an article for publication in those newspapers which represent the party that has conceived it, but not as a Proclamation to the German Nation. Since a second has now been read out, I shall only remark in passing that I would oppose this one even more strongly, for reasons that I do not need to give here.' (Voice from the Centre: 'Why not?') 'I am speaking only of the majority proclamation; it is after all so moderate that even Mr. Buss could not object to it too much, and that is certainly the worst recommendation for any proclamation. No, gentlemen, if you wish to retain any influence whatsoever over the people, you must not speak to the people in the way you do in the Proclamation; you must not speak of legality, of legal grounds and so on, but of illegality, in the same way as the governments, as the *Russians*, and by Russians I mean Prussians, Austrians, Bavarians and Hanoverians.' (Commotion and laughter.) 'These are all included under the common name of Russians.' (Great amusement.) 'Yes, gentlemen, in this Assembly, too, the Russians are represented. You must say to them: Just as you adopt the legal point of view, so shall we. This is the viewpoint of *force*, and in parenthesis you ought to explain that legality means opposing the cannons of the Russians with force, with well-organised storming-parties. If you have to issue a proclamation at all, then issue one in which you declare from the very outset *the first traitor to the people, the Imperial Regent,*[a] *an outlaw.*' ('Order!' Vigorous applause from the gallery.) '*And all the ministers too!*' (Renewed commotion.) 'Oh no, I will not be intimidated. He *is* the first traitor to the people.'

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[a] W. Wolff [Speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 26, 1849], *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, No. 229, May 28, 1849, Vol. 9, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, p. 6749.—*Ed.*

"President Reh: 'I think that Mr. Wolff has discarded all respect. He cannot describe the Archduke Imperial Regent as a traitor to the people before this House, and I must therefore call him to order...'

"Wolff: 'For my part, I accept the call to order and declare that I *intended* to be out of order, that he and his ministers *are traitors*.' (From all sides of the House: 'Order, this is scandalous!')

"President: 'I must deny you leave to speak.'

"Wolff: 'Well, I *protest*; it was my intention to speak here in the name of the people and to say what the people are thinking. I protest against every proclamation which is worded in this spirit.'"

These few words descended like a thunderbolt on the terrified Assembly. For the first time the real state of affairs had been clearly and openly expressed to its members. The treachery of the Imperial Regent and his ministers was a public secret; every one of those present saw it occurring before their very eyes; but no one dared to put into words what he saw. And now comes this disrespectful little Silesian and all at once demolishes their whole conventional house of cards! Even the "determined Left" could not help protesting energetically against the unforgivable breach of all parliamentary decorum which this simple statement of the truth constituted, through the mouth of their worthy representative Mr. Karl Vogt (Vogt—the man who was sent a remittance of 40,000 francs in August, 1859, according to the lists of sums paid by Louis Napoleon to his agents, published in 1870[191]). Mr. Vogt enriched the debate with the following shabbily embarrassed and infamously mendacious[b] protest[c]:

"'Gentlemen, I have requested leave to speak in order to defend the crystal-clear stream that has flowed from a poetic soul into this proclamation against the unworthy filth that has been thrown into the same or' (!) 'hurled at the same' (!), 'to defend these words against the muck which has piled up in this latest movement, threatening to swamp and defile everything there. Yes, gentlemen! It is muck and filth which are being cast in this' (!) 'way at all that may be considered pure, and I express my most profound indignation that such a thing' (!) 'could have happened.' "

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[a] Archduke John.— *Ed.*

[b] A play on words in the original: *verlegnen* (embarrassed) and *verlognen* (mendacious).— *Ed.*

[c] K. Vogt [Protest against Wolff's speech in the Frankfurt National Assembly on May 26, 1849], *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen constituirenden Nationalversammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, No. 229, May 28, 1849, Vol. 9, Frankfurt am Main, 1849, p. 6751.— *Ed.*

Since Wolff had not mentioned Uhland's *editing* of the proclamation at all, but simply found its content too weak, one is at a loss to understand to what Mr. Vogt is actually referring with his indignation and his "filth" and "muck". But on the one hand there was the memory of the ruthless way in which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had always treated false brethren of Vogt's sort; on the other, rage at Wolff's straight language, which made the time-serving game of these false brethren henceforth impossible. Forced to choose between real revolution and reaction, Mr. Vogt declares himself in favour of the latter and the Imperial Regent and his ministers—of "all that may be considered pure". Unfortunately, the reactionaries wanted nothing to do with Mr. Vogt.

The very same day Wolff challenged Mr. Vogt to a duel with pistols through the deputy Würth from Sigmaringen, and when Mr. Vogt declined to shoot it out, threatened him with physical chastisement. Mr. Vogt, although physically a giant compared with Wolff, now fled under the protection of his sister, not showing his face anywhere except in her company. Wolff let the loudmouth go.

Everyone knows how a few days after the scene, the Assembly itself recognised the correctness of Wolff's utterances by fleeing from its own Imperial Regent and his government to Stuttgart.[192]

XI

We are nearing the end. Wolff remained at his post in Stuttgart even when the National Assembly was dispersed by the troops from Württemberg, then going to Baden and finally to Switzerland with the other refugees. He chose Zurich as his place of residence, where he immediately established himself as a private tutor, but naturally encountered fierce competition from the many other graduate refugees living there. In spite of the indigent life which ensued, Wolff would have stayed in Switzerland. But it became increasingly obvious that the Swiss Federal Council,[193] obedient to the voice of European reaction, was determined little by little to harry all these refugees out of Switzerland, as Wolff put it. For most of them, this meant emigrating to America, and this was what the governments wanted. Once the refugees were on the other side of the ocean there was no being pestered by them.

Wolff too often pondered on the idea of emigrating to America, which the many friends of his who had gone there urged him to do. When the "harrying" became too much for him, he arrived, half-decided, in London in June 1851, where we gave him a place of abode for the time being. Here too the competition as a private tutor was very keen. Wolff was scarcely able to earn the paltriest living despite the greatest exertions. He did his utmost to keep his position a secret from his friends, as always when things were going badly for him. Nonetheless, he had been obliged by the end of 1853 to run up debts of about £37 (750 marks), which weighed very heavily on him; he wrote in his diary the same summer:

> "On June 21, 1853 I had to spend my birthday in almost horrible DISTRESS."

His intention of going to America would probably have been put into effect, had not a likewise fugitive German doctor in Manchester,[a] who was a friend of Wolff's from Breslau, obtained him enough private lessons in Manchester through his connections to enable him at least to live off them. And so he made the move in early January 1854.[194] In the beginning, certainly, things were rather touch-and-go. But his livelihood was assured, and then Wolff, with his extraordinary flair for getting on with children and winning their affection, was able to count on gradually extending his sphere of activities just as soon as he was known among the Germans there. This did not fail to happen. After a few years he found himself in a fairly comfortable material position for his demands, adored by his pupils, universally popular and respected by young and old, Englishmen and Germans on account of his uprightness, sense of duty and his cheerful amiability. It was in the nature of things that he mainly came into contact with bourgeois, in other words, more or less politically hostile elements; but although he never compromised either his character or his convictions in the slightest, only very rarely did he have to weather any conflicts, and this he did honourably. At that time we were all cut off from public political activity; we were silenced by the reactionary legislation, utterly ignored by the daily press and hardly honoured by a refusal from the publishers in response to any of our offers; Bonapartism seemed to have triumphed over socialism forever. For several years Wolff was the only comrade I had in Manchester with the same views as myself; no wonder that we met almost daily and that I then again had more than ample opportunity of admiring his almost instinctively correct assessment of current events.

Suffice it to take a single instance to illustrate Wolff's conscientiousness. He set one of his pupils a sum in arithmetic from a textbook. He compared the answer with the one given in the so-called key, and found it wrong. But when the boy always arrived at the same answer after repeated attempts Wolff did the sum himself and discovered that the boy was right; the key contained a printer's error. At once Wolff sat down and worked through every sum in the book in order to make sure that there were no more such errors in the key: "That's never going to happen to me again!"

This conscientiousness was, in fact, the cause of his death, not even 55 years old. In the spring of 1864 he started suffering from severe headaches due to overwork, which gradually resulted in almost total insomnia. His doctor had gone away; he refused to consult any other. All pleas for him to cancel or limit his lessons for a while were in vain; whatever he had taken on, he wanted to see through. Only when he simply could not endure it any more did he occasionally cancel his lessons. But it was too late. The headaches caused by saturation of the brain with blood went from bad to worse, the insomnia became ever more unremitting. A blood-vessel in the cerebrum burst, and after repeated cerebral haemorrhages death occurred on May 9, 1864. With him, Marx and I lost our most faithful friend, and the German revolution a man of irreplaceable worth.

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[a] Louis Borchardt.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

[LETTER TO ENRICO BIGNAMI ON THE GERMAN ELECTIONS OF 1877][195]

My dear Bignami,

Your Berlin correspondent[a] will have given you all the details of the German elections.[196] Our triumph has been such as to strike terror into the hearts of the bourgeoisie both in Germany and abroad; here in London the shock wave has rippled throughout the press. The most significant thing is not the number of new electoral colleges we have won, although it is worth noting that the Emperor William, the King of Saxony[b] and the most petty princeling in Germany (the prince of Reuss)[c] all now reside in colleges represented by socialist workers and are, consequently, themselves represented by socialists. What is important, as well as these majorities, are the strong minorities obtained both in the cities and the countryside. In Berlin, 31,500; in Hamburg, Barmen-Elberfeld, Nuremberg and Dresden, 11,000 votes each city; not only in the countryside of Schleswig-Holstein, Saxony and Brunswick but even in the fortress of feudalism, in Mecklenburg, we had strong minorities of agricultural workers. On January 10, 1874 we had 350,000 votes; on January 10, 1877 we had at least 600,000.[197] The vote enables us to reckon our forces; the battalions are now able to tell you what are the army corps of German socialism passing in review on election day. The moral effect—on the socialist party which registers its progress with delight, on the workers who are still indifferent, and on our enemies—is enormous; and it is a good thing that once every three years the mortal sin of going to the polls is committed. The abstentionists[198] can say what they like; a single event like the elections of January 10 is worth more than all their "revolutionary" phrases. And when I say *battalions and army corps* I am not speaking metaphorically. At least half if not more of these men of 25 (the minimum age) who voted for us spent two to three years in uniform and they know perfectly well how to handle a needle gun and a rifled cannon, and they belong to the army reserve. A few years more of this sort of progress and we shall have the reserves and the *Landwehr*[199] (three quarters of the war army) with us in such a way as to immobilise the armed forces as a whole and make any kind of offensive war impossible.

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[a] E. Dörenberg.— *Ed.*
[b] Albert.— *Ed.*
[c] Heinrich XXII.— *Ed.*

Some people will say: But why not have the revolution right away? Because, not having more than 600,000 votes out of 5 and a half million, and these votes being scattered in many areas, we would certainly be defeated, and we would see ruined by foolhardy uprisings and senselessness a movement which only requires a little time to lead us to certain victory. It is obvious that our adversaries will not let themselves be beaten easily, that the Prussians are not going to let their war army become infected with socialism without reacting against it. But the more reaction and repression there is, the higher the flood will mount, until it sweeps away the flood gates. Do you know what happened in Berlin? On the night of January 10, all the streets surrounding the socialist Committee[200] rooms were packed with a crowd which even the police put at 22,000. Thanks to our party's perfect organisation and discipline, this Committee was the first to have the definitive election result. When it was declared, the whole crowd shouted an enthusiastic *hurrah*—for whom?—those elected?—no: "*for our most active agitator, the King's prosecutor Tessendorff*". The latter was always renowned for his judicial proceedings against the socialists; through his violence he doubled our numbers.

This is how our people respond to the measures of violence: they are not worried by them, rather they provoke them as the best means of agitation.

A fraternal greeting from your

F. Engels

Written on February 13, 1877

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 7, February 26, 1877

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Vorwärts

Central Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutſchlands.

Nr. 32. Freitag. 16. März 1877.

Frederick Engels

FROM ITALY[201]

The socialist movement in Italy too has at last been placed on a firm foundation and shows every sign of developing rapidly and successfully. But to enable the reader to fully grasp the turnabout that has taken place, we have to retrace the history of how Italian socialism emerged.

The beginnings of the movement in Italy can be traced back to Bakuninist influences. While a passionate but extremely muddled class hatred against their exploiters was dominant among the working masses, an army of young lawyers, doctors, writers, clerks, etc., under Bakunin's personal command, seized the leadership in every place where the revolutionary proletarian element appeared. All of them, albeit with varying degrees of initiation, were members of the secret Bakuninist "Alliance"[202] whose aim was to impose its leadership on the entire European workers' movement, and thus enable the Bakuninist sect surreptitiously to gain dominance in the coming social revolution. A detailed account of this can be found in the pamphlet *Ein Complot gegen die Internationale* (published by Bracke in Brunswick).[a]

This worked splendidly as long as the workers' movement itself was still in the process of formation. The extravagant Bakuninist revolutionary phrases aroused the desired applause everywhere; even the elements which stemmed from earlier political revolutionary movements were swept along in the current, and alongside Spain, Italy became, in Bakunin's own words, "the most revolutionary country in Europe".[203] Revolutionary in the sense of there being much ado about nothing. In contrast to the essentially political struggle by which the English workers' movement, followed by the French and finally the German movement, had become big and powerful, here all political activity was rejected since it implied recognition of "the State", and "the State" was the epitome of all evil. Hence, the ban on the formation of a workers' *party*; the ban on the fight for safeguards against exploitation, e.g., a standard working day, limitation of female and child labour; and above all a ban on participation in any *elections*. On the other hand, we have the command to agitate, organise and conspire for the coming revolution, which, when it drops from the skies, should be carried through without any provisional government and with the total destruction of all state and state-like institutions, solely by the initiative (secretly directed by the Alliance) of the working masses. "But do not ask me how!"[a]

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[a] See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).— *Ed.*

As we have already said, as long as the movement was in its infancy this all went splendidly. The vast majority of Italian towns are still largely isolated from world traffic, which they know only in the shape of tourist traffic. These towns supply the local peasants with handicraft products and facilitate the sale of agricultural produce over a larger area; moreover, the landowning nobility live in these towns and spend their revenue there; and, finally, a multitude of foreigners bring their money there. The proletarian elements in these towns are not very numerous, still less advanced, and moreover include a strong admixture of people who have no regular or steady jobs, as is favoured by tourism and the mild climate. Ultra-revolutionary phrases, which tacitly implied dagger and poison, fell upon fertile soil here to begin with. But there are also industrial towns in Italy, especially in the north, and as soon as the movement gained a foothold among the truly proletarian masses of *these* towns such a hazy diet could no longer suffice, nor could *these* workers allow those failed young bourgeois—who had thrown themselves into socialism because, to use Bakunin's words, their "career had reached a deadlock"—to patronise them in the long run.

And so it happened. The dissatisfaction of the North Italian workers at the ban on all political action, i.e., on all *real* action which went further than idle talk and conspiratorial humbug, grew with every passing day. The German electoral victories of 1874[204] and the unification of the German socialists achieved in their wake did not go unnoticed in Italy either. The elements which stemmed from the old republican movement and had only reluctantly submitted to the "anarchistic" clamour increasingly began to find the opportunity to stress the necessity of political struggle and to voice the rising opposition in the newspaper *La Plebe.* This weekly, republican during the first years of its existence, had soon joined the socialist movement and kept aloof as long as possible from all "anarchical" sectarianism. When, finally, the working masses in Northern Italy outgrew their obtrusive leaders and created a real movement in place of the fantastic one, they found in the *Plebe* a willing organ prepared from time to time to publish heretical hints about the necessity of political struggle.

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[a] H. Heine, *Buch der Lieder. Junge Leiden, Lieder VIII.*—*Ed.*

Had Bakunin been alive, he would have fought this heresy in his usual manner. He would have imputed "authoritarianism", a craving for domination, ambition and so on to the people connected with the *Plebe*; he would have made all manner of petty personal criticisms against them and would have had this repeated time and again in all organs of the Alliance in Switzerland, Italy and Spain. Only as a secondary thought would he have demonstrated that all these crimes were simply the inevitable consequences of that original deadly sin—the heresy of recognising political action; for political action implied recognition of the State, and since the State was the embodiment of authoritarianism, of domination, it followed that everybody who stood for working-class political action must logically stand for political domination for himself, and hence be an enemy of the working class—stone him! Bakunin used this method, which he borrowed from the late Maximilien Robespierre, with great skill, but applied it far too often and far too uniformly. This was nevertheless the only method which promised at least momentary success.

But Bakunin had died[a] and the secret world government had passed into the hands of Mr. James Guillaume of Neuchâtel in Switzerland. The cunning man of the world was superseded by a strait-laced pedant who applied the fanaticism of the Swiss Calvinists to the anarchist doctrine. The true faith had to be asserted at all costs and the narrow-minded schoolmaster of Neuchâtel had in any case to be recognised as the Pope of this true faith. The *Bulletin of the Jura Federation*[b]—a Federation with an avowedly hardly 200 members as against the 5,000 of the Swiss Workers' Association[205]—was designated as the official gazette of the sect and began bluntly to "rebuke" those who were vacillating in their faith. But the workers of Lombardy who had formed the North Italian Federation[206] were no longer willing to tolerate these rebukes. And when last autumn the Jurassic bulletin even presumed to *order* the *Plebe* to get rid of a Paris correspondent who had incurred Mr. Guillaume's displeasure,[a] the friendship came to an end. The bulletin continued to accuse the *Plebe* and the North Italians of heresy, but the latter now knew what was what; they knew that the preaching of anarchy and autonomy served to conceal the claim of a few plotters to dictate their orders to the whole workers' movement.

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[a] On July 1, 1876.—*Ed.*

[b] *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs.*—*Ed.*

> "Four short and very calm lines in the note have greatly irritated the Jura bulletin, and it tries to make out that we were enraged by it, whereas we were merely *amused*. Indeed, one would have to be very childish to swallow the bait of people who, ill with envy, knock at all doors and by means of vilification seek to solicit a bit of malice against us and our friends. The hand which has long been going around, *sowing* the seeds of *discord and strife*, is too well known for anyone to be still deceived by its Jesuit (Loyolite) machinations" (*La Plebe*, January 21, 1877).[b]

And in the issue of February 26[c] these same people are called "a few narrow-minded *anarchistic* and—what a monstrous contradiction!—at the same time *dictatorial* minds"; this is the best proof that these gentlemen have been seen for what they are in Milan and that they can cause no more mischief there.

The finishing touches were made by the German elections of January 10 and by the concomitant turnabout in the Belgian movement—the abandonment of the previous policy of political abstention and its replacement by agitation for universal suffrage and factory legislation. The North Italian Federation held a congress in Milan on February 17 and 18.[d] In its resolutions the congress refrains from all unnecessary and misplaced hostility towards the Bakuninist groups of the Italian members of the International. They even expressed willingness to send delegates to the congress called for in Brussels which will attempt to unite the various components of the European workers' movement. But at the same time they express three points with the utmost firmness which are of decisive importance for the Italian movement, namely:

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[a] "Nouvelles de l'extérieur. Italie", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association internationale des travailleurs*, No. 51, December 17, 1876.—*Ed.*

[b] "Quattro piccole righe...", *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 21, 1877.—*Ed.*

[c] "Abbiamo ricevuto...", *La Plebe*, No. 7, February 26, 1877.—*Ed.*

[d] "Congresso Socialista di Milano", ibid.—*Ed.*

1. that *all* available means—hence also political means—must be used to promote the movement;

2. that the socialist workers must set up a socialist *party*, which is to be independent of any other political or religious party;

3. that the North Italian Federation, without prejudice to its own autonomy, and on the basis of the *original* Rules of the International,[a] considers itself a member of this great association and moreover *independent* of all other Italian associations which, however, will as before continue to receive proof of its solidarity.[b]

And so—political struggle, organisation of a political party and separation from the anarchists. By adopting these resolutions, the North Italian Federation has definitively broken with the Bakuninist sect and taken its stand on the common ground of the great European workers' movement. And since it embraces the industrially advanced regions of Italy—Lombardy, Piedmont and Venetia—it is bound to be successful. Against the rational means of agitation which experience has shown to be effective in all other countries, the cliquishness of the Bakuninist quacks will quickly reveal its impotence, and in the South of the country too the Italian proletariat will throw off the yoke imposed by people who derive their mission to lead the workers' movement from their position as down-and-out bourgeois.

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Printed according to the newspaper

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16.— *Ed.*

[b] "Congresso Socialista di Milano", *La Plebe*, No. 7, February 26, 1877.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

[BRITISH AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THEIR COUNTRY][207]

London, June 5

At a meeting of delegates of the agricultural associations which took place a few days ago at Exeter Hall, Joseph Arch spoke out forcefully against the war[208] and received rapturous applause. The leader of the farm labourers' party revealed himself to be an uninhibited advocate of peace, especially because the sacrifices which war entails weigh increasingly heavily on the workers more than on the other social classes. The agricultural labourers in Britain do not yet participate officially in the political life of their country, but these impressive demonstrations of opposition to war cannot help having a certain influence also on those classes upon which the politics of the nation depends. The agricultural labourers are beginning to feel the need of playing a direct part in this political life themselves, and therefore at their meeting at Exeter Hall they also dealt in particular with the extension of franchise.[209] They still constitute a caste of poor pariahs, not only in economic terms but politically too. They therefore hammer at the door of Parliament and ask to go in: they no longer want to be what they have been up till now. One can easily imagine that their claims are not viewed favourably by all those—and they are many, particularly among the clergy—who consider the subjection of the agricultural labourers to be the basis of the whole British politico-economic system. On the other hand, the members of the bourgeois parliamentary opposition are coming forward to take control of this farm labourers' movement themselves and use it to destroy their political opponents currently in government. At the head of this bourgeois opposition stands Mr. Bright, who also spoke at the Exeter Hall meeting and, deftly leaving out the big economic-social issue, made a resounding political accusation against the men who are at present in power. This is understandable: the economic-social terrain is a highly arduous and tricky one for the bourgeoisie. In fact the aristocracy in Britain has always shown itself to be far less inhibited on this terrain because its social position does not force it to speculate, as the bourgeoisie does, on everything and everyone in order to get rich. The workers understand this state of affairs perfectly and so when they want to wrest concessions they turn more hopefully to the aristocracy than to the bourgeoisie, as they have demonstrated in a recent appeal to Lord Beaconsfield.[210] So long as this situation continues, so long as the workers can play see-saw with some small profit between bourgeoisie and aristocracy, Britain will certainly not experience violent socialist agitations such as occur in other countries, where the ruling classes simply constitute, in relation to the workers, a great, reactionary, compact and inexorable mass. But once the working classes are no longer able to draw any profit from the rival competition between the interests of the landed aristocracy and the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, because that competition will no longer exist, then we shall have in Britain too the start of the real revolutionary period. Up till now the aristocracy mollified the working masses with philanthropic concessions; now the bourgeoisie is trying its hand by lending support to the workers' political tendencies and taking possession of them in order to direct them. We are on the brink of the period of universal suffrage: and on this terrain the bourgeoisie is hastening to display all its skills and wiles, in other words to make political concessions in order to safeguard its own economic interests and leave the aristocracy behind. Nevertheless, this whole mechanism of relations between the three social elements—proletarians, bourgeoisie and aristocrats—has had the effect on the proletarians of making them feel no longer like children or sentimentalists but of realising—as a speaker at Exeter Hall aptly put it—that their relations with the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy can only be *business relations*.

The social movement in Britain—as you can see—is slow, it is evolutionist, not revolutionary, but it is nonetheless a movement forwards.

Written on June 5, 1877

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Frederick Engels

[BRITISH AGRICULTURAL UNION AND THE COLLECTIVIST MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE]

London, June 14

I realised that my last article[a] was incomplete, and therefore feel it to be my due to write the present one. I spoke there about the Agricultural Union,[211] founded 6 years ago by citizen Arch, who is now famous throughout Britain for this initiative and for the quality of his public speaking: he is a real tribune, somewhat unrefined, but powerful in his lack of refinement.

The Union began its propaganda over the wages question. The farm workers earned no more than the equivalent of 16 lire (Italian) a week. Arch, with the help of some able friends, increased the membership of the Agricultural Union by over 50 thousand in 3 or 4 years and was able to organise a strike of 30 thousand men. The strike was successful, and wages rose by two and a half lire a week in the Eastern counties. At the same time provisions were adopted to let farm workers emigrate to America and Australia or move from one English county to another. These transfers obtained the desired effect of raising wages where manpower decreased. This struggle was conducted to good effect until 1874.[212] But after this date things changed. There was an attempt to tackle the question of an expropriation of the land in favour of the State, as the famous economist Stuart Mill had already proposed.[b] The questions of universal suffrage and popular education were also raised. Note, however, a very significant circumstance, namely that the movement in favour of collective property was almost exclusively the work of those who broke away from citizen Arch, whose constant predilection was for those issues which did not touch the holy altar of the individual ownership of land. Indeed, in the presence of the collectivist movement, he felt disposed to preach a sort of conciliation between agricultural labourers and their exploiters; in the presence, in other words, of the revolutionary idea of collectivism he felt himself to be a conservative: he reserved all his hostility for the upper aristocracy. He thought it useful to woo the tenant farmers a little, to avoid having them as avowed enemies in the parliamentary elections. It is therefore not unlikely that we shall see citizen Arch in the House of Commons: there is already a certain amount of agitation in this direction and Arch is willing to stand as a candidate for membership. All this does not stop the collectivist movement from making headway: indeed even at the recent MEETING of the Agricultural Union[213] something was said about it. After recognising the need for great improvements in agriculture, the desire was expressed for a law which would place all cultivable land in the hands of a representative body and indemnify the owners. This expropriation would be intended to benefit the working people—those people, in other words, in whose hands the future prosperity of agriculture lies.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 179-80.— *Ed.*

[b] J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, London, 1848.— *Ed.*

I have been concerned to set this out for you because I want the Italian socialists to have a clear idea of the spirit of our Agricultural Union and the movement agitating round it.

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Frederick Engels

KARL MARX[214]

Karl Marx, the man who was the first to give socialism, and thereby the whole workers' movement of our day, a scientific foundation, was born in Trier in 1818. He studied in Bonn and Berlin, at first taking up jurisprudence, but he soon devoted himself exclusively to the study of history and philosophy, and in 1842 was on the point of qualifying as a dozent in philosophy when the political movement which had arisen since the death of Frederick William III directed his life into a different career. With his collaboration, the leaders of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie, Messrs. Camphausen, Hansemann, and others had founded in Cologne the *Rheinische Zeitung*, and in the autumn of 1842, Marx, whose criticism of the proceedings of the Rhine Province Assembly[a] had attracted very great attention, was put at the head of the paper. The *Rheinische Zeitung* naturally appeared under censorship, but the censors could not cope with it.* The *Rheinische Zeitung* almost always got through the articles which mattered; the censor was first supplied with insignificant fodder for him to strike out, until he either gave way of himself or was compelled to give way by the threat that then the paper would not appear the next day. Ten newspapers with the same courage as the *Rheinische Zeitung* and whose publishers allowed a few hundred talers extra to be expended on typesetting—and censorship would have been made impossible

* The first censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* was Police Councillor Dolleschall, the same man who once struck out an advertisement in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of the translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* by Philalethes (later King John of Saxony) with the remark: One must not make a comedy of divine affairs.

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[a] K. Marx, "Proceedings of the Sixth Rhine Province Assembly".—*Ed.*

in Germany as early as 1843. But the German newspaper owners were petty-minded, timid philistines, and the *Rheinische Zeitung* carried on the struggle alone. It wore out one censor after another; finally it came under a double censorship; after the first censorship the Regierungspräsident[a] had once more and finally to censor it. Even that was to no avail. In early 1843, the government declared that it was impossible to cope with this newspaper and suppressed it without further ado.

Marx, who in the meanwhile had married the sister of von Westphalen, later a reactionary minister, moved to Paris, and there, in conjunction with A. Ruge, published the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,* in which he opened the series of his socialist writings with a *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law.*[b] Further, together with F. Engels, *The Holy Family. Against Bruno Bauer and Co.,*[c] a satirical criticism of one of the latest forms assumed by the German philosophical idealism of the time.

The study of political economy and of the history of the Great French Revolution[215] still allowed Marx time enough for occasional attacks on the Prussian government[216]; the latter revenged itself in the spring of 1845 by securing from Guizot's ministry—Mr. Alexander von Humboldt is said to have acted as intermediary[217]—his expulsion from France. Marx shifted his domicile to Brussels and published there in French in 1848 "Discours sur le libre échange" (Speech on the Question of Free Trade)[218] and in 1847 *Misère de la philosophie,*[d] a criticism of Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère*[e] (Philosophy of Poverty). At the same time he made use of the opportunity to found a German workers' association in Brussels[219] and so commenced practical agitation. The latter became still more important for him when he and his political friends in 1847 entered the secret Communist League, which had already been in existence for a number of years. Its whole structure was now radically changed; this association, which previously had been more or less conspiratorial, was transformed into a simple organisation of communist propaganda, which was

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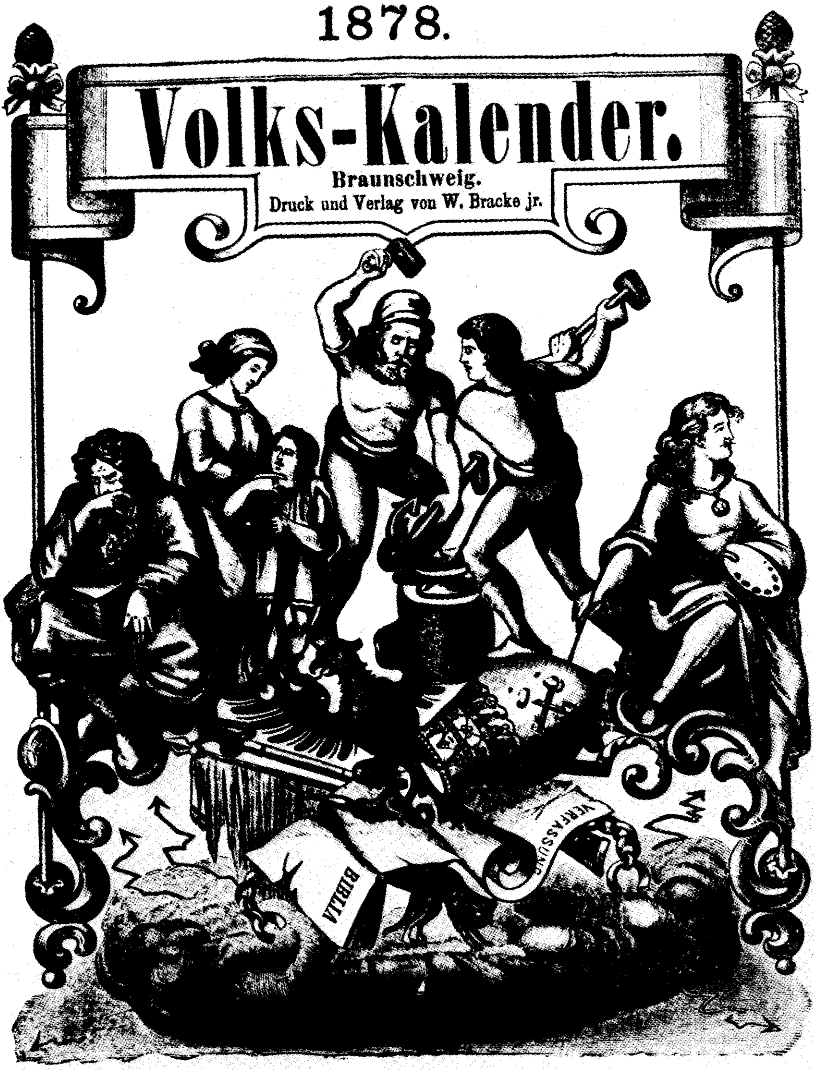
[a] Carl Johann Heinrich Eduard von Gerlach.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction".—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Criticism. Against Bruno Bauer and Company.—Ed.*

[d] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.—Ed.*

[e] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou la Philosophie de la misère.—Ed.*



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VERFASSUNG
BIBLIA

The title-page of *Volks-Kalender*, Brunswick, 1878

only secret because necessity compelled it to be so, the *first* organisation of the German Social-Democratic Party. The League existed wherever German workers' associations were to be found; in almost all of these associations in England, Belgium, France and Switzerland, and in very many of the associations in Germany, the leading members belonged to the League and the share of the League in the fledgling German workers' movement was very considerable. Moreover, our League was the first to emphasise the international character of the whole workers' movement and implement it in practice, having Englishmen, Belgians, Hungarians, Poles, etc., as members and organising international workers' meetings, especially in London.

The transformation of the League took place at two congresses held in 1847,[220] the second of which resolved on the elaboration and publication of the fundamental principles of the Party in a manifesto to be drawn up by Marx and Engels. Thus appeared *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which first saw the light of day in 1848, shortly before the February Revolution, and has since been translated into almost all European languages.

The *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, in which Marx participated and which mercilessly exposed the blessings of the police regime of the fatherland, caused the Prussian government to try to effect Marx's expulsion once more, but in vain. When, however, the February Revolution resulted in popular movements also in Brussels, and a radical change appeared to be imminent in Belgium, the Belgian government arrested Marx without ceremony and deported him. In the meantime, the French Provisional Government had sent him through Flocon an invitation to return to Paris, and he accepted this call.

In Paris he came out especially against the swindle, widespread among the Germans there, of wanting to form the German workers in France into armed legions in order to carry the revolution and the republic into Germany. On the one hand, Germany had to make her revolution herself, and, on the other hand, every revolutionary foreign legion formed in France was betrayed in advance by the Lamartines of the Provisional Government to the government which was to be overthrown, as occurred in Belgium and Baden.

After the March Revolution, Marx went to Cologne where he founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which was in existence from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849—the only paper which represented the standpoint of the proletariat within the democratic movement of the time, as shown e.g. in its unreserved support for the Paris

June insurgents of 1848,[221] which cost the paper the defection of almost all its shareholders. In vain the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[a] pointed to the "Chimborazo[b] insolence" with which the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* attacked everything sacred, from the King and Imperial Regent[c] down to the gendarme, and that, too, in a Prussian fortress with a garrison of 8,000 at that time; in vain was the rage of the Rhenish liberal philistines, who had suddenly become reactionary; in vain was the paper suspended for a lengthy period by martial law in Cologne in the autumn of 1848; in vain the Imperial Ministry of Justice in Frankfurt denounced article after article to the Cologne Public Prosecutor in order that judicial proceedings should be taken; under the very eyes of the police the paper calmly went on being edited and printed, and its distribution and reputation increased with the vehemence of its attacks on the government and the bourgeoisie. When the Prussian coup d'état took place in November 1848,[222] the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* called at the head of each issue upon the people to refuse to pay taxes and to meet force with force. In the spring of 1849, both on this account and because of another article,[d] it was made to face a jury, but on both occasions was acquitted. Finally, when the May revolts of 1848 in Dresden and the Rhine Province had been suppressed, and the Prussian campaign against the Baden-Palatinate uprising had been inaugurated by the concentration and mobilisation of considerable masses of troops,[223] the government believed itself strong enough to suppress the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* by force. The last number—printed in red—appeared on May 19.

Marx again went to Paris, but only a few weeks after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, he was faced by the French government with the choice of either moving his residence to Brittany or leaving France. He preferred the latter and moved to London, where he has lived uninterruptedly ever since.

An attempt to continue to issue the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in the form of a review (in Hamburg in 1850)[e] had to be given up after a while in view of the ever-increasing onslaughts of the reaction. Immediately after the coup d'état in France in December 1851, Marx published *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

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[a] *Neue Preußische Zeitung.— Ed.*

[b] A peak in the Andes.— *Ed.*

[c] Frederick William IV and Archduke John of Austria.— *Ed.*

[d] "Arrests", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* No. 35, July 5, 1848.— *Ed.*

[e] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.—Ed.*

(New York, 1852; second edition, Hamburg, 1869, shortly before the war). In 1853 he wrote *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (first printed in Basle, later in Boston and again recently in Leipzig).

After the condemnation of the members of the Communist League in Cologne, Marx withdrew from political agitation and for ten years devoted himself, on the one hand, to the study of the rich treasures offered by the library of the British Museum in the sphere of political economy, and, on the other hand, to writing for the *New-York Tribune*, which up to the outbreak of the American Civil War published not only contributions signed by him but also numerous leading articles on conditions in Europe and Asia from his pen. His attacks on Lord Palmerston, based on an exhaustive study of British official documents, were reprinted in London in pamphlet form.[a]

As the first fruit of his many years studying economics, there appeared in 1859 *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Part One (Berlin, Duncker). This work contains the first coherent exposition of the Marxian theory of value, including the doctrine of money. During the Italian War[224] Marx, in the German newspaper *Das Volk*, appearing in London, attacked Bonapartism, which at that time posed as liberal and played the part of liberator of the oppressed nationalities, and also the Prussian policy of the day, which under the cover of neutrality was seeking to fish in troubled waters. In this connection it was necessary to attack also Herr Karl Vogt, who at that time, on the commission of Prince Napoleon (Plon-Plon) and in the pay of Louis Napoleon, was carrying on agitation for the neutrality, and indeed the sympathy, of Germany. When Vogt heaped upon him the most abominable and deliberately false calumnies, Marx answered with *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860), in which Vogt and the other gentlemen of the imperial sham-democratic gang were exposed, and Vogt himself on the basis of both external and internal evidence was convicted of receiving bribes from the December Empire.[b] The confirmation came just ten years later: in the list of the Bonaparte hirelings, found in the Tuileries in 1870 and published by the September government, there was the following entry under the letter V: "Vogt—in August 1859 there were remitted to him—Frs. 40,000."[225]

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 12, pp. 341-406.—*Ed.*

[b] The empire of Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

At last, in 1867, there appeared in Hamburg: *Capital. A Critique of Political Economy*, Volume I, Marx's chief work, which expounds the foundations of his economic and socialist conceptions and the main features of his criticism of existing society, the capitalist mode of production and its consequences. The second edition of this epoch-making work appeared in 1872; the author is engaged in the elaboration of the second volume.

Meanwhile the workers' movement in various countries of Europe had regained strength to the extent that Marx could entertain the idea of realising a long-cherished wish: the foundation of a Workers' Association embracing the most advanced countries of Europe and America, which would demonstrate bodily, so to speak, the international character of the socialist movement both to the workers themselves and to the bourgeois and the governments—for the encouragement and strengthening of the proletariat, for striking fear into the hearts of its enemies. A public meeting in favour of Poland, which had just then again been crushed by Russia, held on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, London, provided the occasion for bringing forward the matter, which was enthusiastically taken up. The *International Working Men's Association* was founded; a Provisional General Council, with its seat in London, was elected at the meeting, and Marx was the soul of this as of all subsequent General Councils up to the Hague Congress. He drafted almost every one of the documents issued by the General Council of the International, from the Inaugural Address, 1864, to the Address on the Civil War in France, 1871. To describe Marx's activity in the International is to write the history of this Association itself, which in any case lives on in the memory of European workers.

The fall of the Paris Commune put the International in an impossible position. It was thrust into the forefront of European history at a moment when it had everywhere been deprived of all possibility of successful practical action. The events which raised it to the position of the seventh Great Power simultaneously forbade it to mobilise its fighting forces and employ them in action, on pain of inevitable defeat and the setting back of the workers' movement for decades. In addition, from various sides elements were pushing themselves forward that sought to exploit the suddenly enhanced fame of the Association for the purpose of gratifying personal vanity or personal ambition, without understanding the real position of the International or without regard for it. A heroic decision had to be taken, and it was again Marx who took it and who carried it through at the Hague Congress. In a solemn resolution, the International disclaimed all responsibility for the doings of the Bakuninists, who formed the centre of those unreasonable and unsavoury elements. Then, in view of the impossibility of also meeting, in the face of the general reaction, the increased demands which were being imposed upon it, and of maintaining its complete efficacy other than by a series of sacrifices which would have drained the workers' movement of its life-blood—in view of this situation, the International withdrew from the stage for the time being by transferring the General Council to America.[a] The results proved the correctness of this decision—which was at the time, and has been since, so often censured. On the one hand, it put a stop then and since to all attempts to make useless *putsches* in the name of the International, while, on the other hand, the continuing close intercourse between the socialist workers' parties of the various countries proved that the consciousness of the identity of interests and of the solidarity of the proletariat of all countries evoked by the International is able to assert itself even without the bond of a formal international association, which for the moment has become a fetter.

After the Hague Congress, Marx at last found peace and leisure again for resuming his theoretical work, and it is to be hoped he will be able before long to have the second volume of *Capital* ready for the press.

Of the many important discoveries through which Marx has inscribed his name in the annals of science, we can here dwell on only two.

The first is the revolution brought about by him in the whole conception of world history. The entire view of history hitherto was based on the conception that the ultimate causes of all historical changes are to be sought in the changing ideas of human beings, and that of all historical changes political changes are the most important and dominate the whole of history. But the question was not asked as to whence the ideas come into men's minds and what the driving causes of the political changes are. Only upon the newer school of French, and partly also of English, historians had the conviction forced itself that, since the Middle Ages at least, the driving force in European history had been the struggle of the developing bourgeoisie with the feudal aristocracy for social and political domination. Now Marx has proved that the whole of history hitherto is a history of class struggles, that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles the only thing at issue has been the social and political rule of classes of society, the maintenance of domination by older classes and the conquest of domination by newly arising classes. To what, however, do these classes owe their origin and their continued existence? They owe it to the particular material, physically sensible conditions in which society in a given period produces and exchanges its means of subsistence. The feudal rule of the Middle Ages rested on the self-sufficient economy of small peasant communities, which themselves produced almost all their requirements, in which there was almost no exchange and which received from the arms-bearing nobility protection from without and national or at least political cohesion. When the towns arose and with them separate handicraft industry and trade, at first internal and later international, the urban bourgeoisie developed, and already during the Middle Ages achieved, in struggle with the nobility, its inclusion in the feudal order as a likewise privileged estate. But with the discovery of the extra-European lands, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, this bourgeoisie acquired a far more extensive sphere of trade and therewith a new spur for its industry; in the most important branches handicrafts were supplanted by manufacture, now on a factory scale, and this again was supplanted by large-scale industry, which became possible owing to the discoveries of the previous century, especially that of the steam engine. Large-scale industry, in its turn, had an effect on trade, driving out the old manual labour in backward countries and creating the present-day new means of communication: steam engines, railways, electric telegraphy, in the more developed ones. Thus the bourgeoisie came more and more to combine social wealth and social power in its hands, while it still for a long period remained excluded from political power which was in the hands of the nobility and the monarchy supported by the nobility. But at a certain stage—in France since the Great Revolution—it also conquered political power, and now in turn became the ruling class over the proletariat and small peasants. From this point of view all the historical phenomena are explicable in the simplest possible way—with sufficient knowledge of the particular economic condition of society, which it is true is totally lacking in our professional historians—and in the same way the conceptions and ideas of each historical period are most simply to be explained from the economic conditions of life and from the social and political relations of the period, which are in turn determined by these economic conditions. History was for the first time placed on its real basis; the palpable but previously totally overlooked fact that men must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, therefore must *work*, before they can fight for domination, pursue politics, religion, philosophy, etc.—this palpable fact at last came into its historical right.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 250-52.—*Ed.*

This new conception of history, however, was of supreme significance for the socialist outlook. It showed that all history hitherto revolved around class antagonisms and class struggles, that there have always existed ruling and ruled, exploiting and exploited classes, and that the great majority of mankind has always been condemned to arduous labour and little enjoyment. Why is this? Simply because in all earlier stages of development of mankind production was so little developed that historical development could proceed only in this antagonistic form, that historical progress on the whole was assigned to the activity of a small privileged minority, while the great mass remained condemned to producing by their labour their own meagre means of subsistence and also the increasingly rich means of the privileged. But the same investigation of history, which in this way provides a natural and reasonable explanation of class rule hitherto, otherwise only explicable from the wickedness of man, also leads to the realisation that, in consequence of the so tremendously increased productive forces of the present time, even the last pretext has vanished, at least in the most advanced countries, for a division of mankind into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited; that the ruling big bourgeoisie has fulfilled its historic mission, that it is no longer capable of the leadership of society and has even become a hindrance to the development of production, as the trade crises, and especially the last great crash,[226] and the depressed condition of industry in all countries have proved; that historical leadership has passed to the proletariat, a class which, owing to its whole position in society, can only free itself by abolishing altogether all class rule, all servitude and all exploitation; and that the productive forces of society, which have outgrown the control of the bourgeoisie, are only waiting for the associated proletariat to take possession of them in order to bring about a state of things in which every member of society will be enabled to participate not only in production but also in the distribution and administration of social wealth, and which so increases the productive forces of society and their yield by planned operation of the whole of production that the satisfaction of all reasonable needs will be assured to everyone in an ever-increasing measure.

The second important discovery of Marx is the final elucidation of the relation between capital and labour, in other words, the demonstration how, within present society and under the existing capitalist mode of production, the exploitation of the worker by the capitalist takes place. Ever since political economy had put forward the proposition that labour is the source of all wealth and of all value, the question became inevitable: How is this then to be reconciled with the fact that the wage labourer does not receive the whole sum of value created by his labour but has to surrender a part of it to the capitalist? Both the bourgeois economists and the socialists exerted themselves to give a scientifically valid answer to this question, but in vain, until at last Marx came forward with the solution. This solution is as follows: The present-day capitalist mode of production presupposes the existence of two social classes—on the one hand, that of the capitalists, who are in possession of the means of production and subsistence, and, on the other hand, that of the proletarians, who, being excluded from this possession, have only a single commodity for sale, their labour power, and who therefore have to sell this labour power of theirs in order to obtain possession of means of subsistence. The value of a commodity is, however, determined by the socially necessary quantity of labour embodied in its production, and, therefore, also in its reproduction; the value of the labour power of an average human being during a day, month or year is determined, therefore, by the quantity of labour embodied in the quantity of means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of this labour power during a day, month or year. Let us assume that the means of subsistence of a worker for one day require six hours of labour for their production, or, what is the same thing, that the labour contained in them represents a quantity of labour of six hours; then the value of labour power for one day will be expressed in a sum of money which also embodies six hours of labour. Let us also assume that the capitalist who employs our worker pays him this sum in return, that is the full value of his labour power. If now the worker works six hours of the day for the capitalist, he has completely replaced the latter's outlay—six hours' labour for six hours' labour. But then there would be nothing in it for the capitalist, and the latter therefore looks at the matter quite differently. He says: I have bought the labour power of this worker not for six hours but for a whole day, and accordingly he makes the worker work 8, 10, 12, 14 or more hours according to circumstances, so that the product of the seventh, eighth and following hours is a product of unpaid labour and finds its way, to begin with, into the pocket of the capitalist. Thus the worker in the service of the capitalist not only reproduces the value of his labour power, for which he receives pay, but over and above that he also produces a *surplus value* which, appropriated in the first place by the capitalist, is subsequently divided according to definite economic laws among the whole capitalist class and forms the basic stock from which arise ground rent, profit, accumulation of capital, in short, all the wealth consumed or accumulated by the non-labouring classes. But this proved that the acquisition of riches by the present-day capitalists consists just as much in the appropriation of the unpaid labour of others as that of the slaveowner or the feudal lord exploiting serf labour, and that all these forms of exploitation are only to be distinguished by the difference in manner and method by which the unpaid labour is appropriated. This, however, also removed the last justification for all the hypocritical phrases of the possessing classes to the effect that in the present social order right and justice, equality of rights and duties and a universal harmony of interests prevail, and present-day bourgeois society, no less than its predecessors, was exposed as a grandiose institution for the exploitation of the huge majority of the people by a small, ever-diminishing minority.

Modern, scientific socialism is based on these two important facts. In the second volume of *Capital*, these and other hardly less important scientific discoveries concerning the capitalist system of society will be further developed, and thereby those aspects of political economy not touched upon in the first volume will also undergo revolutionisation. May it be vouchsafed to Marx to be able soon to have it ready for the press.

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First published in the *Volks-Kalender*, Brunswick, 1878

Printed according to the text of the first publication

Karl Marx

[LETTER TO *OTECHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI*][227]

Dear Sir,[a]

The author[b] of the article "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky" is obviously an intelligent man and, had he found a single passage in my account of "primitive accumulation" to support his conclusions, he would have quoted it. For want of such a passage he considers it necessary to seize hold of an annexe, a polemical sortie against a Russian "belletrist"[c] printed in the appendix to the first German edition of *Capital*. What do I there reproach this writer for? The fact that he discovered "Russian" communism not in Russia but in the book by Haxthausen,[d] the adviser to the Prussian Government, and that in his hands the Russian community serves only as an argument to prove that the old, rotten Europe must be regenerated by the victory of Pan-Slavism. My appreciation of this writer may be correct, it may be wrong, but in neither case could it provide the key to my views on the efforts "русскихъ людей найти для своего отечества путь развитія, отличный отъ того, которымъ шла и идетъ Западная Европа etc."[e]

In the Afterword to the second German edition of *Capital*—which the author of the article about Mr. Zhukovsky knows,

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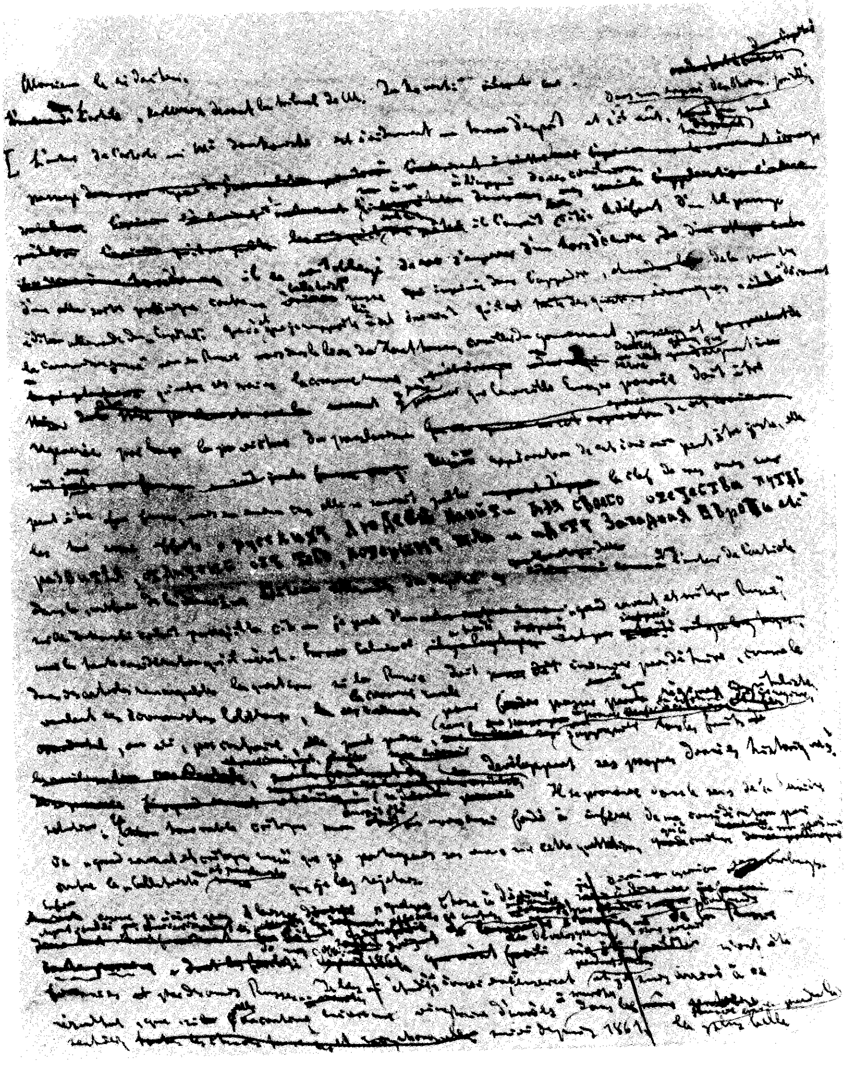
[a] M. Ye. Saltykov-Shchedrin.— *Ed.*

[b] N. K. Mikhailovsky.— *Ed.*

[c] A. I. Herzen.— *Ed.*

[d] A. Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Rußlands.*— *Ed.*

[e] "of Russians to find a path of development for their country which will be different from that which Western Europe pursued and still pursues etc."— *Ed.*



The first page of Marx's "Letter to *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*"

because he quotes it—I speak of "a great Russian scholar and critic"[a] with the high esteem which he deserves. In his noteworthy articles[b] the latter dealt with the question whether Russia should start, as its liberal economists wish, by destroying the rural community in order to pass to a capitalist system or whether, on the contrary, it can acquire all the fruits of this system without suffering its torments, by developing its own historical conditions. He comes out in favour of the second solution. And my honourable critic would have been at least as justified in inferring from my esteem for this "great Russian scholar and critic" that I shared his views on this question as he is in concluding from my polemic against the "belletrist" and Pan-Slavist that I rejected them.

Be that as it may, as I do not like to leave anything to "guesswork", I shall speak straight out. In order to reach an informed judgment of the economic development of contemporary Russia, I learned Russian and then spent several long years studying official publications and others with a bearing on this subject. I have arrived at this result: if Russia continues along the path it has followed since 1861, it will miss the finest chance that history has ever offered to a nation, only to undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist system.[c]

II

The chapter on primitive accumulation does not pretend to do more than trace the road by which in Western Europe the capitalist economic order emerged from the entrails of the feudal economic order. It thus describes the historical movement which by divorcing the producers from their means of production transforms them into wage-workers (proletarians in the modern sense of the word) and the owners of the means of production into capitalists. In this history, "every revolution which acts as a lever for the advancement of the capitalist class in its process of formation marks an epoch; above all that which, by stripping great masses of men of their traditional means of production and subsistence, suddenly hurls them on the labour market. But the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the agricultural producer. To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England ... but all the other countries of Western Europe are undergoing the same process etc." (*Capital*, French edition, p. 315). At the end of the chapter the historical tendency of capitalist production is summed up thus: That it "itself begets its own negation with the inexorability which governs the metamorphoses of nature"; that it has itself created the elements of a new economic order, by giving the greatest impulse at once to the productive forces of social labour and to the integral development of every individual producer; that capitalist property, which actually rests already on a collective mode of production, can only be transformed into social property.

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[a] N. G. Chernyshevsky.— *Ed.*

[b] Н. Чернышевскій, *Письма безъ адреса*, Цюрихъ, 1874.— *Ed.*

[c] This paragraph is crossed out in Marx's manuscript.— *Ed.*

I do not give any proof at this point for the very good reason that this assertion itself is nothing but a summary recapitulation of long developments previously set out in the chapters on capitalist production.

Now, in what way was my critic[a] able to apply this historical sketch to Russia? Only this: if Russia is tending to become a capitalist nation, on the model of the countries of Western Europe,—and in recent years it has gone to great pains to move in this direction—it will not succeed without having first transformed a large proportion of its peasants into proletarians; and after that, once it has been placed in the bosom of the capitalist system, it will be subjected to its pitiless laws, like other profane peoples. That is all! But this is too little for my critic. It is absolutely necessary for him to metamorphose my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of general development, imposed by fate on all peoples, whatever the historical circumstances in which they are placed, in order to eventually attain this economic formation which, with a tremendous leap of the productive forces of social labour, assures the most integral development of every individual producer. But I beg his pardon. This does me too much honour, and yet puts me to shame at the same time. Let us take an example. In various places in *Capital* I allude to the destiny of the plebeians of Ancient Rome. They were originally free peasants cultivating their own plots of land on their own account. In the course of Roman history they were expropriated. The same movement which cut them off from their means of production and subsistence involved not only the formation of large landed property but also the formation of large money capital. Thus, one fine morning, there were on the one hand free men stripped of everything except their labour power, and on the other, in order to exploit this labour, the owners of all the acquired wealth. What happened? The Roman proletarians became not wage labourers but an idle "*MOB*", more abject than the former "*POOR WHITES*"[228] of the southern states of America; and alongside them there developed a mode of production that was not capitalist but based on slavery. Thus events strikingly analogous, but occurring in different historical milieux, led to quite disparate results. By studying each of these evolutions on its own, and then comparing them, one will easily discover the key to the phenomenon, but it will never be arrived at by employing the all-purpose formula of a general historico-philosophical theory whose supreme virtue consists in being supra-historical.

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[a] N. K. Mikhailovsky.—*Ed.*

Written presumably in November 1877

First published in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*, No. 5, Geneva, 1886

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Karl Marx

[TO AN EDITORIAL BOARD IN LONDON]

[London,] December 19, 1877
41 Maitland Park Road, N. W.

Gentlemen,

Herewith a letter sent me from Breslau[a] for forwarding to you. The sender, Horovitz, though not known to me, has written saying he is a member of the Breslau section of the Social-Democratic Party.

With kind regards,

Karl Marx

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, Second Russian Edition, Vol. 34, Moscow, 1964

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Polish name: Wrocław.— *Ed.*

Anno XI. (Abbon. Postale) MILANO, 22 Gennaio 1878. (Abbon. Postale) Num. 3.

LA PLEBE

RIVISTA SOCIALISTA EBDOMADARIA

Frederick Engels

[ON THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY, FRANCE, THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA][229]

The socialist movement in Germany is making admirable progress. There are currently 62 socialist periodicals, of which 46 are daily newspapers, 1 is a magazine and 15 are organs of *societies of resistance.* Moreover, 4 German-language newspapers and 1 magazine are published in Switzerland, 3 in Austria, 1 in Hungary, 6 in America. The total number of socialist periodical publications in German is:

Germany	62	75[230]
Austria	3	
Hungary	1	
Switzerland	3	
America	6	

and therefore the periodical literature of German socialism has more organs than all the other languages put together. I am not including in these figures the more or less socialist newspapers of the *university professors* (*Kathedersocialisten*)[231] but only the recognised organs of the party.

When a bourgeois wrote to me after the attempt on Bismarck's life[232]: "All (bourgeois) Germany is rejoicing that Bismarck was not killed", I replied: "We are pleased too, because he works for us as if he were paid for the job." You know I was right, because without the persecutions and the sufferings, without the militarism and the ever-increasing taxes, we would never have reached this point.

Although the crisis in France has obtained a less than satisfactory result, I believe that a state of affairs will follow from it which will allow the French socialists to act by means of the press, public meetings and associations, and to organise into a *working-class party*, which is all that we can achieve at present, after the slaughter of 1871. Moreover, it is an accepted fact that France has made two main kinds of progress: the republicanism of the peasants and the formation of a republican army. The coup d'état of Ducrot, Batbie and company failed because the soldiers resolutely refused to march against the people.[233]

The worker question has been put on the agenda in America with the bloody strike of the employees of the big railways.[234] This will turn out to have been an epoch-making event in American history: the formation of a *working-class party* is thereby making great strides in the United States. It is advancing rapidly in that country, and we must follow its progress, to avoid being taken by surprise by the important successes which will soon be produced.

Russia, I believe, will play the most important part in the near future. The situation produced by the so-called emancipation of the serfs[a] was already intolerable before the war. This great reform had been so well managed that it ended up ruining nobles and peasants. It was followed by another reform which, on the pretext of providing provinces and districts with an administration based on elections that were to be more or less independent from the Central Government, had done nothing except raise the already unbearable levels of taxation.

The provinces were simply lumbered with the expenses of their own administration, so that the state paid less while continuing to receive the same tax revenues; hence there were new taxes for provincial and local expenditure. To this was added the general compulsion of military service, which was equivalent to a new and more severe tax and a new and more numerous army.

In this way financial ruin drew near with great strides. The country was already in a state of bankruptcy before the war. Russian high finance, after taking a lavish part in the fraudulent speculations of the 1871-73 period, plunged the nation into the financial crisis which erupted in 1873[235] in Vienna and Berlin and ruined Russian industry and commerce for years. In this state of affairs the Holy War against the Turk began,[236] and since no foreign loans were obtainable and domestic loans were insufficient, the nation had to resort to the millions held in Bank (reserve funds) and to the printing of credit notes. The result is that the value of paper money is falling daily and will soon reach its minimum levels, in no more than a year or two. In short, we have all the ingredients for a Russian 1789, necessarily to be followed by a 1793.[237] Whatever the outcome of the war, the Russian revolution is ready and it will break out soon, perhaps this year; it will begin, contrary to Bakunin's predictions, from above, in the palace, in the heart of the impoverished and *frondeuse* nobility. But once set in motion, it will sweep over the peasants, and you will then witness scenes in comparison with which those of '93 will pall. Once Russia has been pushed into revolution, the whole face of Europe will change. The old Russia has been up till now the great reserve army of European reaction; it performed this role in 1798, in 1805, in 1815, in 1830, in 1848. Once this reserve army is destroyed—just wait and see what will happen!

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[a] See this volume, p. 8.—*Ed.*

Written on January 12, 1878

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 22, 1878

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English in full for the first time

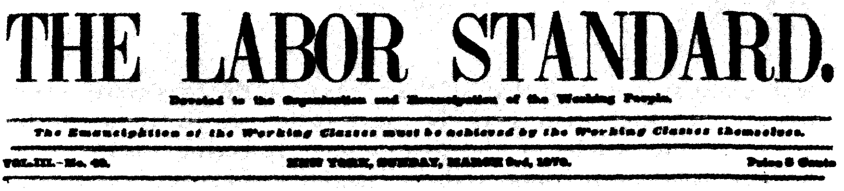
Frederick Engels

THE WORKINGMEN OF EUROPE IN 1877[238]

Written between March 3 and 31, 1878

First published in *The Labor Standard* (New York), March 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1878

Reproduced from the newspaper



THE LABOR STANDARD.

The Emancipation of the Working Classes must be achieved by the Working Classes themselves.

I

The past year has been an eventful and a fruitful one for the Working Class of Europe. Great progress has been made in almost all countries with regard to the organization and extension of a Workingmen's Party; unity, threatened at one time by a small but active sect,[a] [239] has been virtually restored; the working-class movement has forced itself more and more into the foreground of every-day politics, and, a sure sign of approaching triumph, political events, no matter what turn they took, always turned out, in some way or other, favorable to the progress of that movement.

At its very outset, the year 1877 was inaugurated by one of the greatest victories ever gained by workingmen. On the 10th of January, the triennial elections, by universal suffrage, for the German Parliament (Reichstag) took place; elections which, ever since 1867, have given the German Workingmen's Party an opportunity of counting their strength and parading before the world their well organized and ever increasing battalions. In 1874, four hundred thousand votes fell to the candidates of labor; in 1877, more than six hundred thousand. Ten workingmen candidates[b] were elected on the 10th, while twenty-four more had to be ballotted for in the supplementary elections which took place a fortnight after. Of these twenty-four, only a few were actually returned,[c] all other parties uniting against them. But the important fact remained, that in all the large towns and industrial centres of the Empire the working-class movement had advanced with giant strides, and that all these electoral districts were certain to fall into their hands at the next ballotting in 1880. Berlin, Dresden, the whole of the Saxon manufacturing districts, and Solingen had been conquered; in Hamburg, Breslau, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Brunswick, in Schleswig-Holstein and the manufacturing districts of Westfalia and the Lower Rhine, a coalition of all the parties had scarcely sufficed to defeat the working-class candidates by bare majorities. German democratic socialism was a power, and a rapidly growing one, with which henceforth all other powers in the country, governing or otherwise, would have to reckon. The effect of these elections was enormous. The middle class were seized with a perfect panic, all the more so as their press had constantly represented social democracy as dwindling down into insignificance. The working class, elated at their own victory, continued the struggle with renewed vigor and upon every available battlefield; while the workingmen of other countries, as we shall see, not only celebrated the victory of the Germans as a triumph of their own, but were stimulated by it to fresh exertions in order not to be left behind in the race for the emancipation of labor.

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[a] See this volume, p. 213.—*Ed.*

[b] I. Auer, W. Blos, W. Bracke, A. Demmler, F. W. Fritzsche, W. Hasenclever, W. Liebknecht, J. Most, J. Motteler (Hasenclever received two mandates).—*Ed.*

[c] A. Bebel, A. Kapell, M. Rittinghausen.—*Ed.*

The rapid progress of the Workingmen's Party in Germany is not bought without considerable sacrifices on the part of those who take a more active part in it. Government prosecutions and sentences of fine, and oftener of imprisonment, hail down upon them, and they have long since had to make up their minds to passing the greater part of their lives in prison. Although most of these sentences are for short terms, a couple of weeks to three months, long terms are by no means of rare infliction. Thus, in order to protect the important mining and manufacturing district of Saarbrucken from the infection by social democratic poison, two agitators[a] have recently been sentenced to two years and a half each, for having ventured upon this forbidden ground. The elastic laws of the Empire offer plenty of pretexts for such measures, and where they are not sufficient, the judges are mostly quite willing to stretch them to the point required for a conviction.

A great advantage to the German movement is that the Trades' organization works hand in hand with the political organization. The immediate advantages offered by the Trades' organization draw many an otherwise indifferent man into the political movement, while the community of political action holds together, and assures mutual support to, the otherwise isolated Trades Unions.

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[a] H. Kaulitz and R. Hackenberger.— *Ed.*

The success obtained in the elections to the German Parliament has encouraged our German friends to try their chance on other electoral fields. Thus, in two of the State Parliaments, in the smaller States of the Empire, they have succeeded in electing workingmen, and have also penetrated into a good many Town Councils; in the Saxon manufacturing districts, many a town is governed by a social democratic Council. The suffrage being restricted in these elections, no great result can be hoped for; still, every seat carried, helps to prove to the governments and the middle class that henceforth they will have to reckon with the workingmen.

But the best proof of the rapid advance of conscious working-class organization is in the growing number of its periodical organs in the press. And here we have to overstep the boundaries of Bismarck's "Empire", for the influence and action of German social democracy is in no ways limited by these. There were publishing in the German language on the 31st of December 1877, in all, not less than seventy-five periodicals in the service of the Workingmen's Party. Of these in the German Empire 62 (amongst which 15 organs of as many Trades Unions), in Switzerland 3, in Austria 3, Hungary 1, America 6; 75 in all, more than the number of workingmen's organs in all other languages put together.

After the battle of Sedan,[240] in September 1870, the Executive Committee of the German Workingmen's Party told their constituents that by the results of the war the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement had been shifted from France to Germany, and that the German workmen had thus become invested with a higher trust and with new responsibilities which required on their part renewed exertions.[a] The year 1877 has proved the truth of this, and has proved, at the same time, the proletariat of Germany to have been in no wise inferior to the task of temporary leadership imposed upon it. Whatever mistakes some of the leaders may have made—and they are both numerous and manifold—the masses themselves have marched onwards resolutely, unhesitatingly and in the right direction. Their conduct, organization and discipline, form a marked contrast to the weakness, irresolution, servility and cowardice so characteristic of all middle-class movements in Germany. But while the German middle class has closed its career by sinking down into a more than Byzantine adulation of "William the Victorious"[a] and by surrendering itself, bound hand and foot to the wayward will of the one Bismarck,[241] the working class is marching from victory to victory, helped onwards and strengthened even by the very measures which government and middle class contrive in order to suppress it.

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[a] "Manifest des Ausschusses der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An alle deutschen Arbeiter" [September 5, 1870], *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, September 11, 1870.—*Ed.*

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

II

Great as was the effect of the German elections in the country itself, it was far greater abroad. And in the first instance, it restored that harmony to the European working-class movement which had been disturbed, for the last six years, by the pretensions of a small but extremely busy sect.

Those of our readers who have followed the history of the International Workingmen's Association, will recollect that, immediately after the fall of the Paris Commune, there arose dissensions in the midst of the great labor organization, which led to an open split, at the Hague Congress 1872, and to consequent disintegration.[242] These dissensions were caused by a Russian, Bakounine, and his followers, pretending to supremacy, by fair means or by foul, over a body of which they formed but a small minority. Their chief nostrum was an objection, on principle, to *all* political action on the part of the working class; so much so, that in their eyes, to vote at an election, was to commit an act of treason against the interests of the proletariat. Nothing, but downright, violent revolution would they admit as means of action. From Switzerland, where these "anarchists", as they called themselves, had first taken root, they spread to Italy and Spain, where, for a time, they actually dominated the working-class movement. They were more or less supported, within the "International", by the Belgians, who, though from different motives, also declared in favor of political abstention. After the split they kept up a show of organization and held congresses,[243] in which a couple of dozen men, always the same, pretending to represent the working class of all Europe, proclaimed their dogmas in its name. But already the German elections of 1874, and the great advantage which the German movement experienced from the presence of nine[a] of its most active members in Parliament, had thrown elements of doubt in the midst of the "anarchists". Political events had repressed the movement in Spain,[b] which disappeared without leaving scarcely a trace; in Switzerland the party in favor of political action, which worked hand in hand with the Germans, became stronger every day and soon outnumbered the few anarchists at the rate of 300 to 1; in Italy, after a childish attempt at "social revolution" (Bologna, 1874)[244] at which neither the sense nor the pluck of the "anarchists" showed to advantage, the real working-class element began to look out for more rational means of action. In Belgium, the movement, thanks to the abstentionist policy of the leaders, which left the working class without any field for real action, had come to a dead stand. In fact, while the political action of the Germans led them from success to success, the working class of those countries, where abstention was the order of the day, suffered defeat after defeat, and got tired of a movement barren of results; their organizations dropped into oblivion, their press organs disappeared one after the other. The more sensible portion of these workmen could not but be struck by this contrast; rebellion against the "anarchist" and abstentionist doctrine broke out in Italy as well as in Belgium, and people began to ask themselves and each other, why for the sake of a stupid dogmatism they should be deprived of applying the very means of action which had proved itself the most efficacious of all. This was the state of things when the grand electoral victory of the Germans settled all doubts, overcame all hesitation. No resistance was possible against such a stubborn fact. Italy and Belgium declared for political action; the remnants of the Italian abstentionists, driven to despair, attempted another insurrection near Naples; some thirty anarchists proclaimed the "social revolution", but were speedily taken care of by the police.[245] All they attained was the complete breakdown of their own sectarian movement in Italy. Thus the anarchist organization, which had pretended to rule the working-class movement from one end of Europe to the other, was again reduced to its original nucleus, some two hundred men in the Jura district of Switzerland, where from the isolation of their mountain recesses, they continue to protest against the victorious heresy of the rest of the world, and to uphold the true orthodoxy as laid down by the Emperor Bakounine, now defunct. And when in September last the Universal Socialist Congress met at Ghent, in Belgium[246]—a congress which they themselves had convoked—they found themselves an insignificant minority, face to face with the delegates of the united and unanimous great working-class organizations of Europe. The Congress, while energetically repudiating their ridiculous doctrines and their arrogant pretensions, and establishing the fact that they repudiated merely a small sect, extended to them, in the end, a generous toleration.

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[a] A. Bebel, A. Geib, W. Hasenclever, W. Hasselmann, W. Liebknecht, J. Most, J. Motteler, O. Reimer, J. Vahlteich.— *Ed.*

[b] See this volume, p. 49.— *Ed.*

Thus, after a four years' intestine struggle, complete harmony was restored to the action of the working class of Europe, and the policy proclaimed by the majority of the last Congress of the International was thoroughly vindicated by events. A basis was now recovered upon which the workingmen of the different European countries could again act firmly together, and give each other that mutual support which constitutes the principal strength of the movement. The International Workingmen's Association had been rendered an impossi-[...][a] many, which forbade the workmen of these countries to enter into any such international bond. The Governments might have spared themselves all this trouble. The working-class movement had outgrown not only the necessity but even the possibility of any such formal bond; but not only has the work of the great Proletarian organization been fully accomplished, it continues to live itself, more powerful than ever, in the far stronger bond of union and solidarity, in the community of action and policy which now animates the working class of all Europe, and which is emphatically its own and its grandest work. There is plenty of variety of views amongst the workmen of the different countries, and even of those of each country taken by itself; but there are no longer any sects, no more pretensions to dogmatic orthodoxy and supremacy of doctrine, and there is a common plan of action originally traced by the International but now universally adopted because everywhere it has grown consciously or unconsciously out of the struggle of the necessities of the movement; a plan which, while adapting itself freely to the varying conditions of each nation and each locality, is nevertheless the same everywhere in its fundamental traits, and thus secures unity of purpose and general congruence of the means applied to obtain the common end, the emancipation of the working class through the working class itself.

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[a] One or two lines are missing in the newspaper.—*Ed.*

III

In the preceding article, we have already foreshadowed the principal facts of interest connected with the history of the working-class movement in Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Belgium. Still, something remains to be told.

In Spain, the movement had rapidly extended between 1868 and 1872, when the International boasted of more than 30,000 paying members. But all this was more apparent than real, the result more of momentary excitement, brought on by the unsettled political state of the country than by real intellectual progress. Involved in the Cantonalist (federalist-republican) rising of 1873,[247] the Spanish International was crushed along with it. For a time it continued in the shape of a secret society, of which, no doubt, a nucleus is still in existence. But as it has never given any sign of life save sending three delegates to the Ghent Congress,[248] we are driven to the conclusion that these three delegates represent the Spanish working class much in the same way as whilom the three tailors of Tooley-street represented the People of England.[249] And whenever a political revulsion will give the workingmen of Spain the possibility of again playing an active part, we may safely predict that the new departure will not come from these "anarchist" spouters, but from the small body of intelligent and energetic workmen who, in 1872, remained true to the International[250] and who now bide their time instead of playing at secret conspiracy.

In Portugal the movement remained always free from the "anarchist" taint, and proceeded upon the same rational basis as in most other countries. The Portuguese workmen had numerous International sections and Trades' Unions; they held a very successful Congress in January 1877,[251] and had an excellent weekly: "O Protesto" (The Protest). Still, they too were hampered by adverse laws, restrictive of the press and of the right of association and public meeting. They keep struggling on for all that, and are now holding another Congress at Oporto, which will afford them an opportunity of showing to the world that the working class of Portugal takes its proper share in the great and universal struggle for the emancipation of labor.

The workmen of Italy, too, are much obstructed in their action by middle-class legislation. A number of special laws[252] enacted under the pretext of suppressing brigandage and wide-spread secret brigand organizations, laws which give the government immense arbitrary powers, are unscrupulously applied to workmen's associations; their more prominent members equally with brigands are subjected to police supervision and banishment without judge or jury. Still the movement proceeds, and, best sign of life, its centre of gravity has been shifted from the venerable, but half-dead cities of Romagna to the busy industrial and manufacturing towns of the North, a change which secured the predominance of the real working-class element over the host of "anarchist" interlopers of middle-class origin who previously had taken the lead. The workmen's clubs and Trades' Unions, ever broken up and dissolved by the government, are ever reformed under new names. The Proletarian Press, though many of its organs are but short-lived in consequence of the prosecutions, fines and sentences of imprisonment against the editors, springs up afresh after every defeat, and, in spite of all obstacles, counts several papers of comparatively old standing. Some of these organs, mostly ephemeral ones, still profess "anarchist" doctrines, but that fraction has given up all pretensions to rule the movement and is gradually dying out, along with the Mazzinian or middle-class Republican party, and every inch of ground lost by these two factions is so much ground won by the real and intelligent working-class movement.

In Belgium, too, the centre of gravity of working-class action has been shifted, and this action itself has undergone an important change in consequence. Up to 1875, this centre lay in the French-speaking part of the country, including Brussels, which is half French and half Flemish; the movement was, during this period, strongly influenced by Proudhonist doctrines, which also enjoin abstention from political interference, especially from elections. There remained, then, nothing but strikes, generally repressed by bloody intervention of the military, and meetings in which the old stock phrases were constantly repeated. The work-people got sick of this and the whole movement gradually fell asleep. But since 1875 the manufacturing towns of the Flemish-speaking portion entered into the struggle with a greater and, as was soon to be proved, a new spirit. In Belgium there are no factory laws whatever to limit the hours of labor of women or children; and the first cry of the factory voters of Ghent and neighborhood was for protection for their wives and children, who were made to slave fifteen and more hours a day in the Cotton Mills.[a] The opposition of the Proudhonist doctrinaires who considered such trifles as far beneath the attention of men occupied with transcendent revolutionism, was of no avail, and was gradually overcome. The demand of legal protection for factory-children became one of the points of the Belgian working-class platform, and with it was broken the spell which hitherto had tabooed political action. The example of the Germans did the rest, and now the Belgian workmen, like those of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Hungary, Austria and part of Italy, are forming themselves into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all other political parties, and aiming at the conquest of their emancipation by whatever political action the situation may require.

The great mass of the Swiss workmen—the German-speaking portion of them—had for some years been formed into a "Workmen's Confederation" which at the end of 1876 counted above 5,000 paying members. There was, alongside of them another organization, the "Grütli Society",[253] originally formed by the middle-class radicals for the spread of Radicalism amongst workmen and peasants; but gradually social democratic ideas penetrated into this widely-spread association and finally conquered it. In 1877, both these societies entered into an alliance, almost a fusion, for the purpose of organizing a Swiss political labor party; and with such vigor did they act that they carried, at the national vote, the new Swiss Factory Law, of all existing factory acts the one which is most favorable to the work-people.[254] They are now organizing a vigilant supervision to secure its due execution against the loudly proclaimed ill-will of the mill owners. The "anarchists", from their superior revolutionary standpoint,as a matter of course violently opposed all this action, denouncing it as a piece of arrant treason against what they call "the

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[a] "Manifest der sozialistischen Partei in Brabant (Belgien)", *Vorwärts*, Nos. 10 and 11, January 25 and 27, 1878.—*Ed.*

Revolution"; but as they number 200 at the outside and here as elsewhere are but a general staff of officers without an army, this made no difference.—The programme of the Swiss workingmen's Party is almost identical with that of the Germans, only too identical, having adopted even some of its more imperfect and confused passages. But the mere wording of the programme matters little, so long as the spirit which dominates the movement, is of the right sort.

The Danish workingmen entered the lists about 1870 and at first made very rapid progress.[255] By an alliance with the small peasant proprietors' party, amongst which they succeeded in spreading their views, they attained considerable political influence, so much so that the "United Left", of which the peasant party formed the nucleus, for a number of years had the majority in parliament.[256] But there was more show than solidity in this rapid growth of the movement. One day it was found out that two of the leaders[a] had disappeared after squandering the money collected for party purposes from the workingmen. The scandal caused by this was extreme, and the Danish movement has not yet recovered from the discouragement consequent upon it. Anyhow, if the Danish workingmen's party is now proceeding in a more unobtrusive way than before, there is every reason to believe that it is gradually replacing the ephemeral and apparent domination over the masses, which it has now lost, by a more real and more lasting influence.

In Austria and Hungary the working class has the greatest difficulties to contend with. Political liberty, as far as the press, meetings and associations are concerned, is there reduced to the lowest level consistent with a sham constitutional monarchy. A code of laws of unheard-of elasticity enables the Government to obtain convictions against even the mildest expression of the demands and interests of the working class. And yet the movement there, as well as elsewhere, goes on irrepressibly. The principal centres are the manufacturing districts of Bohemia, Vienna, and Pesth. Workingmen's periodicals are published in the German, the Bohemian and the Hungarian languages. From Hungary the movement has spread to Servia, where, before the war, a weekly newspaper was published in the Servian language,[b] but when the war broke out the paper was simply suppressed.

Thus, wherever we look in Europe, the working-class movement is progressing, not only favorably but rapidly, and what is more, everywhere in the same spirit. Complete harmony is restored, and with it constant and regular intercourse, in one way or another, between the workmen of the different countries. The men who founded, in 1864, the International Working Men's Association, who held high its banner during years of strife, first against external, then against internal foes, until political necessities even more than intestine feuds brought on disruption and seeming retirement—these men can now proudly exclaim: "The International has done its work; it has fully attained its grand aim—the union of the Proletariat of the whole world in the struggle against their oppressors."

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[a] L. Pio and P. Geleff.— *Ed.*

[b] *Народна вольа.*— *Ed.*

IV

Our readers will have noticed that in the three preceding articles there has been scarcely any mention made of one of the most important countries of Europe—France, and for this reason: In the countries hitherto treated of, the action of the working class, though essentially a political action, is not intimately mixed up with general, or so to say official politics. The working class of Germany, Italy, Belgium etc., is not yet a political power in the State; it is a political power only prospectively, and if the official parties in some of these countries, Conservatives, Liberals, or Radicals, have to reckon with it, it is merely because its rapid onward progress makes it evident, that in a very short time the Proletarian party will be strong enough to make its influence felt. But in France it is different. The workmen of Paris, seconded by those of the large provincial towns, have ever since the great Revolution been a power in the State. They have been for nearly ninety years the fighting army of progress; at every great crisis of French history, they descended into the streets, armed themselves as best as they could, threw up barricades and provoked the battle, and it was their victory or defeat which decided the future of France for years to come. From 1789 to 1830, the revolutions of the middle class were fought out by the workmen of Paris; it was they who conquered the Republic in 1848, having mistaken that Republic to mean emancipation of labor, they were cruelly undeceived by the defeat inflicted on them, in June of the same year[257]; they resisted on the barricades Louis Napoleon's Coup d'État 1851[258] and were again defeated; they swept away in

September 1870 the defunct Empire[259] which the middle-class Radicals were too cowardly to touch. In March 1871 Thiers' attempt to take away from them the arms with which they had defended Paris against foreign invasion, forced them into the revolution of the Commune and the protracted struggle which ended with its bloody extinction.

A national working class which thus, for nearly a century, not only has taken a decisive part in every crisis of the history of its own country, but at the same time has always been the advanced guard of European Revolution, such a working class cannot live the comparatively secluded life which is still the proper sphere of action of the rest of the continental workmen. Such a working class as that of France is bound to its past history and by its past history. Its history, no less than its acknowledged decisive fighting power, has mixed it up indissolubly with the general political development of the country. And thus, we cannot give a retrospect of the action of the French working class without entering into French politics generally.

Whether the French working class had been fighting its own battle or the battle of the Liberal, Radical, or Republican middle class, every defeat it suffered has hitherto been followed by an oppressive political reaction, as violent as it was enduring. Thus, the defeats of June 1848 and December 1851 were succeeded by the eighteen years of the Bonapartist Empire, during which the press was fettered, the right of meeting and of association suppressed and the working class consequently deprived of every means of inter-communication and organization. The necessary result was that when the revolution of September 1870 came, the workmen had no other men to put into office, but those middle-class radicals who under the Empire had formed the official parliamentary opposition and who as a matter of course betrayed them and their country. After the stamping-out of the Commune, the working class, disabled for years in their fighting power, had but one immediate interest: to avoid the recurrence of such another protracted reign of repression, and with it the necessity of again fighting, not for their own direct emancipation, but for a state of things permitting them to prepare for the final emancipatory struggle. Now, in France there are four great political parties: three monarchist, the Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists, each with a separate pretender to the crown; and the Republican party. Whichever of the three pretenders[a] were to ascend the throne, he would in every case be supported by a small minority only of the people, he would consequently have to rely upon force only. Thus, the reign of violence, the suppression of all public liberties and personal rights, which the working class must wish to avoid, was the necessary concomitant of every Monarchist restoration. On the other hand the maintenance of the established Republican government left them at least the chance of obtaining such a degree of personal and public liberty as would allow them to establish a working-class press, an agitation by meetings and an organization as an independent political party, and moreover, the conservation of the Republic would save them the necessity of delivering a separate battle for its future re-conquest.

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[a] Chambord, Napoleón Eugène Bonaparte and the Count of Paris.— *Ed.*

It was thus another proof of the high instinctive political intelligence of the French working class, that as soon as, on the 16th May last,[260] the great conspiracy of the three Monarchist factions declared war against the Republic, the workmen, one and all, proclaimed the maintenance of the Republic to be their chief immediate object. No doubt in this they acted as the tail of the middle-class Republicans and Radicals, but a working class which has no press, no meetings, no clubs, no political societies, what else can it be but the tail of the Radical middle-class party? What can it do, in order to gain its political independence, but support the only party which is bound to secure to the people generally, and therefore, to the workmen too, such liberties as will admit of independent organization? Some people say, the workmen at the last election ought to have put up their own candidates, but even in those places where they could have done so successfully, where were the working-class candidates, well known enough amongst their own class to find the necessary support? Why, the government since the Commune have taken good care to arrest, as a participator in that insurrection, every workman who made himself known even by private agitation in his own district of Paris.

The victory of the Republicans at the elections last November[261] was signal. It was followed by still more signal triumphs at the departmental, municipal and supplementary elections which followed it. The Monarchist conspiracy would, perhaps, not have given way for all that; but its hand was lamed by the unmistakable attitude of the army. Not only were there numerous Republican officers especially in the lower grades; but, what was more decisive, the mass of the soldiers refused to march against the Republic. That was the first result of the reorganization of the army, by which bought substitutes had been done away with and the army transformed into a fair representation of the young men of all classes.[262] Thus, the conspiracy broke down without having to be broken up by force. And this, too, was much in the interest of the working class which, too weak yet after the blood-letting of 1871, can have no wish to waste again its greatest, its fighting power, in struggles for the benefit of others or to engage in a series of violent collisions before it has recovered its full strength.

But this Republican victory has yet another significance. It proves that since 1870 the country people have made a great step in advance. Hitherto, every working-class victory gained in Paris, was nullified in a very short time by the reactionist spirit of the small peasantry who form the great mass of the French population. Since the beginning of this century, the French peasantry had been Bonapartist. The second Republic, established by the Paris workingmen in February 1848, had been cancelled by the six million peasant votes given to Louis Napoleon in December following. But the Prussian invasion of 1870 has shaken the Imperialist faith of the peasantry, and the elections of November last prove that the mass of the country population had become Republican, and this is a change of the highest importance. It does not only mean that henceforth all Monarchist restoration has become hopeless in France. It means also the approaching alliance between the workingmen of the towns and the peasantry of the country. The small peasant proprietors established by the great Revolution are proprietors of the soil, but in name. Their farms are mortgaged to usurers; their crops are spent in the payment of interest and law-expenses; the notary, the attorney, the bailiff, the auctioneer are constantly threatening at their doors. Their position is fully as bad as that of the workingmen, and almost as insecure. And if these peasants now turn from Bonapartism to the Republic, they show by this that they no longer expect an improvement of their condition from those Imperialist miracles which Louis Napoleon ever promised and never performed. Thiers' faith in the mysterious powers of salvation held by an "Emperor of peasants" has been rudely dispelled by the second Empire. The spell is broken. The French peasantry are at last in a state of mind rational enough to look out for the real causes of the chronic distress and for the practical means to do away with it; and once set a thinking they must soon find out that their only remedy lies in an alliance with the only class that has no interest in their present miserable condition, the working class of the town.

Thus, however contemptible the present Republican government of France may be, the final establishment of the Republic has at last given the French workingmen the ground upon which they can organize themselves as an independent political party, and fight their future battles, not for the benefit of others, but for their own; the ground, too, upon which they can unite with the hitherto hostile mass of the peasantry and thus render future victories not, as heretofore, short-lived triumphs of Paris over France, but final triumphs of all the oppressed classes of France, led by the workmen of Paris and the large provincial towns.

V

(CONCLUSION)

There is still another important European country to be considered—Russia. Not that there exists in Russia a working-class movement worth speaking of. But the internal and external circumstances in which Russia is placed are most peculiar and big with events of the highest importance with regard to the future, not only of the Russian workingmen, but those of all Europe.

In 1861 the government of Alexander II carried out the emancipation of the serfs, the transformation of the immense majority of the Russian people from bondsmen, attached to the soil and subject to forced labour for their landlord, into free peasant proprietors. This change, the necessity of which had long been evident, was effected in such a way that neither the former landlords nor the former serfs were the gainers by it. The peasant villages received allotments of soil, which henceforth were to be their own, while the landlords were to be paid for the value of the land thus ceded to the villages, and also, to a certain extent, for the claim they hitherto had possessed to the peasant's labor. As the peasants evidently could not find the money to pay the landlords, the State stepped in. One portion of this payment was effected by transferring to the landlord a portion of the land hitherto cultivated by the peasants for their own account; the rest was paid in the shape of government bonds, advanced by the State, and to be repaid to it with interest, in yearly instalments, by the peasants. The majority of the landlords sold these bonds and spent the money; they are thus not only poorer than before, but cannot find laborers to till their estates, the peasants actually declining to work upon them and to leave their own fields uncultivated. As to the peasants, their shares of land had not only been reduced in size from what they had been before, and very often to an extent which, under Russian circumstances, left them insufficient to maintain a family; these shares had, in most instances, been taken from the very worst land on the estate, from bogs or other unclaimed lands, while the good land, hitherto owned by the peasants and improved by their labor, had been transferred to the landlords. Under these circumstances, the peasants, too, were considerably worse off than before; but besides this, they were expected to pay every year to the government the interest and part of the capital advanced by the State for buying them off, and, moreover, the taxes levied upon them increased from year to year. Furthermore, before emancipation, the peasants had possessed certain common rights on the estate lands of pasture for their cattle, the hewing of timber for building and other purposes, etc. These rights were expressly taken from them by the new settlement; if they wanted to exercise them again, they had to bargain with their former landlord.

Thus, while the majority of the landed proprietors became even more indebted, in consequence of the change, than they had been before, the peasantry were reduced to a position in which they could neither live nor die. The great act of emancipation, so universally extolled and glorified by the Liberal press of Europe, had created nothing but the groundwork and the absolute necessity of a future revolution.

This revolution, the government did all in its power to hasten on—the corruption pervading all official spheres, and leaving whatever power for good they might be supposed to possess—this hereditary corruption remained as bad as ever, and came to light glaringly in every public department at the outbreak of the Turkish war.[263] The finances of the empire, completely disordered at the end of the Crimean war,[a] were allowed to go from bad to worse. Loan after loan was contracted, until there was no other means of paying the interest of the old debts except by contracting new ones. During the first years of Alexander's[b] reign, the old imperial despotism had been somewhat relaxed; the press had been allowed more freedom, trial by jury established and representative bodies, elected by the nobility, the citizens of the towns, and the peasants respectively, had been permitted to take some share in local and provincial administration. Even with the Poles some political flirtation had been carried on. But the public had misunderstood the benevolent intentions of the government. The press became too outspoken. The juries actually acquitted political prisoners which the government had expected them to convict against evidence. The local and provincial assemblies, one and all, declared that the government, by its act of emancipation, had ruined the country, and that things could not go on in that way any longer. A national assembly was even hinted at as the only means of getting out of troubles fast becoming insupportable. And finally, the Poles refused to be bamboozled with fine words, and broke out into a rebellion[264] which it took all the forces of the empire, and all the brutality of the Russian generals, to quell in torrents of blood. Then the government turned round again. Stern repression once more became the order of the day. The press was muzzled, the political prisoners were handed over to special courts, consisting of judges packed for the purpose, the local and provincial assemblies were ignored. But it was too late. The government, having once shown signs of fear, had lost its prestige. The belief in its stability, and in its power of absolutely crushing all internal resistance, had gone. The germ of a future public opinion had sprung up. The forces could not be brought back to the former implicit obedience to government dictation. Discussion of public matters, if only in private circles, had become a habit among the educated classes. And finally, the government, with all its desire to return to the unbridled despotism of the reign of Nicholas, still pretended to keep up, before the eyes of Europe, the appearances of the liberalism initiated by Alexander. The consequence was a system of vacillation and hesitation, of concessions made to-day and retracted to-morrow, to be again half-conceded and half-retracted in turns, a policy changing from hour to hour, bringing home to everybody the intrinsic weakness, the want of insight and of will, on the part of a government which was nothing unless it was possessed of a will and of the means to enforce it. What was more natural than that every day should increase the contempt felt for a government which, long since known to be powerless for good and obeyed only through fear, now proved that it doubted of its power of maintaining its own existence, that it had at least as much fear of the people as the people had of it? There was only one way of salvation for the Russian government, the way open to all governments brought face to face with overwhelming popular resistance—foreign war. And foreign war was resolved upon; a war, proclaimed before Europe as undertaken for the deliverance of Christians from protracted Turkish misrule, but proclaimed before the Russian people as carried on for the bringing home of their Slavonic brethren in race from Turkish bondage into the fold of the Holy Russian Empire.

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[a] in 1856.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II's.—*Ed.*

This war, after months of inglorious defeat, has now come to an end through the equally inglorious crushing of Turkish resistance, partly by treachery, partly by immensely superior numbers. But the Russian conquest of the greater part of Turkey in Europe is itself only the prelude to a general European war. Either Russia, at the impending European Conference (if that Conference ever meets), will have to recede so much from the position now gained, that the disproportion between the immense sacrifices and the puny results must bring the popular discontent to a violent revolutionary outburst; or else, Russia will have to maintain her newly conquered position in a European war. More than half exhausted as she is already, her government cannot carry her through such a war—whatever may be its final result—without important popular concessions. Such concessions, in the face of a situation as that described above, mean the commencement of a revolution. From this revolution the Russian government cannot possibly escape, if even it may succeed in delaying its outbreak for a year or two. But a Russian revolution means more than a mere change of government in Russia herself. It means the disappearance of a vast, though unwieldy, military power which, ever since the French Revolution, has formed the backbone of the united despotisms of Europe. It means the emancipation of Germany from Prussia, for Prussia has already been the creature of Russia, and has only existed by leaning upon her. It means the emancipation of Poland. It means the awakening of the smaller Slavonic nationalities of Eastern Europe from the Panslavist dreams fostered among them by the present Russian government. And it means the beginning of an active national life among the Russian people themselves, and along with it the springing up of a real working-class movement in Russia. Altogether, it means such a change in the whole situation of Europe as must be hailed with joy by the workingmen of every country as a giant step towards their common goal—the universal emancipation of Labor.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

HERR BUCHER[265]

TO THE EDITOR[a] OF *THE DAILY NEWS*

Sir,

According to a telegram of Reuter's,[b]

> "Herr Bucher, Councillor of Legation, is designated for the post of secretary and keeper of the records of the Congress."[266]

Should this "Herr Bucher" be the same Lothar Bucher who, during his long London exile, shone as a staunch partisan of the late Mr. David Urquhart, whose anti-Russian doctrines he held forth week by week in the Berlin *National Gazette*[c]; the same Lothar Bucher who, on his return to Berlin, turned so ardent a votary of Ferdinand Lassalle that the latter named him his testamentary executor, bequeathed him an annual revenue, and transferred the copyright of his works to Lothar Bucher[267]? Soon after Lassalle's death Lothar Bucher entered the Prussian Foreign Office, was made a "Councillor of Legation", and became Bismarck's confidential man-of-all-work.

He had the *naïveté* to address a letter to myself, inviting me, of course with the sanction of his master, to undertake the money article of the Prussian official *Staats-Anzeiger.*

The pecuniary terms were left to my discretion, while I was expressly told I should enjoy full liberty of treating the operations and the operators of the money market from my own "scientific" standpoint. Since this odd incident I felt not a little amused at seeing Lothar Bucher's contributions as a member of the "International Working Men's Association" daily and yearly chronicled in the columns of the *Vorbote*,[a] an organ of the International, edited by Johann Philipp Becker at Geneva. If this be not a case of mistaken identity, and if there be anything in the reports that the Russian and German Governments, *à propos* of the attempts of Hoedel and Nobiling,[268] intend to propose to the Congress international measures against the spread of Socialism, then Herr Bucher is the very man to tell the Congress authoritatively that the organisation, the action, and the doctrines of the German Social-Democratic party have no more to do with these attempts than with the sinking of the *Grosser Kurfürst*,[269] or with the meeting of the Congress at Berlin; that the panic-mongering arrests throughout Germany and the whirlwind of dust raised by the Press-reptiles[270] serve the exclusive purpose of an electioneering cry for a Reichstag ready to sanction at last the solution, long since elaborated by Prince Bismarck, of the paradox problem how to endow the German Government with all the financial resources of a modern State, while, at the same time, reimposing upon the German people the ancient political regime scattered to pieces by the hurricane of 1848.

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[a] W. K. Hales.— *Ed.*

[b] "We have received the following telegrams through Reuter's Agency: Eastern Affairs, Berlin, June 11." In the section *Latest Intelligence, The Times,* No. 29279, June 12, 1878.— *Ed.*

[c] *National-Zeitung.— Ed.*

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Karl Marx

London, June 12

First published in *The Daily News*, No. 10030, June 13, 1878

Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] "Empfangsbescheinigungen der für die Zentralkasse von Außen eingegangenen Beträge", *Der Vorbote*, No. 9, September 1867; No. 10, October 1871.— *Ed.*

Karl Marx

[REPLY TO BUCHER'S "DECLARATION"][271]

Mr. Lothar Bucher has published a "declaration" in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 21,[a] which in the first instance establishes the unpleasant circumstance that my letter to *The Daily News* was reprinted by the National-Liberal and Party-of-Progress newspapers.[b] Mr. Bucher declares that 3,000 lines would be required in order to straighten out the distortions I had compressed together. Thirty lines are more than sufficient to establish once and for all the truth of Bucher's "corrections" and "supplementary statements".

The letter in which Mr. Bucher tries to bring me to heel for the *Staats-Anzeiger* is dated October 8, 1865, and thus originates from the period of the conflict between the Prussian liberal and Party-of-Progress bourgeoisie and Mr. von Bismarck. The letter says, amongst other things:

> "With regard to the content, it goes without saying that you *only follow your scientific conviction*; however, consideration for the readers — *haute finance*[c]— not the editorial office, will make it advisable that you allow the *innermost core* to shine through only for those properly versed in these matters."

By contrast, Mr. Bucher's "correction" says that he

> "asked Mr. Marx if he would supply the articles requested, in which it was important for the treatment to be objective. There is not a word in my letter pertaining to Mr. Marx's 'own scientific standpoint'".

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[a] A. L. Bucher [Declaration concerning Karl Marx's letter in *The Daily News*], Berlin, den 20. Juni, *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 145, June 21, 1878.— *Ed.*

[b] *Berliner Freie Presse*, No. 138, June 16 and *Vossische Zeitung*, No. 139, June 16, 1878.— *Ed.*

[c] Finance aristocracy.— *Ed.*

Further, the same letter says:

> "The *Staats-Anzeiger* requires a monthly report on the movements in the money market (and, of course, also in the commodity market, inasmuch as the two are inseparable). I was asked if I could not perhaps recommend someone, and replied that no one would do it better than you. I have consequently been asked to contact you."

According to his own unambiguous words therefore, Mr. Bucher began his "correspondence" with me at the request of *someone* or other. By contrast, his "correction" asserts:

> "*No one*, not even the editor of the *Staats-Anzeiger*,[a] knew anything of this correspondence or learned anything about it."

So much on Mr. Bucher's method of making corrections. And now a sample of his method when it comes to making supplementary statements!

My letter to *The Daily News* mentions only Mr. Bucher's "naive" inquiry of me, but refrains from mentioning a word about my answer to him. He, however, in his anxiety to make the "curious occurrence" appear in a trivial light, has to "supplement" me and therefore invents the following:

> "Mr. Marx replied that he would not write for a reactionary newspaper."

How am I to answer with such banalities a letter whose "innermost core" doesn't "only" shine through, but flashes through blindingly in the following closing passage:

> "Progress" (he means the liberal or Party-of-Progress bourgeoisie) "will cast its skin many times before it dies; and therefore anyone who wishes to have an effect within the state in his lifetime, *must rally round the government*."

Karl Marx

London, June 27

Published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*, No. 180, June 29, 1878; *Vossische Zeitung*, No. 152, July 2, 1878; *Vorwärts*, No. 78, July 5, 1878

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Adolf Rutenberg.— *Ed.*

Karl Marx

MR. GEORGE HOWELL'S HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATION[272]

I believe it worth while to illustrate by a few notes the most recent contribution—see the *Nineteenth Century* of July last—to the extensive spurious literature on the International's History, because its last expounder, Mr. George Howell, an ex-workman and ex-member of the General Council of that Association, may erroneously be supposed to have drawn his wisdom from sources not generally accessible.

Mr. Howell sets about his "History" by passing by the facts that, on September 28th, 1864, I was present at the foundation-meeting of the International, was there chosen a member of the provisional General Council, and soon after drew up the "Inaugural Address", and the "General Statutes" of the Association,[a] first issued at London in 1864, then confirmed by the Geneva Congress of 1866.

So much Mr. Howell knew, but, for purposes of his own, prefers to make "a German Doctor named Karl Marx" first appear at the London "Congress opened on September 25th, 1865".[b][273] There and then, he avers, the said "doctor" had "sown the seeds of discord and decay by the introduction of the *Religious Idea*".

In the first instance, no "Congress" of the International took place in September, 1865. A few delegates from the main continental branches of the Association met at London for the sole purpose of conferring with the General Council on the Programme of the "First Congress", which was to assemble at Geneva, in September, 1866. The real business of the Conference was transacted in private sittings, not at the semi-public meetings in Adelphi Terrace, exclusively made mention of by the exact historian, Mr. George Howell.

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[a] The reference is to the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and the "Provisional Rules of the Association" (see present edition, Vol. 20).—*Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx quotes Howell's article "The History of the International Association", *The Nineteenth Century*. A Monthly Review, Vol. IV, London, 1878.—*Ed.*

Like the other representatives of the General Council, I had to secure the acceptance by the Conference of our own programme, on its publication thus characterised, in a letter to the *Siècle*, by the French historian, Henri Martin:

> "The breadth of view and the high moral, political, and economical conceptions which have decided the choice of questions composing the programme of the International Congress of Workingmen, which is to assemble next year, will strike with a common sympathy all friends of progress, justice, and liberty in Europe."[a]

By the way, a paragraph of the programme which I had the honour to indite for the General Council, runs thus:

> "*The necessity of annihilating the Muscovite influence in Europe*, by the application of the principle of the right of nations to dispose of themselves, and the reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis."[274]

Upon this text Henri Martin put the gloss:

> "We will take the liberty of remarking that the expression, 'democratic and socialist basis', is a very simple one as regards Poland, where the *social* framework needs reconstruction quite as much as the political framework, and where this basis has been laid down by the decrees of the anonymous government of 1863,[b] and accepted by all classes of the nation. This, then, is the reply of true socialism, of social progress in harmony with justice and liberty, to the advances of the Communist despotism of Muscovy. This secret of the people of Paris is now becoming the common secret of the peoples of Europe."

Unfortunately, the "people of Paris" had kept their "secret" so well that, quite unaware of it, two of the Paris delegates to the Conference, Tolain, now a senator of the French Republic, and Fribourg, now a simple renegade, inveighed against the very proposition which was to call forth the enthusiastic comment of the French historian.

The programme of the General Council contained not one syllable on "Religion", but at the instance of the Paris delegates the forbidden dish got into the bill of fare in store for the prospective Congress, in this dressing:

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[a] H. Martin, "L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs", *Le Siècle*, No. 11171, October 14, 1865.—*Ed.*

[b] *Centralny Narodowy Komitet jako tymczasowy Rząd Narodowy.—Ed.*

> "Religious Ideas (not "The Religious Idea", as Howell's spurious version has it), their influence on the social, political and intellectual movement."

The topic of discussion thus introduced by the Paris delegates was left in their keeping.[275] In point of fact, they dropped it at the Geneva Congress of 1866, and no one else picked it up.

The London "Congress" of 1865, the "Introduction" there by "a German Doctor named Karl Marx" of the "Religious Idea", and the fierce feud thence arising within the International—this, his triple myth, Mr. George Howell caps by a legend. He says:

> "In the Draft Address to the American people with regard to the abolition of slavery, the sentence, 'God made of one blood all nations of men', was struck out, etc."

Now the General Council issued an address, not to the American people, but to its President, Abraham Lincoln, which he gracefully acknowledged. The address, written by me,[a] underwent no alteration whatever. As the words "God made of one blood all nations of men" had never figured in it, they could not be "struck out".

The attitude of the General Council in regard to the "Religious Idea" is clearly shown by the following incident:—One of the Swiss branches of the *Alliance*, founded by Michael Bakunin,[276] and calling itself *Section des athées Socialistes*, requested its admission to the International from the General Council, but got the reply: "Already in the case of the Young Men's Christian Association the Council has declared that it recognizes *no theological sections*. (See page 13 of *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale Circulaire du Conseil Général*, printed at Geneva.[b])"

Even Mr. George Howell, at that time not yet become a convert by close study of the *Christian Reader*, consummated his divorce from the International, not at the call of the "Religious Idea", but on grounds altogether secular. At the foundation of the *Commonwealth* as the "special organ" of the General Council, he canvassed keenly the "proud position" of Editor. Having failed in his "ambitious" attempt, he waxed sulky, his zeal grew less and less, and soon after he was no more heard of. During the most eventful period of the International he was therefore an outsider.

Conscious of his utter incompetence to trace the history of the Association, but at the same time eager to spice his article with strange revelations, he catches at the appearance, during the Fenian troubles,[277] of General Cluseret in London where, we are told, at the Black Horse, Rathbone Place, Oxford-street, the General met "a few men—fortunately Englishmen", in order to initiate them into his "plan" of "a general insurrection". I have some reason to doubt the genuineness of the anecdote, but suppose it to be true,[278] what else would it prove but that Cluseret was not such a fool as to intrude his person and his "plan" upon the General Council, but kept both of them wisely in reserve for "a few Englishmen" of Mr. Howell's acquaintance, unless the latter himself be one of these stout fellows in buckram[a] who, by their "fortunate" interference, contrived to save the British Empire and Europe from universal convulsion.

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[a] K. Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America".— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Fictitious Splits in the International* (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 93).— *Ed.*

Mr. George Howell has another dark secret to disclose.

At the beginning of June, 1871, the General Council put forth an *Address on the Civil War in France*,[b] welcomed on the part of the London press by a chorus of execration. One weekly fell foul of "the infamous author", cowardly concealing his name behind the screen of the General Council. Thereupon I declared in *The Daily News* that I was the author.[c] This stale secret Mr. George Howell reveals, in July, 1878, with all the consequentiality of the man behind the curtain.

> "The writer of that Address was Dr. Karl Marx. ...Mr. George Odger and Mr. Lucraft, both of whom were members of the Council when it (sic!) was adopted, repudiated it on its publication."[d]

He forgets to add that the other nineteen British members present acclaimed the "Address".

Since then, the statements of this Address have been fully borne out by the *Enquêtes* of the French Rural Assembly,[279] the evidence taken before the Versailles Courts-Martial, the trial of Jules Favre, and the memoirs of persons far from hostile to the victors.

It is in the natural order of things that an English historian of Mr. George Howell's sound erudition should haughtily ignore French prints, whether official or not. But I confess to a feeling of disgust when, on such occasions for instance as the Hödel and

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[a] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act II, Scene IV. (When telling an invented story about his skirmish with a band of fellows, each time Falstaff increased their number and described them as dressed either in buckrams or in jackets made of Kendal cloth.) —*Ed.*

[b] See present edition, Vol. 22.—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, "To the Editor of *The Daily News*" (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 370).—*Ed.*

[d] G. Howell, op. cit., *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 35.—*Ed.*

Nobiling attempts,[280] I behold great London papers ruminating the base calumnies, which their own correspondents, eye-witnesses, had been the first to refute.

Mr. Howell reaches the climax of snobbism in his account of the exchequer of the General Council.[a]

The Council, in its published *Report to the Congress of Basle* (1869), ridicules the huge treasure with which the busy tongue of the European police and the wild imagination of the capitalist had endowed it. It says,

> "If these people, though good Christians, had happened to live at the time of nascent Christianity, they would have hurried to a Roman bank there to pry into St. Paul's balance."[b]

Mr. Ernest Renan who, it is true, falls somewhat short of Mr. George Howell's standard of orthodoxy, even fancies the state of the primitive Christian communes sapping the Roman Empire might be best illustrated by that of the International Sections.

Mr. George Howell, as a writer, is what the crystallographer would call a "Pseudomorph",[281] his outer form of penmanship being but imitative of the manner of thought and style "natural" to the English moneyed man of sated virtue and solvent morals. Although he borrows his array of "figures" as to the resources of the General Council from the accounts yearly laid by that same Council before a public "International Congress", Mr. George Howell must not derogate from his "imitative" dignity by stooping to touch the obvious question: how came it to pass that, instead of taking comfort from the lean budgets of the General Council, all the governments of Continental Europe took fright at "the powerful and formidable organisation of the International Working-men's Association, and the rapid development it had attained in a few years". (See *Circular*[c] *of the Spanish Foreign Minister*[d] *to the representatives of Spain in Foreign Countries.*[282]) Instead of laying the Red Ghost by the simple process of shaking at its face the sorry returns of the General Council, why, in the name of common sense, did the Pope[e] and his bishops exorcise the International,[283] the French Rural Assembly outlaw it, Bismarck—at the Salzburg meeting of the emperors of Austria and Germany[a]—threaten it with a Holy Alliance Crusade,[284] and the White Czar[b] commend it to his terrible "Third Division", then presided over by the emotional Schouvaloff?

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[a] G. Howell, op. cit., pp. 31-35.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 70).—*Ed.*

[c] See *Gaceta de Madrid*, No. 17, January 17, 1872 (in the section *Ministerio de la Gobernacion*).—*Ed.*

[d] Bonifacio.—*Ed.*

[e] Pius IX.—*Ed.*

Mr. George Howell condescends to admit: "Poverty is no crime, but it is fearfully inconvenient."[c] I admit, he speaks by book. The prouder he ought to have felt of his former fellowship with a Working-men's Association, which won world-wide fame and a place in the history of mankind, not by length of purse, but by strength of mind and unselfish energy.

However, from the lofty standpoint of an insular "philistine", Mr. George Howell reveals to the "cultured people" of the "Nineteenth Century", that the International was a "failure", and has faded away. In reality, the social democratic working-men's parties organised on more or less national dimensions, in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and the United States of America, form as many international groups, no longer single sections thinly scattered through different countries and held together by an eccentric General Council, but the working masses themselves in continuous, active, direct intercourse, cemented by exchange of thought, mutual services, and common aspiration.[285]

After the fall of the Paris Commune, all working class organisation in France was of course temporarily broken, but is now in an incipient state of reforming. On the other hand, despite all political and social obstacles, the Slavs, chiefly in Poland, Bohemia, and Russia, participate at present in this international movement to an extent not to be foreseen by the most sanguine in 1872. Thus, instead of dying out, the International did only pass from its first period of incubation to a higher one where its already original tendencies have in part become realities. In the course of its progressive development, it will yet have to undergo many a change, before the last chapter of its history can be written.

Written at the beginning of July 1878

First published in *The Secular Chronicle, And Record of Freethought Progress,* Vol. X, No. 5, August 4, 1878

Reproduced from the journal

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[a] Francis Joseph I and William I.—*Ed.*

[b] Alexander II.—*Ed.*

[c] G. Howell, op. cit., p. 32.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx

[THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW

(OUTLINE OF AN ARTICLE)] [286]

REICHSTAG SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 16 AND 17, 1878

Vice-Bismarck—von Stolberg spoke for 4 minutes, 7 seconds.

FROM THE STENOGRAPHIC REPORT

Reichstag. 4th sitting. Monday, September 16, 1878. Speaker: Forckenbeck.
//House met 11.30. Adjourned 3.40.// [a]
Deputising for the Imperial Chancellor, Minister of State, Count Stolberg-Wernigerode:
"What will matter is ... ensuring that in future no one can engage in such agitation *with the slightest semblance of legality*."

FROM THE SPEECHES AT THE SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 16
ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Bebel: "Gentlemen, at the beginning of today's debate attention was specifically drawn by the *Imperial Chancellor's deputy* to the attempted assassinations,[287] as was similarly done a few days since in the *King's Speech*[288] and likewise in the *preamble* to the Bill submitted to us; everyone who has spoken today has likewise more or less touched on the assassination attempts, and everyone has designated those assassination attempts as the immediate occasion for this exceptional law,[289] nor could anything be more evident than that they were the cause thereof.—In that case, Gentlemen, the government might justly have been expected to express itself clearly and accurately in this respect, to give evidence as to what discoveries it had made, what facts incriminating us had been brought to light that might prove the existence of *just one*, if only an *ideological*, *connection* between the would-be assassins [b] and Social-Democracy. To this day, however, nothing of the kind has been done, all we have been given *has been empty words and accusations*. Similarly, we hear the parrot-cry: 'The assassination attempts were instigated by the Social-Democrats.' This is to accuse the Social-Democrats of 'being the party of regicides', etc.... We are quite unwilling to put up with the silence that has been maintained until this very day.... First and foremost, we are vitally concerned to know *what is contained in the numerous records made in writing in connection with the assassination attempts*. In particular, we insist on knowing what came to light during *the extraordinarily numerous interrogations that took place in various parts of Germany of*

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[a] Square brackets encountered in Marx's actual manuscript have been replaced with two oblique lines.—*Ed.*

[b] Emil Heinrich Max Hödel and Dr. Karl Eduard Nobiling.—*Ed.*

members of our party and non-party members, of men of the most diverse political leanings who had any connection, however remote, with the would-be assassins. We, upon whom the guilt and the responsibility is being foisted, insist that the matter be finally clarified. And this in particular *as regards the last assassination attempt which was the immediate occasion of the fresh elections to the Reichstag and the submission of this Bill...*

"I went away //from the *Vorwärts* where he had been making inquiries about Dr. Nobiling—this, late at night *on the 2nd of June* (1878)// very satisfied with what I had heard and, a few minutes later, came to a shop where, to my intense surprise, I found a despatch posted up which read:

"'*Berlin, 2 o'clock in the morning.* In the course of a later *judicial* examination, the would-be assassin, Nobiling, confessed that he subscribed to *socialist tendencies,* also that he had repeatedly attended socialist meetings here and that he had, for a week or more, already been intending to shoot His Imperial Majesty[a] because he regarded the removal of the Head of State to be in the interests of the public weal.'

"...The despatch that precipitated this piece of news into the world is explicitly designated an *official* one. Here, in my hand, I have the despatch which was *officially* delivered to the editorial board of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*[b] 290 with comments written by the *Kreuz-Zeitung*'s editor.[c] There is not a shadow of doubt as to the *official* nature of this despatch. Now, sundry trustworthy reports have shown that Nobiling was not subjected to any kind of *judicial* examination on the day of the attempted assassination or in the course of the ensuing night, that nothing was ascertained that could in any way be seriously regarded as a clue to the murderer's motives and his political convictions. Every one of you, Gentlemen, knows the nature of *Wolff's Telegraphic Agency* (Hear, hear!), everyone of you knows that despatches of this kind simply cannot go through without being officially approved. And that very word 'official' has, for good measure, been authoritatively appended to this despatch. Hence there can, in my view, be no doubt whatsoever that the said despatch was a deliberate and witting *forgery* on the part of the authorities, and was sent out into the world as such. (Hear, hear!) The despatch contains one of the most infamous calumnies ever to have been unloosed on the world from official sources and this, moreover, with the intention of casting the most odious suspicions on the whole of a large party, and of branding it as an accessory to a crime.

"Again, I would ask how it was possible that the government organs, the entire semi-official and official press and, in their wake, almost the whole of the rest of the press should, on the strength of the above-mentioned despatches, have been allowed, for weeks and months on end, to go on hitting out at us day after day in the most outrageous and libellous fashion; that it could, day after day, unloose upon the world the most hair-raising and disquieting accounts of *plots discovered, fellow culprits,* etc., without the government's ever, etc.... Rather, *the government did all in its power to disseminate and implant in the minds of an ever wider public* a belief in the accuracy of the untrue allegations; and, up till this very hour, the government's official representatives have not so much as deigned to cast any light whatsoever on the present obscurities...."

Bebel now turns to the question of harassment (p. 39, Column II).

"It is clear that every effort *was made* to provoke disturbances; the intention was to annoy us to the extreme, thus *inciting us to acts of violence of one kind or another.*

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

[b] *Neue Preußische Zeitung.—Ed.*

[c] Edwin von Niebelschütz.—*Ed.*

The *attempted assassinations were patently not enough.* Had we been incited to acts of violence by that harassment, certain circles would have undoubtedly rejoiced at having been thus provided with an even greater wealth of material incriminating ourselves and hence with an excuse for the most drastic intervention, etc." Thereupon Bebel demands "that *the records should at long last be brought to light* and that these *be submitted, in printed form,* to the *Reichstag and in particular to the commission* entrusted with the task of examining the Bill under discussion. The demand I am making here is similar to that which, a few days ago, during the debate on the *Grosser Kurfürst* disaster,[291] was voiced, with complete justification and the assent of almost all sections of the House, with reference to the said disaster and *which was expressly admitted to be allowable by the Minister for Naval Affairs (von Stosch),*[a] *insofar as it lay within his competence (!).*"

//Bebel's request was greeted by the Reichstag with cries of "Quite right! Capital!"//

//And what was the Prussian government's reply to this crushing accusation? With Eulenburg for its mouthpiece, it replied that it would not submit the records and that there was no incriminating material whatever to hand.//

Minister of the Interior, Count zu Eulenburg: "As regards the first point,"

//information obtained by the representatives of the federal governments, "concerning the examination to which the criminal, Nobiling, since deceased, was subjected"//.[b]

1. "As regards the first point, I have to tell you that, *if submission be demanded, it would be for the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling* as to *the feasibility or admissibility of disclosing the transactions of the proceedings* that were instituted against Nobiling. This much, however, I am able to tell you, Gentlemen, and that is that Nobiling was subjected to *one* examination and that, in the course of that examination, *insofar as I have any knowledge of it,* he stated that he had participated in Social-Democratic meetings and found the doctrines put forward there to his liking. Having regard to the fact that it is for *the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling as to the submission of the files,* I must refrain from giving *any further information.*"

//All that Eulenburg is actually saying is: 1. that "*one*" examination took place; he is careful not to say a "judicial" examination. Equally, he omits to say *when* that one examination took place (no doubt after the bullet that went through his head had blown out part of his brains).// But the words attributed by Eulenburg to Nobiling in the course of this "one" examination (assuming that Nobiling *was in a condition to give an account of himself*) prove, firstly, that he did not describe himself as a *Social-Democrat,* or as a *member of the Social-Democratic Party*; all he said was that he had attended some of the latter's MEETINGS like many other philistines and had found "the doctrines put forward there to his liking". Hence those doctrines were not his doctrines. His attitude towards them was that of a newcomer. *Secondly*, that he never suggested there was *any* connection between his "assassination attempt" and the MEETINGS or the doctrines put forward there.

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[a] The name has been inserted by Marx.—*Ed.*

[b] See *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 50-51.—*Ed.*

But that is not the end of the curious tale: Mr. Eulenburg is fabricating the "this much" he is able to tell, or saying problematically "that, in the course of that examination, *insofar as I have any knowledge of it*, he stated". According to this, therefore, Mr. Eulenburg has *never seen the record*; he knows it only from hearsay and can only tell as much "as has come to his knowledge in this way". But he at once proceeds to give himself the lie. Having just told everything "insofar as he had any knowledge of it", he goes on in his very next sentence to say:

> "Having regard to the fact that it is for the Prussian judiciary to give a ruling as to the submission of the files, *I must refrain from giving any further information.*"

In other words, he would compromise the government were he to "give" what he knows.

Incidentally: If only *one* interrogation took place, we also know "when", namely on the day when Nobiling was arrested with bullets in his brain and a sabre cut in the head, namely on the day, the same day that the notorious telegram was released,[a] *at 2 o'clock in the morning, on June 2.* Later, however, the government sought to make the *ultramontane* party[292] responsible for Nobiling. The interrogation, therefore, had revealed no *connection of any description* between Nobiling's assassination attempt and the Social-Democrats.

But Eulenburg has not yet concluded his confessions. He has to

> "expressly point out that, as early as *May*, I stated from this place[293] that *the statement did not go so far as to say* that these *acts had been directly instigated by the Social-Democrats*; *neither am I now in a position to make such statement* ***nor, indeed, to add anything new along the same lines.***"

Bravo! Eulenburg roundly admits that, for all the disgraceful harassment by police and interrogators which took place between Hödel's assassination attempt and the Reichstag MEETING, not *one shred of factual evidence* was produced in support of the government's pet "theory" regarding the attempted assassinations!

Eulenburg and Co., whose tender "regard" for the powers of the "Prussian judiciary" is such that the latter is assumed, after Hödel's decapitation and Nobiling's death,[294] to present an obstacle to submitting the "records" to the Reichstag, the investigation thus being closed for good, did not scruple on the very day of Nobiling's assassination attempt, when the investigation of his case had barely begun, to issue a tendentiously worded "telegram", purportedly about the initial interrogation of Nobiling, thereby evoking delirium tremens in the German philistines and causing their press to build an edifice of lies thereon! What respect for the *judiciary* and more particularly for the similarly accused government!

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[a] "Die Frevelthat vom 2. Juni", *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 126, June 4, 1878.—*Ed.*

Having thus declared that there is no *factual evidence* arising out of these attempted assassinations upon which to base an accusation against the Social-Democrats—and therefore refused to produce the records which would cast a grotesque light on this abhorrent circumstance, Mr. Eulenburg proceeds to say that the Bill in fact rests simply upon a "theory", the government's theory that

> "the line of vehement agitation adopted *by Social-Democracy in the dissemination of its doctrines would be well-calculated to induce in* ***unruly spirits*** *the maturation of such tragic fruits* as we, to our most profound regret, have had to witness."

//Tragic fruits such as Sefeloge, Tschech, Schneider, Becker, Kullmann, Cohen (alias Blind)?//

> "And I *believe* that in so saying, Gentlemen, I am still today *of one mind* with the *entire German press*,"

//i.e. insofar as it has been reptilized,[295] i.e. with the single exception of *independent papers of all complexions*//

> "with the *sole exception* of the Social-Democratic section thereof".

(Outright *lies*, as before!)

//The meetings attended by Nobiling, like any other, took place *under the supervision* of a policeman; hence there was nothing insidious about them; the *doctrines* he listened to can only have related to the subjects on the *agenda*.//

After these *factually* false pronouncements about the "entire German press", Mr. Eulenburg may be

> "certain of *encountering no contradiction from that quarter*".

In reply to Bebel, he has to "*recall* the attitude adopted towards these events by the Social-Democratic press" in order to prove "that Social-Democracy" does not, as it claims, "*abhor murder* in whatever guise".

Proof:

1. "The organs of Social-Democracy began by trying to demonstrate that the attempted assassinations were a put-up job" (CROWN PRINCE[a]).

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

//The *Norddeutsche Allgemeine* [*Zeitung*]'s complaints concerning the legal nature of German Social-Democratic agitation.//[296]

2. "When they saw that this offered no means of escape..., they changed their tune and asserted that neither of the criminals could be held accountable, depicting them as isolated lunatics and their deeds as manifestations such as had always occurred from time to time in every era"

//haven't they?//

"and for which no one could be held responsible."

//(Proves love of "murder".) (Many non-Social-Democratic journals did the same.)//

Instead of producing the "records" of which, according to his previous statement, he has no knowledge—or must, out of regard for the "Prussian judiciary", refrain from blabbing about—Mr. Eulenburg now demands that credence be attached, on the grounds of these "records" withheld by him, to the following:

"Gentlemen, the investigation which has been carried out has not yielded the slightest indication that the two men were in any way incapable of reflecting upon the consequences and implications of their acts. On the contrary, *all that it has been possible to establish* is that they were fully accountable for their actions and, in the latter case, //not, then, in that of the executed man, Hödel?// acted with *deliberate malice aforethought* such as has seldom been seen before."

3. "There has been a tendency in many of the organs of Social-Democracy *to excuse these actions, to exculpate their perpetrators.* Not they, but society"

//they were exculpated by the government in that the latter does not hold *them* responsible but "the doctrines of Social-Democracy" and the agitators of the working class—i.e. *one section of society* and its "doctrines"—//

"*was held* responsible *for the crimes*"

//i.e. the exculpation was not extended to the *acts*, otherwise they would not have been regarded as "*crimes*", and the question of "guilt" would not have been discussed at all//

"which had been committed."

(*Quotes* from *Vorwärts*,[a] with complete justification, with reference to Hödel.)

After all this clap-trap:

4. "Side by side with this, Gentlemen, there appeared comments on the heinous acts perpetrated or attempted against high-ranking officials in Russia. With reference to *Vera Zasulich's* assassination attempt"

//the St. Petersburg jury and the press throughout the world!!//

"and the murder of General *Mezentsov*"[297]

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[a] Eulenburg quotes "Das Attentat" in *Vorwärts*, No. 57, May 17, 1878.—*Ed.*

//more about this below, *re* Bismarck[a]//

> "you will have seen in a paper published here the question: 'Well, what else could they have done? What other recourse did they have?'"[b]
>
> 5. "Finally, *Social-Democracy abroad* has explicitly and in so many words expressed its sympathy with these acts. The *Congress of the Jura Federation*, which *met at Fribourg* in July *of this year*, explicitly declared the acts of Hödel and Nobiling to be revolutionary acts which had its full sympathy, etc."[298]

But is German Social-Democracy "responsible" for the statements and MOVEMENTS of a clique hostile to it whose "assassinations" and [the like][c] in Italy, Switzerland, Spain //likewise Russia: Nechayev// have hitherto been confined exclusively to members of "the Marxian tendency"?[299]

//In referring to these same anarchists, Mr. Eulenburg had already remarked that one had had to relinquish the view that

> "the attempted assassinations were a put-up job", "when even Social-Democratic organs abroad—I shall presently provide an example of this—expressed the conviction that nothing *of the kind* was the case";

he forgets to provide "the example".//

There now follows a *fine passage* on

> the "*Marxian tendency*" and the "*tendency of the so-called Anarchists*"

(p. 51, Column I). They are different, but

> "it *cannot be denied* that there is *a certain*" (what? *hostile*) "connection between all *these associations*"

as, indeed, there is a *certain* connection between all the manifestations of one and the same epoch. If they want to make a *cas pendable*[d] of this "*connection*", they must first of all show it to have a *distinctive character*, and not rest content with a phrase that is applicable to anything and everything in the universe where a "certain" connection exists between absolutely everything. The "Marxian tendency" has demonstrated that there is a definite connection between the "Anarchists'" doctrines and actions and those of the European "police". When the details of this connection were exposed in the report *The Alliance*, etc.,[e] the entire reptilian and respectable press held its peace. These "revelations" did not fit in with their idea of a "connection".

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[a] For Bismarck's speech at the Reichstag sitting of September 17, 1878 see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, p. 70.—*Ed.*

[b] See "Das Henkerbeil", *Berliner Freie Presse*, No. 195, August 23, 1878.—*Ed.*

[c] Not easily decipherable in the MS.—*Ed.*

[d] Capital offence.—*Ed.*

[e] K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (present edition, Vol. 23).—*Ed.*

(Hitherto this clique has confined its attempted murders solely to members of the "Marxian" tendency.)

After this *faux fuyant*[a] Mr. Eulenburg proceeds, *via* an unobtrusive "and", to tack on a sentence which seeks to demonstrate the said "connection" by means of a false *locus communis*[b] and one, moreover, that was expressed in an exceptionally "critical" form:

"...and", he goes on, "and in such movements, *experience based upon the law of gravity*"

//a movement may be based on the law of gravity, e.g. the movement of a fall, but an experience is based *prima facie*[c] only on the phenomenon of the fall//

"has shown that *more extreme tendencies*"

//e.g. self-mutilation in Christianity//

"*gradually* gain the upper hand, and that the more moderate ones are unable to hold their own against them."

Firstly, to say that in historical movements it is the so-called extreme tendencies in any timely movement that gain the upper hand,—Luther versus Thomas Münzer, the Puritans versus the LEVELLERS, the Jacobins versus the Hébertistes[300]—is a *false locus communis*. History proves precisely the opposite. *Secondly*, however, the "anarchist" tendency is not an "extreme tendency" of German Social-Democracy,—something which Eulenburg should prove rather than insinuate. What is involved in the one case is the genuine historical movement of the working class; the other is a phantom of a *jeunesse sans issue*[d] intent on making history, and merely shows how the ideas of French socialism are caricatured in the *hommes déclassés*[e] of the upper classes. As a result, anarchism has suffered an almost universal eclipse, and continues to exist only where there is as yet no proper workers' movement. This is a fact.

All that Mr. Eulenburg proves is how dangerous it can be when the "police" take to "philosophising".

See the immediately ensuing sentence (Column I, p. 51) in which Eulenburg speaks *quasi re bene gesta*.[f]

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[a] Red herring.—*Ed.*

[b] Commonplace.—*Ed.*

[c] On the face of it.—*Ed.*

[d] Young people in a predicament.—*Ed.*

[e] Déclassé men.—*Ed.*

[f] As though all was as it should be.—*Ed.*

He now seeks to prove that "*the doctrines and objectives of Social-Democracy are harmful in all respects*"! And how? With three quotations.

But first let us look at the splendid way in which he makes the transition:

> "And if you take a somewhat closer look at these doctrines and objectives of Social-Democracy, you will find that *the objective* is not, as said just now, *peaceful development*, but *that peaceful development is only a stage* intended to lead on to the *final objectives* which are unattainable by any means other than those of force."

//In the same way, perhaps, as the "National Association"[301] was a "stage" intended to lead on to the *forcible Prussification of Germany*,—that's how Mr. Eulenburg looks at the matter [with] "Blood and Iron".[a]//

If one takes the first part of the sentence, what he is saying is merely a tautology or an absurdity: If development has an "objective"—"final objectives"—then those "objectives" are its "objectives", the nature of the development being neither "peaceful" nor otherwise. What Eulenburg is in fact trying to say is: Peaceful development towards an objective is only a stage which is intended to lead on to the forcible development of the objective, and indeed, according to Mr. Eulenburg, this subsequent change from "peaceful" to "forcible" development is inherent in the objective it is seeking to attain. The objective in the case under consideration is the emancipation of the working class and the revolution (transformation) of society implicit therein. An historical development can remain "peaceful" only for so long as its progress is not forcibly obstructed by those wielding social power at the time. If in England, for instance, or the United States, the working class were to gain a majority in PARLIAMENT or CONGRESS, they could, by lawful means, rid themselves of such laws and institutions as impeded their development, though they could only do so insofar as society had reached a sufficiently mature development. However, the "peaceful" movement might be transformed into a "forcible" one by resistance on the part of those interested in restoring the former state of affairs; if (as in the American Civil War and French Revolution[302]) they are put down by *force*, it is as rebels against "lawful" force.

But what Eulenburg advocates is *forcible reaction* on the part of those in power against *development while still* at the "peaceful stage", and this for the purpose of preventing subsequent "forcible" conflicts; the war cry of forcible counter-revolution against actually "peaceful" development; indeed, the government is seeking to suppress *by force* a development it dislikes but cannot *lawfully* attack. This is the necessary prelude to forcible revolutions.

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[a] An allusion to Bismarck's statement regarding the way of unifying Germany. See his speech at the 94th session of the Budget Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on September 30, 1862, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 458, October 2, 1862 (morning issue).—*Ed.*

> It is an old story
> which yet remains eternally new.[a]

Mr. Eulenburg now adduces three quotations in proof of Social-Democracy's doctrines of force:

1. *In his work on capital, Marx says:* "*Our* aims etc."

//But "*our*" aims is said, not in the name of German Social-Democracy, but in that of the *Communist Party.*// The passage is not from *Capital* which appeared in *1867*, but from the *Communist Manifesto* which had appeared in "1847",[303] i.e. twenty years before the "German Social-Democracy" was actually formed.

2. And in another passage, which is quoted in Mr. Bebel's work, *Unsere Ziele,* we read, as an assertion made by Marx:

//He [Eulenburg] himself, who quotes from *Capital* a passage that is not in it, naturally quotes passage that does appear in it as an assertion quoted elsewhere. (Cf. *passage* in *Capital, 2nd edition.*[b])// But the passage in Bebel runs:

> "Thus we see that *force* plays its role at various periods of history, and it is probably not without good reason that *K. Marx* (in his book, '*Das Kapital' in which he depicts the course of development of capitalist production*) exclaims: 'Force is the midwife of *every old society pregnant with a new one.* It is itself an economic power'."[c]

3. Quotation from Bebel: What *Unsere Ziele* (Column I, p. 51) quotes is, in fact, the following:

> "The course of this development depends on the intensity (power) with which the circles involved take hold of the movement; *it depends on the resistance encountered by the movement from its opponents.* Of one thing we may be sure: *The more vigorous the resistance, the more forcibly will the new conditions be brought about.* The problem will not at all be solved by a sprinkling of rose water."

//*Eulenburg* quotes this from *Bebel*'s "*Unsere Ziele*". It is to be found on *p. 16,* see *passage side-lined* on p. 16, ditto *15*; see ditto, *passage side-lined,* p. 43.// Again "falsified" because *quoted out of context.*

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[a] H. Heine, "Ein Jungling liebt ein Mädchen...", *Buch der Lieder,* Hamburg, 1839.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital,* Hamburg, 1872, p. 782 (see *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VIII, Chapter XXXI, present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[c] A. Bebel, *Unsere Ziele,* 4th ed., Leipzig, 1874, p. 16.—*Ed.*

After this forceful performance, see the puerile and self-demolishing twaddle about *Bismarck's* "contacts" with the "leaders of Social-Democracy" (p. 51, Column II).[304]

At the same sitting:

Stolberg's speech was followed by *Reichensperger's*. His chief fear—that the law whereby everything was made subject to the police be also applied to other parties displeasing to the government; in addition, unending *Catholic* balderdash. (See side-lined passages, pp. 30-35).

Reichensperger was followed by *von Helldorff-Bedra*. Utterly naive:

> "Gentlemen, the present law has the character of a preventive law in the most eminent sense of the word; it contains no penal clauses, but simply *empowers the police to issue prohibitions and attaches penalties to infringements of these patently unmistakable prohibitions*" (p. 36, Column I).

//It allows only the police to *prohibit everything* and does not *punish* the infringement of any law, but rather the "infringement" of the police ukase. A highly successful way of rendering *penal laws* superfluous.//

The "danger", admits *Mr. von Helldorff*, lies in the electoral victories of the Social-Democrats[305] which were not even prejudiced by the harassment consequent upon the assassination attempts! That calls for disciplinary action. Use of general suffrage in a manner displeasing to the government! (36, Column II).

However, the laddie concedes that Reichensperger is right and the "Complaints office", the "Federal Council Commission", nonsense.

> "The only question *to be settled here is one that concerns the police*, and to circumscribe such an *authority by guaranteeing rights*—quite definitely wrong"; abuse can be combatted by showing "confidence in *politically highly placed officials*" (37, I and II). Demands "amendment of our suffrage" (38, I).

Written on about September 24, 1878

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Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English in full for the first time

Frederick Engels

[THE ANTI-SOCIALIST LAW IN GERMANY.— THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA][306]

London, March 21

...The last socialist elections in Germany prove that one cannot kill socialism just by stopping its mouth.[307] Indeed the law against the socialists will be a great success for us. It will complete the revolutionary education of the German workers...

With great effort and great sacrifices they had won the degree of freedom of the press, of association and assembly which they enjoyed. It was a continuous struggle, but in the end victory always remained on the side of the workers. They could organise, and whenever there was a general election it was a new triumph for them.

This legal agitation, however, made some people believe that it was no longer necessary to do anything else in order to obtain the final victory of the proletariat. This, in a country as poor in revolutionary traditions as Germany, could have been dangerous. Luckily, Bismarck's brutal action and the cowardice of the German bourgeoisie who support him have changed things. The German workers have proved just how much constitutional liberties are worth when the proletariat takes them seriously and uses them to combat capitalist domination. If any illusions still existed in this respect, our friend Bismarck has abruptly dispelled them. I say our *friend* Bismarck because no one has ever rendered so many services to socialism in Germany as he has. After preparing the revolution with the most advanced and intolerable militarism, with constantly increasing taxes, with an alliance between the State and the most shameless stock-jobbing, with a return to the most feudal and repressive traditions of the old Prussia, with persecutions as numerous as they were petty, and with public degradation and revilement inflicted on a bourgeoisie which, it must be said, deserved no better,—after preparing the revolution in this way he crowns his labours by forcing the German proletariat to set out on the revolutionary road.

Our friend Bismarck can rest assured. The revolution he has so well prepared will be carried out by the German workers. When the signal is given by Russia, they will be ready.

For some years now I have been bringing the state of Russia, where a decisive movement is being prepared, to the attention of European socialists. The struggle between the government and the secret societies has taken on so violent a character there that it cannot last. The movement seems to be on the brink of exploding. The government agents are committing incredible atrocities. Against such wild animals one must defend oneself as one can, with powder and lead. Political assassination in Russia is the only means which men of intelligence, dignity and character possess to defend themselves against the agents of an unprecedented despotism.[308]

Powerful conspiracies in the army and even in the imperial Court, national opinion humiliated by the diplomatic defeats following the war,[309] the treasury empty, credit in ruins, the bankers refusing to grant loans unless they are guaranteed by a national assembly, and finally destitution. This is the balance of Russia.

Written on March 21, 1879

First published in *La Plebe*, No. 12, March 30, 1879

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Translated from the Italian

Published in English for the first time

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

CIRCULAR LETTER

TO AUGUST BEBEL, WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM BRACKE AND OTHERS[310]

Dear Bebel,

The delay in replying to your letter of August 20[a] has been due, on the one hand, to Marx's prolonged absence[311] and, on the other, to a number of incidents: first, the arrival of the "Richter" *Jahrbuch*, secondly that of Höchberg himself.[312]

I can only conclude that Liebknecht did not show you the last letter I wrote him, although I specifically instructed him to do so. Otherwise you would certainly not have adduced the same reasons as had been put forward by Liebknecht, and to which I had already *replied* in the aforesaid letter.[313]

Let us now run through the individual points with which we are concerned here.

I. THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CARL HIRSCH

Liebknecht asked Hirsch whether he would undertake to edit the party organ that was about to be founded in Zurich. Hirsch sought information as to the financing of the paper: what funds were available and who was providing them? Firstly, so as to know whether the paper might not peter out within a few months. Secondly, to ascertain who held the purse-strings, thus having the final say as to the paper's stance. Liebknecht's reply, telling Hirsch that "everything is in order; you will be getting further information from Zurich" (Liebknecht to Hirsch, July 28), didn't arrive.[314] But what did reach Hirsch from Zurich was a letter from

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[a] The original erroneously has: "August 29".— *Ed.*

Bernstein (July 24) in which Bernstein informed him that "*We*[a] are being entrusted with the production and *supervision* (of the paper)". A discussion had taken place "between Viereck, Singer and *ourselves*" during which it was suggested

> "that your position might be rendered somewhat difficult by the differences of opinion which you, as a *Laterne* man, have had with individual comrades, though *I* myself do not consider this objection carries much weight".

Not a word about the financing.

Hirsch answered by return on July 26, enquiring about the paper's material circumstances. Which comrades had undertaken to cover the deficit? Up to what amount and for how long?—The question of the editor's salary didn't enter into this at all; Hirsch merely wanted to know whether "means have been secured to ensure the paper's continued existence for at least a year".

On July 31, Bernstein replied, saying that any deficit there might be would be covered by voluntary contributions of which *some* (!) had already been subscribed. Hirsch's remarks about the stance he thought the paper should adopt, of which more below, elicited deprecating remarks and *injunctions*:

> "It is all the more necessary for the *supervisory committee*[315] to insist on it in that it, in turn, is subject to control, i.e. is responsible. On these points, therefore, you must come to an understanding with the supervisory committee."

They asked him to reply by return, preferably by telegraph.

Hence, instead of getting a reply to his justified questions, Hirsch was informed that he was to be editor under a *supervisory* committee based in Zurich, with views differing very materially from his own and members of whose names he wasn't even informed!

Hirsch, quite justifiably outraged by this treatment, chose rather to come to an understanding with the Leipzigers. His letter of August 2 to Liebknecht must be known to you, since Hirsch *expressly demanded* that it be shown to you and Viereck. Hirsch is even willing to submit to a supervisory committee in Zurich, inasmuch as the latter is to put its comments to the editor in writing and these may be referred for decision to the controlling committee in Leipzig.[316]

In the meantime Liebknecht had written to Hirsch on July 28:

> "*Of course* finance is available for the undertaking, seeing that it is backed by the entire party+(INCLUSIVE) Höchberg. But I'm not concerned with the details."

Nor does Liebknecht's next letter contain anything about the financing—only an assurance that the Zurich committee is not an

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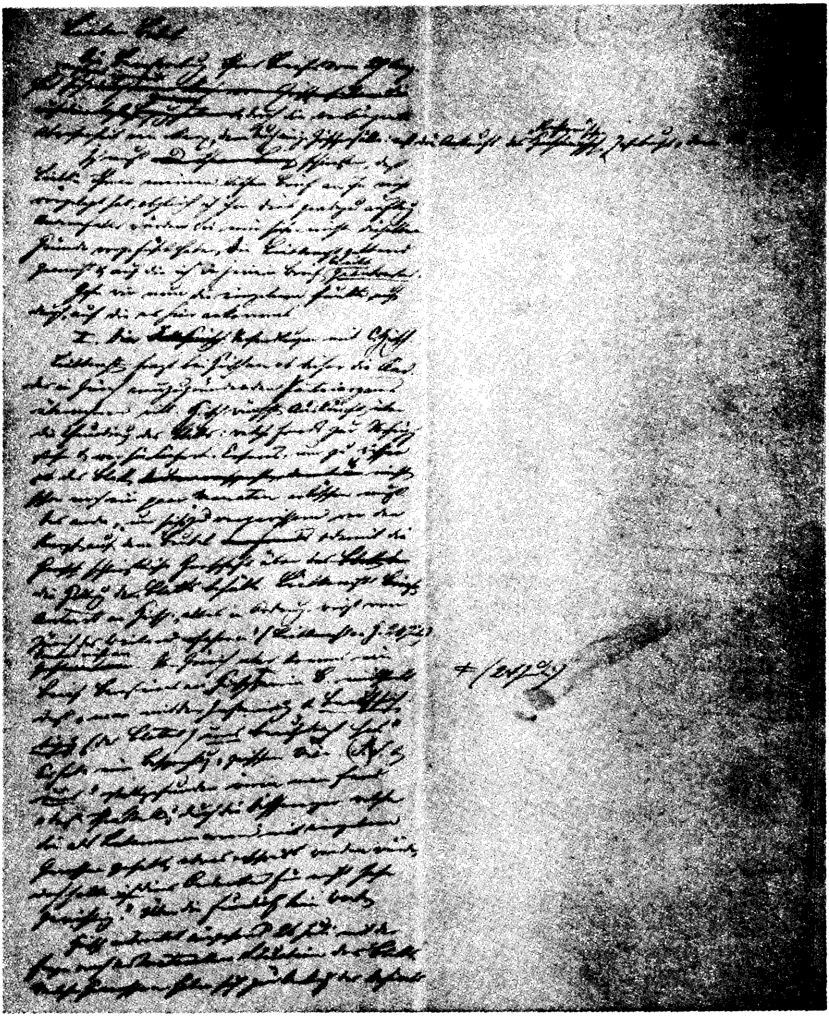
[a] Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg and Karl August Schramm.—*Ed.*



A page of the "Circular Letter to August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Wilhelm Bracke and Others" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

editorial committee, but is only to be entrusted with *administration* and the financial side. As late as August 14, Liebknecht wrote to me along the same lines, and asked that we persuade Hirsch to accept. You yourself, as late as August 20 were still so little acquainted with the actual circumstances that you wrote to me saying:

> "He" (Höchberg) "has no more say in the editing of the paper than *any other well-known member of the party*."

Finally, Hirsch received a letter from Viereck, dated August 11, containing the admission that

> "the 3 men domiciled in Zurich are to, qua *editorial committee*, apply themselves to founding the paper and, subject to the agreement of the three Leipzigers, select an editor ... *so far as I recall*, the resolutions that were sent them also asserted that the (Zurich) founding committee mentioned under 2., was to assume *both political* and financial responsibility towards the party.... From this state of affairs it follows, or so it seems to me, that ... there can be no question of anyone assuming the editorship without the concurrence of the 3 men domiciled in Zurich and entrusted with the founding by the party".

Here at last was *something* definite, at least, for Hirsch to go on, if only in regard to the position of the editor vis-à-vis the Zurichers. They were an *editorial* committee; they were also *politically* responsible; without their concurrence no one could assume the editorship. In short, Hirsch was simply instructed to come to an understanding with three men in Zurich whose names had still not been disclosed to him.

But to make the confusion worse, Liebknecht added a postscript to Viereck's letter:

> "Singer from Berlin was here just now and *informed* us that the supervisory committee in Zurich *is not*, as Viereck imagines, an *editorial* committee, but essentially an administrative committee which is financially responsible to the party, i.e. to ourselves, for the paper; of course, its members also have the right and the duty to discuss the editing with you (a right and a duty of which, by the way, *every* member is possessed); they are *not* empowered to place you under their *guardianship*."

The Zurich trio and one member of the Leipzig committee—the *only one*[a] present at the discussions—insist that Hirsch is to be subject to official direction by Zurich, while another Leipzig member[b] contests this outright. And yet Hirsch is to make up his mind before these gentlemen are agreed amongst themselves! The fact that Hirsch was entitled to acquaint himself with the resolutions they had adopted and which embodied the conditions with which he was expected to comply, was entirely overlooked, the more so since it never seems to have occurred to the Leipzigers that they *themselves* should become properly acquainted with those resolutions. How, otherwise, can the above-mentioned inconsistency be accounted for?

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[a] Louis Viereck.—*Ed.*

[b] Wilhelm Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

If the Leipzigers were unable to agree upon the powers vested in the Zurich people, the latter harboured no doubts on this score.

Schramm to Hirsch, August 14:

> "Had you not written at one time that in a similar case" (as that of Kayser),[a] "you would do just as you had done before, thus holding out the prospect of a similar *modus operandi*,[317] we would not be wasting words on the subject. As it is, however, and in view of that statement of yours, we must reserve the right to have the casting vote as to what articles the new paper should take."

The letter to Bernstein in which Hirsch was alleged to have said this was dated July 26, *long* after the conference in Zurich at which the Zurich trio's powers were laid down. But so much were those in Zurich already revelling in the sense of their own bureaucratic authority that, in reply to this subsequent letter of Hirsch's, they were already laying claim to new powers, namely the *decision* as to what articles should be included. The editorial committee was already a *censorship* committee.

Not until Höchberg arrived in Paris did Hirsch learn from him the *names* of the members of the two committees.[318]

If, then, discussions with Hirsch broke down, what was the cause?

1. The obstinate refusal, on the part of both Leipzig and Zurich, to give him any hard and fast information about the paper's financial basis and hence the likelihood of keeping it afloat, if only for a year. Not until he was over here did he learn from me (following your communication to me[b]) how much had been subscribed. Hence, the only conclusion it was really possible to draw from previous communications (the party + Höchberg) was either that the paper was already being largely financed by Höchberg or that it would soon be entirely dependent on his subsidies. And this latter eventuality is still far from being excluded. The sum of—if I read it right—800 marks is *precisely* the same (40 pounds sterling) as had to be contributed by the local association, *Freiheit*,[319] during the *first half year*.

2. Liebknecht's repeated assurances, which have since proved totally erroneous, that Zurich was to have no official control whatever over the editorship, and the resulting comedy of errors;

3. The certainty finally established that not only were the Zurich

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[a] See this volume, pp. 260-61.—*Ed.*

[b] This refers to August Bebel's letter to Engels of August 20, 1879.—*Ed.*

people to control the editing, they were actually to censor it, and that the only role that would redound upon him, Hirsch, would be that of the man of straw.

His refusal at that juncture is something we cannot but approve. The Leipzig committee, or so we hear from Höchberg,[320] has received reinforcements in the shape of two more who do not live in the place[a] and hence that committee can intervene quickly only if the three Leipzigers are agreed. As a result, the real centre of gravity has altogether shifted to Zurich, and Hirsch or, for that matter, any true revolutionary and proletarian-minded editor, would not have been able to work with the people there for any length of time. More about this later.

II. THE PROPOSED STANCE OF THE PAPER

As early as July 24 Bernstein had informed Hirsch that the differences he, as a *Laterne* man, had had with individual comrades would render his position more difficult.

Hirsch replied[b] that in his view the paper's stance would in general have to be the same as that of the *Laterne*, i.e. such as to avoid prosecution in Switzerland and not cause undue alarm in Germany. He inquired who those comrades might be and continued:

> "I know of only one and can promise you that in a similar case of *undisciplined conduct* I should deal with him in exactly the same way."

Whereupon Bernstein, conscious of his newly acquired dignity as official censor, replied:

> "Now as regards the paper's stance, it is the view of the supervisory committee that the *Laterne* should not serve as a model; in our view the paper should be less taken up with political radicalism, but rather adopt a line that is socialist on principle. Instances such as the attack upon Kayser, which was frowned on by all comrades without exception" (!), "must under all circumstances be avoided."[c]

And so on and so forth. Liebknecht called the attack on Kayser "a bloomer", and so dangerous did it seem to Schramm that he immediately imposed censorship on Hirsch.[d]

Hirsch again wrote to Höchberg, saying that a case such as that of Kayser

> "could not occur should an official party organ exist, whose lucid expositions and friendly hints *could* not be so presumptuously brushed aside by a deputy".

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[a] Ignaz Auer and Karl Grillenberger.—*Ed.*

[b] On July 26, 1879.—*Ed.*

[c] Eduard Bernstein's letter to Carl Hirsch of July 31, 1879.—*Ed.*

[d] See this volume, p. 258.—*Ed.*

Viereck also wrote, saying that what was required of the new paper was that it adopt a

> "dispassionate attitude and, in so far as possible, bury the hatchet"; it ought not to be an "enlarged version of the *Laterne*" and "the most Bernstein can be reproached with is that he holds views that are too moderate, if reproach it be at a time when we cannot, after all, crowd on sail".

Well, now, what is this Kayser case, this unpardonable crime Hirsch is supposed to have committed? In the Reichstag, Kayser spoke in favour of and voted for protective tariffs, the only one of the Social-Democratic deputies to do so. Hirsch accused him of having infringed party discipline, in that Kayser

1. voted for indirect taxation, the abolition of which is expressly demanded by the party programme[a];

2. voted Bismarck funds, thus infringing the first and fundamental rule of our party tactics: not a farthing for this government.

Hirsch is undeniably right on both counts. And, after Kayser had spurned, on the one hand, the party programme to which the deputies, by their resolution in congress, had in effect been solemnly pledged and, on the other hand, the most imperative and all-important rule of party tactics, after he had voted Bismarck *funds, out of gratitude for the Anti-Socialist Law,*[321] Hirsch was again perfectly justified in our opinion in handling him as roughly as he did.

We have never understood how it was that this attack upon Kayser could have aroused such a furore in Germany. I am now told by Höchberg that it was the "faction" which gave Kayser *permission* to act as he did, and Kayser is held to be covered by that permission.

If such is the case, then it is really too bad. In the first place, Hirsch could have known no more than the rest of the world about this secret resolution.[b] Then, again, the discredit incurred by the party, for which previously Kayser alone could have been blamed, is all the greater for this affair, as is Hirsch's merit in having brought to light in public and for all the world to see Kayser's preposterous phraseology and his even more preposterous vote, thus saving the honour of the party. Or has German

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[a] See "Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands", *Der Volksstaat*, No. 59, May 28, 1875.—*Ed.*

[b] Deleted in the manuscript: "Even admitting that two or three other Social-Democratic deputies (for it is unlikely that any more were there) had allowed themselves to be misled into permitting Kayser to recite his inanities in front of all and sundry, and vote Bismarck funds, it was their duty publicly to assume responsibility for this and then wait and see what Hirsch would say."—*Ed.*

Social-Democracy indeed been infected with the parliamentary disease, believing that, with the popular vote, the Holy Ghost is poured upon those elected, that meetings of the faction are transformed into infallible councils and factional resolutions into sacrosanct dogma?

Admittedly, a bloomer has been made—not by Hirsch, however, but by the deputies who gave Kayser the protection of their resolution. And if those upon whom, above all others, it is incumbent to see that party discipline is maintained, themselves so glaringly infringe that party discipline by a resolution of this kind, then so much the worse. But it is even worse still if they have the audacity to believe that it was not Kayser, by his speech and vote, or the other deputies by their resolution, who infringed party discipline, but Hirsch, inasmuch as he attacked Kayser despite that resolution about which, moreover, he knew nothing.

For the rest, there can be no doubt that the policy the party had adopted towards the question of protective tariffs was as muddled and vacillating as it has always been in regard to virtually all economic questions—e.g. state railways[322]—when they have become a practical issue. The reason for this is that the party organs, notably *Vorwärts*, rather than subject such questions to a thorough discussion, have preferred to apply themselves to the construction of the future social order. When, *subsequent to* the Anti-Socialist Law, the question of protective tariffs suddenly became a live issue, views on the subject diverged, assuming a wide variety of nuances, and there was absolutely no one to hand possessing the qualification that would have enabled him to form a lucid and accurate opinion, namely a knowledge of conditions in German industry and the latter's position in the world market. Again, as was bound to happen, protectionist tendencies cropped up here and there amongst the electorate, tendencies which, it was felt, ought also to be taken into consideration. The only possible way out of the confusion would have been to take a purely political view of the question (as was done in the *Laterne*), but this was not pursued with any determination. Thus it was inevitable that in this debate, the party acted for the first time in a hesitant, uncertain and muddled way and ended up by thoroughly discrediting itself through the person of and in company with Kayser.

The attack on Kayser is now being used as a pretext to admonish Hirsch, in tones ranging through the whole gamut, to the effect that the new paper must on no account repeat the excesses of the *Laterne*, must be less taken up with political radicalism and rather adopt a line that is dispassionate and socialist on principle. And this from Viereck no less than from Bernstein who, precisely because he is too moderate, appears to the former to be the right man, seeing that just now we cannot, after all, crowd on sail.

But why go abroad at all, unless one intends to crowd on sail? Abroad, there's nothing to prevent this being done. In Switzerland there are no German press, combination and penal laws. Hence, not only can one say things there, which could not, even before the Anti-Socialist Law, be said at home because of the ordinary German laws, but one is actually *duty-bound* to do so. For here one is under the eyes, not of Germany alone, but of Europe and it is one's duty, insofar as the *Swiss* laws allow, openly to proclaim for Europe's benefit the methods and aims of the German party. Anyone in Switzerland seeking to abide by the *German* laws would only prove that he is deserving of those German laws and that he has, in effect, nothing to say save what he was allowed to say in Germany before the Exceptional Law. Nor should any account be taken of the possibility that the editors might be temporarily deprived of the chance to return to Germany. Anyone who is not prepared to run that risk is not fit to occupy so exposed and honourable a post.

More. If the German party was ostracised by the Exceptional Law, this was precisely *because* it was the only serious opposition party in Germany. If, in an organ published abroad, it renders thanks to Bismarck by abandoning its role as the only serious opposition party, by behaving in a nice, docile manner and adopting a dispassionate stance when kicked, it only proves that it deserved to be kicked. Of all the German émigré papers that have appeared abroad since 1830, the *Laterne* is undoubtedly one of the most moderate. If, however, even the *Laterne* was too insolent—then the new organ could not but compromise the party in the eyes of sympathisers in non-German countries.

III. THE MANIFESTO OF THE ZURICH TRIO

In the meantime we have received Höchberg's *Jahrbuch*, containing an article, "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland,"[a] which, as Höchberg himself informed me, was actually written by the three members of the Zurich committee.[b]

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[a] See this volume, p. 253. *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1879, pp. 75-96. The parentheses, abridgements and italics in the following quotations are by Engels.— *Ed.*

[b] Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm.— *Ed.*

Here we have their authentic critique of the movement up till now, and hence their authentic programme for the new paper's stance insofar as this is dependent on them.

At the very start we read:

> "The movement, regarded by Lassalle as an eminently political one, to which he sought to rally not only the workers but all honest democrats, and *in the van of which* were to march the independent representatives of science and *all men imbued with a true love of mankind*, was trivialised under the chairmanship of J. B. von Schweitzer into a *one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests*." [a]

I shall not inquire whether and to what extent this is historically true. The specific charge against Schweitzer is that Schweitzer *trivialised* Lassalleanism, here regarded as a bourgeois democratic-philanthropic movement, into a one-sided struggle of the industrial workers to promote their own interests—*trivialised* it by *emphasising* its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie.[b] He is further charged with having "repudiated bourgeois democracy".[c] But has bourgeois democracy any business to be in the Social-Democratic Party at all? If it consists of "honest men", it surely cannot wish to join, and if it nevertheless wishes to join, this can only be for the purpose of stirring up trouble.

The Lassallean party "chose to present itself in a most *one-sided* manner as a *workers' party*".[d] The gentlemen who wrote those words are themselves members of a party which presents itself in the most one-sided manner as a workers' party, and now hold office in the same. Here we have a complete incompatibility. If they think as they write, they ought to leave the party or at least resign from office. If they don't, it is tantamount to admitting that they intend to use their official position to combat the party's proletarian character. Hence the party is betraying itself if it allows them to remain in office.

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 84.— *Ed.*

[b] These two sentences were substituted by the authors for the following passage deleted in the manuscript: "Schweitzer was a great blackguard, but very talented intellectually. His particular merit consisted in his having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism with its limited panacea of state aid... Whatever wrong he may have done out of corrupt motives and however much, too, he may have clung to the Lassallean panacea of state aid in order to preserve his domination, he nevertheless had the merit of having broken free of the original, narrow Lassalleanism, of having broadened the party's economic horizons and thus paved the way for its subsequent merger with the German party as a whole. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, that pivot of all revolutionary socialism, had already been advocated by Lassalle. If Schweitzer stressed this point even more strongly it was, at any rate, a step forward so far as the cause was concerned, however much of a pretext he may thus have afforded dangerous individuals for calling his dictatorship in question. It may rightly be said that he turned Lassalleanism into a *one-sided* struggle of the *industrial* workers to promote their own interests. But one-sided only in the sense that, for reasons that were politically corrupt, he wished to have nothing to do with the farm workers' struggle to promote their own interests vis-à-vis the big landowners. It is not that with which he is reproached here; rather the 'trivialisation' consists in his emphasising its character as a class struggle of industrial workers against the bourgeoisie."— *Ed.*

[c] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 84.— *Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 85.— *Ed.*

Thus, in the view of these gentlemen, the Social-Democratic Party ought *not* to be a one-sided workers' party but a many-sided party of "all men imbued with a true love of mankind". This it is to prove, above all, by divesting itself of crude proletarian passions and applying itself, under the direction of educated philanthropic bourgeois, "to the formation of good taste" and "the acquisition of good manners" (p. 85). After which the "seedy appearance" of some of the leaders would give way to a respectable "bourgeois appearance".[a] (As though the outwardly seedy appearance of those referred to here were not the least that could be held against them!) After which, too,

> "there will be an *influx of supporters* from the ranks of the *educated* and *propertied* classes. *These*, however, must first be won over if the ... agitation engaged in is to have *perceptible results*...". German socialism has laid "too much stress on winning over the *masses*, thus omitting to prosecute vigorous" (!)"propaganda amongst the so-called upper strata of society". For "the party still lacks men who are fit to represent it in the Reichstag". It is, however, "desirable and necessary to entrust the mandates to men who have had the time and the opportunity to become thoroughly conversant with the relevant material. Only rarely and in exceptional cases does ... the simple working man and small master craftsman have sufficient leisure for the purpose".[b]

Therefore elect bourgeois!

In short, the working class is incapable of emancipating itself by its own efforts. In order to do so it must place itself under the direction of "educated and propertied" bourgeois who alone have "the time and the opportunity" to become conversant with what is good for the workers. And, secondly, the bourgeois are not to be combatted—not on your life—but *won over* by vigorous propaganda.

If, however, you wish to win over the upper strata of society, or at least their well-intentioned elements, you mustn't frighten them—not on your life. And here the Zurich trio believe they have made a reassuring discovery:

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, p. 86.— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid., pp. 87-89.— *Ed.*

> "Now, at the very time it is oppressed by the Anti-Socialist Law, the party is showing that it *does not wish* to pursue the path of forcible, bloody revolution, but rather is determined ... to tread the path of legality, i.e. of *reform*."[a]

If, therefore, the 5-600,000 Social-Democratic voters, $^1/_{10}$ to $^1/_8$ of the total electorate—and dispersed, what is more, over the length and breadth of the country—have sense enough not to beat their heads against a wall and attempt a "bloody revolution" with the odds at one to ten, this is supposed to prove that they will, for all time, continue to *deny* themselves all chance of exploiting some violent upheaval abroad, a sudden wave of revolutionary fervour engendered thereby, or even a people's *victory* won in a clash arising therefrom! Should Berlin ever be so uneducated as to stage another March 18,[323] it would behove the Social-Democrats not to take part in the fighting as "louts besotted with barricades" (p. 88) but rather to "tread the path of legality", to placate, to clear away the barricades and, if necessary, march with the glorious army against the one-sided, crude, uneducated masses. Or if the gentlemen insist that that's not what they meant, then what did they mean?

But there's better in store.

> "Hence, the more calm, sober and considered it (the Party) shows itself to be in its criticism of existing circumstances and its proposals to change the same, the less likelihood is there of a repetition of the present successful move" (introduction of the Anti-Socialist Law) "by means of which conscious reaction has scared the bourgeoisie out of their wits by holding up the red spectre" (p. 88).

In order to relieve the bourgeoisie of the last trace of anxiety, it is to be shown clearly and convincingly that the red spectre really is just a spectre and doesn't exist. But what is the secret of the red spectre, if not the bourgeoisie's fear of the inevitable life-and-death struggle between itself and the proletariat, fear of the unavoidable outcome of the modern class struggle? Just abolish the class struggle, and the bourgeoisie and "all independent persons" will "not hesitate to go hand in hand with the proletarians"![b] In which case the ones to be hoodwinked would be those self-same proletarians.

Let the party, therefore, prove, by its humble and subdued demeanour, that it has renounced once and for all the "improprieties and excesses"[c] which gave rise to the Anti-Socialist Law. If it voluntarily undertakes to remain wholly within the bounds of the Anti-Socialist Law, Bismarck and the bourgeoisie will, no doubt, oblige by rescinding what would then be a redundant law!

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[a] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, pp. 87-88.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid., p. 88.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 87.—*Ed.*

> "Let no one misunderstand us"; we don't want "to relinquish our party and our programme,[a] but in our opinion we shall have enough to do for years to come if we concentrate our whole strength, our entire energies, on the attainment of certain immediate objectives which must in any case be won before there can be any thought of realising more ambitious aspirations."[b]

Then, too, the bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and workers, who "are now scared off ... by ambitious demands",[c] will join us *en masse.*

The programme is not to be *relinquished,* but merely *postponed*—for some unspecified period. They accept it—not for themselves in their own lifetime but posthumously, as an heirloom for their children and their children's children. Meanwhile they devote their "whole strength and energies" to all sorts of trifles, tinkering away at the capitalist social order so that at least something should appear to be done without at the same time alarming the bourgeoisie. Here I can only commend that communist, Miquel, who gives proof of his unshakable belief in the inevitable downfall of capitalist society within the next few hundred years by swindling it for all he's worth, contributing manfully to the crash of 1873, and thus *really* doing something towards the collapse of the existing order.[324]

Another offence against good manners was the "exaggerated attacks on the *Gründer*",[84] who, after all, were "only children of their time"; hence "the vilification of Strousberg and suchlike men ... would have been better omitted".[d] Sadly we are all "children of our time", and if this be sufficient grounds for excuse, it is no longer permissible to attack anyone, and we for our part would have to desist from all polemic, all struggle; we would calmly submit whenever kicked by our opponents, because we would know in our wisdom that they are "only children of their time" and cannot act otherwise than they do. Instead of repaying them their kicks with interest, we should rather, it seems, feel sorry for the poor fellows.

Similarly, our support for the Commune had one drawback, at any rate, namely

> "that it put off people otherwise well-disposed towards us, and generally increased the *hatred* felt for us by the *bourgeoisie*". Moreover, the party "cannot be wholly exonerated from having brought about the October Law,[325] for it had needlessly exacerbated the *hatred of the bourgeoisie*".[e]

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[a] "Programm der sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands".—*Ed.*

[b] *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik,* p. 88.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., p. 95.—*Ed.*

[e] Ibid., pp. 95, 96.—*Ed.*

There you have the programme of the three censors of Zurich. As regards clarity, it leaves nothing to be desired. Least of all so far as we're concerned, since we are still only too familiar with all these catch-phrases of 1848. There are the voices of the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, terrified lest the proletariat, impelled by its revolutionary situation, should "go too far". Instead of resolute political opposition—general conciliation; instead of a struggle against government and bourgeoisie—an attempt to win them over and talk them round; instead of defiant resistance to maltreatment from above—humble subjection and the admission that the punishment was deserved. Every historically necessary conflict is reinterpreted as a misunderstanding and every discussion wound up with the assurance: we are, of course, all agreed on the main issue. The men who in 1848 entered the arena as bourgeois democrats might now just as well call themselves Social-Democrats. To the former, the democratic republic was as unattainably remote as the overthrow of the capitalist order is to the latter, and therefore utterly irrelevant to present political practice; one can conciliate, compromise, philanthropise to one's heart's content. The same thing applies to the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. On paper it is recognised because there is no denying it any longer, but in practice it is glossed over, suppressed, emasculated. The Social-Democratic Party *should not* be a workers' party, it should not bring upon itself the hatred of the bourgeoisie or, for that matter, of anyone else; above all, it should prosecute vigorous propaganda amongst the bourgeoisie; instead of laying stress on ambitious goals which are calculated to frighten off the bourgeoisie, and unattainable anyway in our own generation, it should rather devote all its strength and energies to those petty-bourgeois stop-gap reforms which provide new props for the old social order and which might, perhaps, transform the ultimate catastrophe into a gradual, piecemeal and, as far as possible, peaceable process of dissolution. These are the same people who keep up an appearance of ceaseless activity, yet not only do nothing themselves but also try to ensure that nothing at all is done save—chin-wagging; the same people whose fear of any kind of action in 1848 and '49 held back the movement at every step and finally brought about its downfall; the same people who never see reaction and then are utterly dumbfounded to find themselves at last in a blind alley in which neither resistance nor flight is possible; the same people who want to confine history within their narrow philistine horizons, and over whose heads history invariably proceeds to the order of the day.

As for their socialist import, this has already been adequately criticised in the *Manifesto*, Chapter: "German, or 'True' Socialism". Wherever the class struggle is thrust aside as a distasteful, "crude" manifestation, the only basis still left to socialism will be a "true love of mankind" and empty phrases about "justice".

It is an inevitable manifestation, and one rooted in the process of development, that people from what have hitherto been the ruling class also join the militant proletariat and supply it with educative elements. We have already said so clearly in the *Manifesto*. But in this context there are two observations to be made:

Firstly, if these people are to be of use to the proletarian movement, they must introduce genuinely educative elements. However, in the case of the vast majority of German bourgeois converts, this is not the case. Neither the *Zukunft* nor the *Neue Gesellschaft* has contributed anything that might have advanced the movement by a single step. Here we find a complete lack of genuinely educative matter, either factual or theoretical. In place of it, attempts to reconcile superficially assimilated socialist ideas with the most diverse theoretical viewpoints which these gentlemen have introduced from the university or elsewhere, and of which each is more muddled than the last thanks to the process of decay taking place in what remains of German philosophy today. Instead of first making a thorough study of the new science, each man chose to adapt it to the viewpoint he had brought with him, not hesitating to produce his own brand of science and straightaway assert his right to teach it. Hence there are, amongst these gentlemen, almost as many viewpoints as there are heads; instead of elucidating anything, they have only made confusion worse—by good fortune, almost exclusively amongst themselves. The party can well dispense with educative elements such as these for whom it is axiomatic to teach what they have not learnt.

Secondly, when people of this kind, from different classes, join the proletarian movement, the first requirement is that they should not bring with them the least remnant of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, etc., prejudices, but should unreservedly adopt the proletarian outlook. These gentlemen, however, as already shown, are chock-full of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas. In a country as petty-bourgeois as Germany, there is certainly some justification for such ideas. But only *outside* the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. If the gentlemen constitute themselves a Social-Democratic petty-bourgeois party, they are fully within their rights: in that case we could negotiate with them and, according to circumstances, form an alliance with them, etc. But within a workers' party they are an adulterating element. Should there be any reason to tolerate their presence there for a while, it should be our duty *only* to tolerate them, to allow them no say in the Party leadership and to remain aware that a break with them is only a matter of time. That time, moreover, would appear to have come. How the Party can suffer the authors of this article to remain any longer in their midst seems to us incomprehensible. But should the Party leadership actually pass, to a greater or lesser extent, into the hands of such men, then the Party will be emasculated no less, and that will put paid to its proletarian grit.

As for ourselves, there is, considering all our antecedents, only one course open to us. For almost 40 years we have emphasised that the class struggle is the immediate motive force of history and, in particular, that the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat is the great lever of modern social revolution; hence we cannot possibly co-operate with men who seek to eliminate that class struggle from the movement. At the founding of the International we expressly formulated the battle cry: The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself.[a] Hence we cannot co-operate with men who say openly that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves, and must first be emancipated from above by philanthropic members of the upper and lower middle classes. If the new party organ is to adopt a policy that corresponds to the opinions of these gentlemen, if it is bourgeois and not proletarian, then all we could do—much though we might regret it—would be publicly to declare ourselves opposed to it and abandon the solidarity with which we have hitherto represented the German Party abroad. But we hope it won't come to *that*.

It is intended that this letter should be communicated to all five members of the committee in Germany,[326] and also to Bracke....

Nor have we any objection to its being communicated to the people in Zurich.

Written on September 17-18, 1879

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14.—*Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

[ABOUT KARL BLIND][327]

The article ought to be headed, not "Prince Napoleon etc.",[a] but "I". For every once the name of Prince Napoleon occurs in it, the pronoun "I" occurs at least 20 times, not to count its inflected cases and derived forms. What it says of Prince Napoleon, has all been printed more than once, and what it says about "I", has, alas, also been related, printed, and published more than once in England, as the proprietors and editors of sundry reviews, defunct and alive, know to their sorrow.[328]

Deprived of its false pretence, the paper gives a new version of Mr. Blind's old tale: How Karl Blind, by various untoward circumstances, was unfortunately prevented from changing the course of history. First comes the oft repeated story which forms his chief stock-in-trade, how he was sent on a diplomatic mission by the moribund provisional governments of the South German insurrection of 1849[329] ostensibly to the then government of the French Republic, but in reality to the revolutionary government of Ledru-Rollin which, it was expected, would be shortly installed by a popular commotion. Alas! the government which had sent him, was unceremoniously chased into Swiss exile by the Prussians, and the demonstration of the 13th June, which was to establish the government to which he was really accredited, was equally unceremoniously put down.[330] Of his rather grotesque mission from a dead to an unborn government, he had the good fortune to be relieved by the existing French government who arrested him as a participator in the "pacific" demonstration of the unarmed Paris national guard on the 13th June, [and] finally expelled [from] the country. Had the government which sent him but remained alive, and had the government to which he was really sent, but come into existence, what would not Karl Blind have been enabled to do? By procuring himself from somebody in Baden a sham mission to somebody in Paris, he had contrived to eschew "diplomatically" even the least possibility of a dangerous encounter with the approaching Prussian army. At all events he had done something.[a]

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[a] K. Blind, "Prince Napoleon and European Democracy", *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. 20, London, 1879, pp. 504-21.—*Ed.*

Again, in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German war, there was a chance of Italy joining France. But Karl Blind watched. "Had King Victor Emmanuel etc." (page 519). But again, it was an embassy from one non-existing government to another. Louis Napoleon refused Rome to Victor Emmanuel, thus forcing the latter to take the town in the teeth of France, and rendering the Italian alliance impossible.[331] Again, the services and offers of Karl Blind, whatever these offers may have been worth, were declined, and that eternal diplomatist *in partibus*,[b] instead of changing the route of history, had to be satisfied with the "warmest thanks" of Mazzini.

Who can help being reminded of the braggart who, when involved in a *fracas*, shouted: "Hold me back, friends, or else I shall commit some fearful deed!" Unfortunately for the world, but perhaps fortunately for Mr. Karl Blind, whenever he is about to step into the foreground of historical action, some untoward event prevents him from accomplishing that "fearful deed" which was to render him immortal.

Let us hope that this is the last lucubration, at least in English, written by Karl B. on K. B. in the interest of K. B.

Written between October 5 and 9, 1879

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Reproduced from the manuscript

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[a] The last two sentences were written by Marx. In the margin of the previous page of Engels' manuscript, Marx wrote another version: "By getting his opportune acceptance of a sham mission abroad, he had contrived to render impossible any encounter of Karl Blind with the Prussian troops then invading Baden."— *Ed.*

[b] *In partibus infidelium*—literally: in parts inhabited by unbelievers. The words are added to the title of Roman Catholic bishops appointed to purely nominal dioceses in non-Christian countries.— *Ed.*

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L'ÉGALITÉ

ORGANE COLLECTIVISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

PARAISSANT LE MERCREDI

Frederick Engels

THE SOCIALISM OF MR. BISMARCK[332]

I. THE CUSTOMS TARIFF

In the debate on the notorious law which places the German socialists outside the law,[333] Mr. Bismarck declared that repression alone was not enough to crush socialism; what was needed, in addition, were measures to remedy the undeniable social ills, to ensure the regularity of work, to forestall industrial crises and what have you. He promised to introduce these "positive" measures of social welfare.[a] For, he said, when one has directed the affairs of one's country for 17 years, as I have done, one is entitled to consider oneself a competent judge in matters of political economy; which is like someone saying that eating potatoes for 17 years is enough to give one a thorough knowledge of agronomy.

In any case, this time Mr. Bismarck was true to his word. He has bestowed on Germany two grand "social measures", and he has not finished yet.

The first was a customs tariff[b] which was to ensure that German industry was allowed exclusive rights to the domestic market.

Until 1848 Germany had had no large-scale industry properly speaking. Labour dominated. Steam, mechanisation were simply the exception. In 1848 and 1849, having incurred a shameful defeat in the political sphere because of its cowardice, the German bourgeoisie consoled itself by launching eagerly into large-scale industry. The face of the country was rapidly transformed. Anyone who had not seen Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, Royal Saxony, High Silesia, Berlin and the seaports since 1849 could no longer recognise them in 1864. Steam and machines had invaded the entire country. Large factories had mostly supplanted the small workshops. Steamships gradually replaced sailing vessels, first in coastal traffic, then in transatlantic trade. Railways multiplied; in the construction yards, in the coal and iron-ore mines there was activity the like of which the sluggish Germans would hitherto not have believed themselves capable of. Compared with the development of large-scale industry in England and even in France, all this was small beer; but anyway it was a beginning. Moreover, all this had been done without any help from the governments, without any grants or export subsidies, and under a customs tariff which, compared with the tariffs of other continental countries, might be considered very free-trade indeed.

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[a] See O. Bismarck's speeches in the Reichstag on the Anti-Socialist Law on September 17 and October 9, 1878, *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags.* 4. Legislatur-Periode. I. Session 1878. Erster Band. Berlin, 1878, pp. 70, 125.—*Ed.*

[b] "Gesetz, betreffend den Zolltarif des Deutschen Zollgebiets und den Ertrag der Zölle und der Tabacksteuer. Vom 15. Juli 1879", *Reichs-Gesetzblatt,* No. 27, 1879.—*Ed.*

This industrial movement, let it be said in passing, did not fail to have the social consequences which it has had everywhere. The German industrial workers had, until then, vegetated in conditions reminiscent of the Middle Ages. Generally speaking, they still had some chance of gradually becoming petty bourgeois, masters of their trade, owners of several hand looms, etc. Now all this disappeared. The workers, becoming the employees of the big capitalists, started to form a permanent class, a real proletariat. But he who says "proletariat" says "socialism". Furthermore, there still remained a trace of the liberties which the workers had won at the barricades in 1848. Thanks to these two circumstances German socialism, which before 1848 had had to restrict itself to underground propaganda and a secret organisation whose members were few, was now able to unfold in the full light of day and to penetrate into the masses. Hence 1863 is the year which saw the recommencement of socialist agitation by Lassalle.[334]

Then came the war of 1870, the peace of 1871 and the milliards.[335] If France was far from ruining herself by paying them, Germany came within a hair's breadth of its demise by receiving them. Recklessly squandered by a government of upstarts in an upstart empire, the milliards fell into the hands of high finance, which hastened to make them bear fruit on the Stock Exchange. Berlin saw the return of the heyday of Crédit mobilier.[336] It was a race to see who could start more public and mixed liability companies, banks, building societies and financial institutions, railway construction companies, factories of all kinds, shipyards, companies speculating in land and buildings, and other things whose industrial trappings were no more than an excuse for the most bare-faced jobbing. The alleged public needs of commerce, communications, consumption, etc., simply served as a cloak for the frantic need of the Stock Exchange wolves to make these milliards work as long as they had them in their hands. Besides, all this was seen in Paris in the glorious days of Péreire and Fould; the same jobbers were at work in Berlin, reappearing under the names of Bleichroeder and Hansemann.

What had happened in Paris in 1867, what had happened many times in London and New York, happened all over again in 1873 in Berlin: unbridled speculation terminated in a general collapse. Companies went bankrupt in their hundreds; the shares of those which survived became unsaleable; the rout was complete all along the line. But in order to speculate it had been necessary to create the means of production and communication, the factories, railways, etc., whose shares had been the object of this speculation. At the time of the crash it was found that the public need which had served as a pretext had been outstripped by far; that in four years more railways, factories, mines, etc., had been created than the normal development of industry would have produced in a quarter of a century.

After the railways, to which we shall return below, speculation had been chiefly directed at the iron and steel industry. The mills had multiplied rapidly; more than one plant had been set up that put Creuzot in the shade. Unfortunately, on the day of the crisis it turned out that there were no consumers for this gigantic production. The large manufacturing companies found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. As the good German patriots they were, their directors sought help from the government: protective tariffs that would secure for them the exploitation of the domestic market against competition from English iron. But if one demanded protective tariffs for iron, one could not deny other industries, even agriculture, the same protection. So noisy agitation for tariff protection was organised throughout Germany, agitation which allowed Mr. Bismarck to introduce a customs tariff which was supposed to fulfil this purpose. This tariff, which became law in the summer of 1879, is now in force.[337]

But German industry, such as it was, had always lived in the fresh air of free competition. Arriving last on the scene, after England and France, it had been obliged to confine itself to filling the small gaps left for it by its predecessors; to providing, on a large scale, articles that were too paltry for the English, too tawdry for the French; to manufacturing on a small scale products that were always changing, *cheap goods* at a *low price.* Let it not be thought that this is merely an assertion of our own: these are the very words of the official assessment of German products as set out in Philadelphia (1876) by the official commissioner of the German Government, Mr. Reuleaux, a man with a European scientific reputation.[a]

An industry of this kind can only assert itself in neutral markets if there is free trade at home. If one expects German textiles, processed metals and machinery to withstand foreign competition abroad, then all the raw materials necessary for their production, cotton, linen or silk thread, pig iron or metal wire, must be available at the same low price at which their foreign competitors buy them. So you have the choice of two things. If you wish to continue exporting textiles and the products of the metal industry, then free trade is necessary, at the risk of seeing these industries use materials taken from abroad. If, on the other hand, you wish to protect spinning and the production of crude metals in Germany with customs tariffs—then you will soon have ruled out the possibility of exporting the products of which thread and crude metal are the raw materials.

By protecting spinning and metallurgy with his notorious tariff, Mr. Bismarck destroyed the last chance which German textiles, processed metals, needles and machinery had until then of finding an outlet abroad. But the Germany whose agriculture produced a surplus for export in the first half of the century cannot now do without a supplement of foreign agricultural products. If Mr. Bismarck forbids his industry to produce for export, with what will he pay for these imports and many others which all the tariffs in the world will not prevent him from needing.

To solve this question called for nothing less than the genius of Mr. Bismarck combined with that of his Stock Exchange friends and advisers. This is how it is done:

Let us take iron. The period of speculation and feverish production has bestowed on Germany two firms (the Dortmund Union and Laurahütte), each of which has the capacity to produce, on its own, enough on average to satisfy the country's entire consumption. Then there is the gigantic Krupp concern in Essen, another similar one in Bochum, and then an infinite number of smaller ones. As a result, domestic iron consumption is covered three or four times over, at least. One might say that this is a situation necessitating most urgently unlimited free trade, which is alone capable of securing an outlet for this enormous excess production. One might say so—but this is not the opinion of those involved. Since there are at most a dozen companies that matter and which dominate the others, one forms what the Americans call a *RING*: an association to maintain prices at home and regulate exports.

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[a] See F. Reuleaux, *Briefe aus Philadelphia*, Brunswick, 1877, p. 5.—*Ed.*

As soon as there is a bid for rails or other products of their factories, the Committee designates by turns the member who is to undertake the work, and fixes the price at which he is to do so. The other associates submit tenders at a higher price, similarly agreed in advance. As a result, all competition ceases; there is an absolute monopoly. The same thing goes for exports. To ensure the implementation of this plan, each member of the *RING* deposits with the Committee a blank bill for 125,000 francs, to be put into circulation and presented for payment as soon as the signatory has broken the agreement. In this way the price of the monopoly extorted from the German consumers will permit the factories to sell abroad their excess production at prices that even the English refuse—and the German philistine (who anyway deserves it) pays the piper. This is how German exports are becoming possible again, thanks to the same protective tariffs which in the eyes of the common people appear to be destroying it.

Do you want examples? Last year an Italian railway company, which we could name, needed 30,000 or 40,000 tons (of 1,000 kg) of rails. After long negotiations an English factory took 10,000; the rest of the order went to the Dortmund Union, which offered delivery at a price that was turned down in England. An English competitor, asked why he could not offer better terms than the German concern, replied: "Who on earth can compete with a bankrupt?"

In Scotland a railway bridge was to be constructed across an arm of the sea near Edinburgh. 10,000 tons of Bessemer steel were needed for this bridge. Who accepted the lowest price, who defeated all competitors, and on the native soil of the great iron industry, England? A German, protected by Bismarck in more ways than one, Mr. Krupp of Essen, the "Cannon King".

So much for iron. It goes without saying that this fine system can only delay the inevitable bankruptcy of these big conspiring companies for a few years. Meanwhile, as the other industries imitate them, they will ruin not the foreign competition but their own country. It is almost like living in a country of madmen; yet all the facts recounted above have been taken from bourgeois free-trade newspapers in Germany herself. Organising the demolition of German industry on the pretext of protecting it—are they wrong, then, those German socialists who have been repeating for years that Mr. Bismarck is working for socialism, as if he were in their pay?

II. THE STATE RAILWAYS

From 1869 to 1873, during the rising tide of speculation in Berlin, two institutions, at times hostile, at times in alliance, shared the domination of the Stock Exchange: the Discount Society[338] and the Bleichroeder bank. These were, so to speak, the Péreires and the Mirès of Berlin. Speculation being chiefly directed at the railways, these two banks had the idea of making themselves indirect masters of most of the major lines already in existence or under construction. By buying and holding a certain number of shares in each one they would dominate their boards of directors; the shares themselves would be the deposit for loans with which to buy new shares, and so on. A pure repetition, of course, of the ingenious little operation which first brought the two Péreires to the height of success and ended with the Crédit mobilier crisis, as we know. At the beginning the Berlin Péreires met with the same success.

In 1873 the crisis came. Our two banks found themselves burdened with their heaps of railway shares which could no longer be made to cough up the millions which they had swallowed. The plan to subjugate the railway companies had failed. So they changed their tack, and tried to sell them to the state. The plan to concentrate all the railways in the hand of the Imperial Government has its origin not in the social welfare of the country but in the individual welfare of two insolvent banks.

The implementation of the plan was not too difficult. They had "interested" a good many members of parliament in the new companies, thus dominating the national liberal and moderate conservative parties, in other words the majority. Some high officials of the Empire, some Prussian ministers, had had a hand in the shady deals whereby these companies were founded. In the last resort, Bleichroeder was Mr. Bismarck's banker and financial factotum. So they were not short of means.

Meanwhile, to make it worthwhile selling the railway shares to the Empire, it was necessary to raise the price of the shares. So, in 1873, they created an "imperial railways office"[339]; its head,[a] a well-known shady speculator, at once raised the fares on all German railways by 20%, which was supposed to increase net revenue and hence also the value of the shares by about 35%. This was the only step which this gentleman took; it was the only reason why he had accepted his duties; therefore he resigned shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, they had succeeded in giving Bismarck a taste for the plan. But the petty kingdoms[b] resisted; the Federal Council[340] refused point-blank. A new change of tack: it was resolved that Prussia should first buy all the Prussian railways, selling them, should the occasion arise, to the Empire.

Moreover, there was another ulterior motive for the Imperial Government to wish to acquire the railways. And this is related to the French milliards.

Out of these milliards they had kept back some considerable sums in order to form three "imperial funds", one for the construction of a parliament building, the second for fortresses, and finally, the third for the invalids of the last three wars. The total sum amounted to 926 million francs.

The most important and at the same time the strangest of these three funds was the one for the invalids. It was designed to eat itself up; that is to say, the day the last of these invalids was dead, the fund itself, capital and interest, would also have disappeared. A fund which consumes itself sounds like the invention of madmen once more. But these were no madmen; it was the shady speculators of the Discount Society who had invented it, and for a good reason. This is why it took nearly a year to get the government to accept the idea.

However, it seemed to our jobbers that the fund would not devour itself fast enough. Moreover, they believed it was their duty to endow the other two funds with the same fine property of devouring themselves. The means was simple. Even before a law had laid down the nature of the securities in which these funds would be invested, a commercial company owned by the Prussian Government[341] was authorised to buy up suitable stocks and shares. This company turned to the Discount Society, which sold, for the three imperial funds, 300 million francs worth of railway shares, at that time unsaleable, which we could specify.

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[a] Alfred Scheele.—*Ed.*

[b] Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg.—*Ed.*

Among these shares were 120 millions in Magdeburg-Halberstadt and amalgamated lines, an almost bankrupt railway which had served to ensure enormous profits to the speculators, but had scarcely any chance of bringing in any return at all to the shareholders. This may be imagined when one bears in mind that the board of directors had issued shares to a value of 16 millions to meet the cost of constructing three branch lines and that this money disappeared entirely without the lines even having been started. And the invalid fund is the proud owner of a good many of these shares in non-existent railways.

The acquisition of these lines by the Prussian State would legalise at a stroke the purchase of shares in them by the Empire; it would give them a certain real value. This is the interest of the Imperial Government in the affair. Hence the line which we are concerned with here was among the first whose purchase was proposed by the Prussian Government and ratified by the chambers.

The price paid to the shareholders by the State was well above the real value, even of the good lines. Which is demonstrated by the constant rise in their shares as soon as the resolution to buy them was known and especially once the conditions of sale were announced. Two major lines, whose shares were worth 103 and 108 respectively in December 1878, were subsequently bought by the State; today they are quoted at 148 and 158. Hence nothing was more difficult for the shareholders than to conceal their joy while the deal was being negotiated.

It goes without saying that this rise brought happiness mainly to the big jobbers of Berlin who were in on the secret intentions of the government. The Stock Exchange, still rather depressed in the spring of 1879, gained new life. Before finally parting with their dear shares, the speculators made use of them to organise a new orgy of jobbing.

It is plain to see: the German Empire is just as completely under the yoke of the Stock Exchange as was the French Empire in its day. It is the stockbrokers who prepare the projects which the Government has to carry out—for the profit of their pockets. Yet in Germany they have an advantage which the Bonapartist Empire lacked: if the Imperial Government encounters resistance among its princelings it turns into the Prussian Government, which will certainly not find any in its own chambers, true branches of the Stock Exchange that they are.

What's that? Hasn't the General Council of the International said it already, immediately after the war of 1870: "You, Mr. Bismarck, have only overthrown the Bonapartist régime in France *in order to re-establish it in your own country*!"[342]

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Frederick Engels

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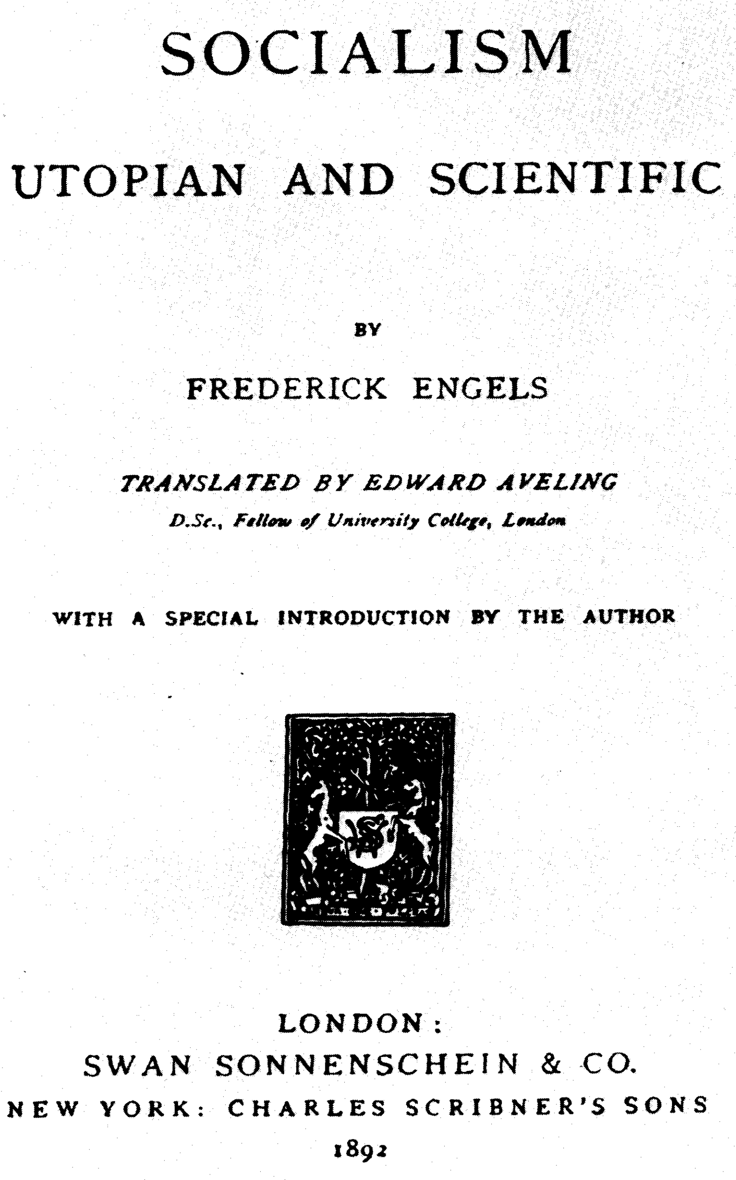

SOCIALISM

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC

BY

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WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY THE AUTHOR

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The title-page of the authorised English edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*

I

Modern Socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of to-day, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; on the other hand, of the anarchy existing in production. But, in its theoretical form, modern Socialism originally appears ostensibly as a more logical extension of the principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century. Like every new theory, modern Socialism had, at first, to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts.

The great men, who in France prepared men's minds for the coming revolution, were themselves extreme revolutionists. They recognised no external authority of any kind whatever. Religion, natural science, society, political institutions, everything, was subjected to the most unsparing criticism: everything must justify its existence before the judgment-seat of reason, or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. It was the time when, as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head*;

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* This is the passage on the French Revolution: "Thought, the concept of law, all at once made itself felt, and against this the old scaffolding of wrong could make no stand. In this conception of law, therefore, a constitution has now been established, and henceforth everything must be based upon this. Since the sun had been in the firmament, and the planets circled round him, the sight had never been seen of man standing upon his head—*i.e.*, on the Idea—and building reality after this image. Anaxagoras first said that the Nous, reason, rules the world; but now, for the first time, had man come to recognise that the Idea must rule the mental reality. And this was a magnificent sunrise. All thinking Beings have

first, in the sense that the human head, and the principles arrived at by its thought, claimed to be the basis of all human action and association; but by and by, also, in the wider sense that the reality which was in contradiction to these principles had, in fact, to be turned upside down. Every form of society and government then existing, every old traditional notion was flung into the lumber-room as irrational; the world had hitherto allowed itself to be led solely by prejudices; everything in the past deserved only pity and contempt. Now, for the first time, appeared the light of day, the kingdom of reason; henceforth superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal Right, equality based on Nature and the inalienable rights of man.

We know to-day that this kingdom of reason was nothing more than the idealised kingdom of the bourgeoisie; that this eternal Right found its realisation in bourgeois justice; that this equality reduced itself to bourgeois equality before the law; that bourgeois property was proclaimed as one of the essential rights of man; and that the government of reason, the Contrat Social of Rousseau,[345] came into being, and only could come into being, as a democratic bourgeois republic. The great thinkers of the eighteenth century could, no more than their predecessors, go beyond the limits imposed upon them by their epoch.

But, side by side with the antagonism of the feudal nobility and the burghers, who claimed to represent all the rest of society, was the general antagonism of exploiters and exploited, of rich idlers and poor workers. It was this very circumstance that made it possible for the representatives of the bourgeoisie to put themselves forward as representing, not one special class, but the whole of suffering humanity. Still further. From its origin, the bourgeoisie was saddled with its antithesis: capitalists cannot exist without wage-workers, and, in the same proportion as the mediaeval burgher of the guild developed into the modern bourgeois, the guild journeyman and the day-labourer, outside the guilds, developed into the proletarian. And although, upon the whole, the bourgeoisie, in their struggle with the nobility, could

participated in celebrating this holy day. A sublime emotion swayed men at that time, an enthusiasm of reason pervaded the world, as if now had come the reconciliation of the Divine Principle with the world." [Hegel: "Philosophy of History", 1840, p. 535.[a]] Is it not high time to set the Anti-Socialist Law[344] in action against such teachings, subversive and to the common danger, by the late Professor Hegel?

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte* (*Werke*, 2. Aufl., Bd. IX, Berlin, 1840, S. 535-36).—*Ed.*

claim to represent at the same time the interests of the different working-classes of that period, yet in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat. For example, at the time of the German Reformation and the Peasants' War, the Anabaptists[346] and Thomas Münzer; in the great English Revolution, the Levellers[347]; in the great French Revolution, Babeuf.

There were theoretical enunciations corresponding with these revolutionary uprisings of a class not yet developed; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Utopian pictures of ideal social conditions[348]; in the eighteenth, actual communistic theories (Morelly and Mably).[a] The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights; it was extended also to the social conditions of individuals. It was not simply class privileges that were to be abolished, but class distinctions themselves. A Communism, ascetic, denouncing all the pleasures of life, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching. Then came the three great Utopians: Saint-Simon, to whom the middle-class movement, side by side with the proletarian, still had a certain significance; Fourier; and Owen, who in the country where capitalist production was most developed, and under the influence of the antagonisms begotten of this, worked out his proposals for the removal of class distinction systematically and in direct relation to French materialism.

One thing is common to all three. Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat, which historical development had, in the meantime, produced. Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once. Like them, they wish to bring in the kingdom of reason and eternal justice, but this kingdom, as they see it, is as far as heaven from earth, from that of the French philosophers.

For, to our three social reformers, the bourgeois world, based upon the principles of these philosophers, is quite as irrational and unjust, and, therefore, finds its way to the dust-hole quite as readily as feudalism and all the earlier stages of society. If pure reason and justice have not, hitherto, ruled the world, this has been the case only because men have not rightly understood them. What was wanted was the individual man of genius, who has now arisen and who understands the truth. That he has now arisen, that the truth has now been clearly understood, is not an inevitable event, following of necessity in the chain of historical development, but a mere happy accident. He might just as well have been born 500 years earlier, and might then have spared humanity 500 years of error, strife, and suffering.

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[a] See Morelly, *Code de la nature*, Paris, 1841 and Mably, *De la législation, ou principes des loix*, Amsterdam, 1776.—*Ed.*

We saw how the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, the forerunners of the Revolution, appealed to reason as the sole judge of all that is. A rational government, rational society, were to be founded; everything that ran counter to eternal reason was to be remorselessly done away with. We saw also that this eternal reason was in reality nothing but the idealised understanding of the eighteenth-century citizen,[a] just then evolving into the bourgeois. The French Revolution had realised this rational society and government.

But the new order of things, rational enough as compared with earlier conditions, turned out to be by no means absolutely rational. The State based upon reason completely collapsed. Rousseau's Contrat Social had found its realisation in the Reign of Terror, from which the bourgeoisie, who had lost confidence in their own political capacity, had taken refuge first in the corruption of the Directorate,[349] and, finally, under the wing of the Napoleonic despotism. The promised eternal peace was turned into an endless war of conquest. The society based upon reason had fared no better. The antagonism between rich and poor, instead of dissolving into general prosperity, had become intensified by the removal of the guild and other privileges, which had to some extent bridged it over, and by the removal of the charitable institutions of the Church. The "freedom of property" from feudal fetters, now veritably accomplished, turned out to be, for the small capitalists and small proprietors, the freedom to sell their small property, crushed under the overmastering competition of the large capitalists and landlords, to these great lords, and thus, as far as the small capitalists and peasant proprietors were concerned, became "freedom *from* property". The development of industry upon a capitalistic basis made poverty and misery of the working masses conditions of existence of society. Cash payment became more and more, in Carlyle's phrase,[b] the sole nexus between man and man. The number of crimes increased from year to year. Formerly, the feudal vices had openly stalked about in broad daylight; though not eradicated, they were now at any rate thrust into the background. In their stead, the bourgeois vices, hitherto practised in secret, began to blossom all the more luxuriantly. Trade became to a greater and greater extent cheating. The "fraternity" of the revolutionary motto[350] was realised in the chicanery and rivalries of the battle of competition. Oppression by force was replaced by corruption; the sword, as the first social lever, by gold. The right of the first night was transferred from the feudal lords to the bourgeois manufacturers. Prostitution increased to an extent never heard of. Marriage itself remained, as before, the legally recognised form, the official cloak of prostitution, and, moreover, was supplemented by rich crops of adultery.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "the idealised understanding of the middle burgher".— *Ed.*

[b] See Th. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, London, 1843, p. 198.— *Ed.*

In a word, compared with the splendid promises of the philosophers, the social and political institutions born of the "triumph of reason" were bitterly disappointing caricatures. All that was wanting was the men to formulate this disappointment, and they came with the turn of the century. In 1802 Saint-Simon's Geneva letters appeared; in 1808 appeared Fourier's first work, although the groundwork of his theory dated from 1799; on January 1, 1800, Robert Owen undertook the direction of New Lanark.[351]

At this time, however, the capitalist mode of production, and with it the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, was still very incompletely developed. Modern Industry, which had just arisen in England, was still unknown in France. But Modern Industry develops, on the one hand, the conflicts which make absolutely necessary a revolution in the mode of production, and the doing away with its capitalistic character—conflicts not only between the classes begotten of it, but also between the very productive forces and the forms of exchange created by it. And, on the other hand, it develops, in these very gigantic productive forces, the means of ending these conflicts. If, therefore, about the year 1800, the conflicts arising from the new social order were only just beginning to take shape, this holds still more fully as to the means of ending them. The "have-nothing" masses of Paris, during the Reign of Terror, were able for a moment to gain the mastery, and thus to lead the bourgeois revolution to victory in spite of the bourgeoisie themselves. But, in doing so, they only proved how impossible it was for their domination to last under the conditions then obtaining. The proletariat, which then for the first time evolved itself from these "have-nothing" masses as the nucleus of a new class, as yet quite incapable of independent political action, appeared as an oppressed, suffering order, to whom, in its incapacity to help itself, help could, at best, be brought in from without, or down from above.

This historical situation also dominated the founders of Socialism. To the crude conditions of capitalistic production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories. The solution of the social problems, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the Utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and to impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever it was possible, by the example of model experiments. These new social systems were foredoomed as Utopian; the more completely they were worked out in detail, the more they could not avoid drifting off into pure phantasies.

These facts once established, we need not dwell a moment longer upon this side of the question, now wholly belonging to the past. We can leave it to the literary small fry to solemnly quibble over these phantasies, which to-day only make us smile, and to crow over the superiority of their own bald reasoning, as compared with such "insanity". For ourselves, we delight in the stupendously grand thoughts and germs of thought that everywhere break out through their phantastic covering, and to which these Philistines are blind.

Saint-Simon was a son of the great French Revolution, at the outbreak of which he was not yet thirty. The Revolution was the victory of the third estate, *i.e.*, of the great masses of the nation, *working* in production and in trade, over the privileged *idle* classes, the nobles and the priests. But the victory of the third estate soon revealed itself as exclusively the victory of a small part of this "estate", as the conquest of political power by the socially privileged section of it, *i.e.*, the propertied bourgeoisie. And the bourgeoisie had certainly developed rapidly during the Revolution, partly by speculation in the lands of the nobility and of the Church, confiscated and afterwards put up for sale, and partly by frauds upon the nation by means of army contracts. It was the domination of these swindlers that, under the Directorate, brought France[a] to the verge of ruin, and thus gave Napoleon the pretext for his *coup d'état.*

Hence, to Saint-Simon the antagonism between the third estate and the privileged classes took the form of an antagonism between

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[a] The German edition of 1891 further has: "and the Revolution".—*Ed.*

"workers" and "idlers". The idlers were not merely the old privileged classes, but also all who, without taking any part in production or distribution,[a] lived on their incomes. And the workers were not only the wage-workers, but also the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers. That the idlers had lost the capacity for intellectual leadership and political supremacy had been proved, and was by the Revolution finally settled. That the non-possessing classes had not this capacity seemed to Saint-Simon proved by the experiences of the Reign of Terror. Then, who was to lead and command? According to Saint-Simon, science and industry, both united by a new religious bond, destined to restore that unity of religious ideas which had been lost since the time of the Reformation—a necessarily mystic and rigidly hierarchic "new Christianity". But science, that was the scholars; and industry, that was, in the first place, the working bourgeois, manufacturers, merchants, bankers. These bourgeoisie were, certainly, intended by Saint-Simon to transform themselves into a kind of public officials, of social trustees; but they were still to hold, *vis-à-vis* of the workers, a commanding and economically privileged position. The bankers especially were to be called upon to direct the whole of social production by the regulation of credit. This conception was in exact keeping with a time in which Modern Industry in France and, with it, the chasm between bourgeoisie and proletariat was only just coming into existence. But what Saint-Simon especially lays stress upon is this: what interests him first, and above all other things, is the lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor ("*la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre*").[352]

Already, in his Geneva letters, Saint-Simon lays down the proposition that

> "all men ought to work".

In the same work he recognises also that the Reign of Terror was the reign of the non-possessing masses.

> "See," says he to them, "what happened in France at the time when your comrades held sway there; they brought about a famine."[b]

But to recognise the French Revolution as a class war, and not simply one between nobility and bourgeoisie, but between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery. In 1816, he declares that politics is the science of production, and foretells the complete absorption of politics by economics.[353] The knowledge that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions appears here only in embryo. Yet what is here already very plainly expressed is the idea of the future conversion of political rule over men into an administration of things and a direction of processes of production—that is to say, the "abolition of the State", about which recently there has been so much noise.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has "commerce" instead of "distribution".—*Ed.*

[b] Engels quotes the second letter from Saint-Simon's *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains*, Paris [1803]. In the edition: G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux* (Paris, 1857), these quotations are on pages 143 and 135.—*Ed.*

Saint-Simon shows the same superiority over his contemporaries, when in 1814, immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris, and again in 1815, during the Hundred Days' War,[354] he proclaims the alliance of France with England, and then of both these countries with Germany, as the only guarantee for the prosperous development and peace of Europe.[355] To preach to the French in 1815 an alliance with the victors of Waterloo required as much courage as historical foresight.[356]

If in Saint-Simon we find a comprehensive breadth of view, by virtue of which almost all the ideas of later Socialists, that are not strictly economic, are found in him in embryo, we find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough. Fourier takes the bourgeoisie, their inspired prophets before the Revolution, and their interested eulogists after it, at their own word. He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world. He confronts it with the earlier philosophers' dazzling promises of a society in which reason alone should reign, of a civilisation in which happiness should be universal, of an illimitable human perfectibility, and with the rose-coloured phraseology of the bourgeois ideologists of his time. He points out how everywhere the most pitiful reality corresponds with the most high-sounding phrases, and he overwhelms this hopeless fiasco of phrases with his mordant sarcasm.

Fourier is not only a critic; his imperturbably serene nature makes him a satirist, and assuredly one of the greatest satirists of all time. He depicts, with equal power and charm, the swindling speculations that blossomed out upon the downfall of the Revolution, and the shopkeeping spirit prevalent in, and characteristic of, French commerce at that time. Still more masterly is his criticism of the bourgeois form of the relations between the sexes, and the position of woman in bourgeois society. He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation.[357]

But Fourier is at his greatest in his conception of the history of society. He divides its whole course, thus far, into four stages of evolution—savagery, barbarism, the patriarchate, civilisation. This last is identical with the so-called civil, or bourgeois, society of to-day—*i.e.*, with the social order that came in with the sixteenth century. He proves

> "that the civilised stage raises every vice practised by barbarism in a simple fashion into a form of existence, complex, ambiguous, equivocal, hypocritical"[a]—

that civilisation moves in "a vicious circle", in contradictions which it constantly reproduces without being able to solve them; hence it constantly arrives at the very opposite to that which it wants to attain, or pretends to want to attain,[b] so that, *e.g.*,

> "under civilisation poverty is born of superabundance itself".[c]

Fourier, as we see, uses the dialectic method in the same masterly way as his contemporary, Hegel. Using these same dialectics, he argues, against the talk about illimitable human perfectibility, that every historical phase has its period of ascent and also its period of descent,[d] and he applies this observation to the future of the whole human race. As Kant introduced into natural science the idea of the ultimate destruction of the earth, Fourier introduced into historical science that of the ultimate destruction of the human race.

Whilst in France the hurricane of the Revolution swept over the land, in England a quieter, but not on that account less tremendous, revolution was going on. Steam and the new tool-making machinery were transforming manufacture into modern industry, and thus revolutionising the whole foundation of bourgeois society. The sluggish march of development of the manufacturing period changed into a veritable storm and stress period of production. With constantly increasing swiftness the splitting-up of society into large capitalists and non-possessing proletarians went on. Between these, instead of the former stable middle-class, an unstable mass of artisans and small shopkeepers, the most fluctuating portion of the population, now led a precarious existence.

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[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*, Vols. 1 and 4. In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1843, pp. 78-79 and Vol. 5, Paris, 1841, pp. 213-14.—*Ed.*

[b] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1845, pp. 27-46, 390.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 35.—*Ed.*

[d] Ibid., Vol. 1, Paris, 1841, p. 50 et seq.—*Ed.*

The new mode of production was, as yet, only at the beginning of its period of ascent; as yet it was the normal, regular method of production—the only one possible under existing conditions. Nevertheless, even then it was producing crying social abuses—the herding together of a homeless population in the worst quarters of the large towns; the loosening of all traditional moral bonds, of patriarchal subordination, of family relations; overwork, especially of women and children, to a frightful extent; complete demoralisation of the working-class, suddenly flung into altogether new conditions, from the country into the town, from agriculture into modern industry, from stable conditions of existence into insecure ones that changed from day to day.

At this juncture there came forward as a reformer a manufacturer 29 years old—a man of almost sublime, childlike simplicity of character, and at the same time one of the few born leaders of men. Robert Owen had adopted the teaching of the materialistic philosophers: that man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity, on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, and especially during his period of development. In the industrial revolution most of his class saw only chaos and confusion, and the opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters and making large fortunes quickly. He saw in it the opportunity of putting into practice his favourite theory, and so of bringing order out of chaos. He had already tried it with success, as superintendent of more than five hundred men in a Manchester factory. From 1800 to 1829, he directed the great cotton mill at New Lanark, in Scotland, as managing partner, along the same lines, but with greater freedom of action and with a success that made him a European reputation. A population, originally consisting of the most diverse and, for the most part, very demoralised elements, a population that gradually grew to 2,500, he turned into a model colony, in which drunkenness, police, magistrates, lawsuits, poor laws, charity, were unknown. And all this simply by placing the people in conditions worthy of human beings, and especially by carefully bringing up the rising generation. He was the founder of infant schools, and introduced them first at New Lanark. At the age of two the children came to school, where they enjoyed themselves so much that they could scarcely be got home again. Whilst his competitors worked their people thirteen or fourteen hours a day, in New Lanark the working-day was only ten and a half hours. When a crisis in cotton stopped work for four months, his workers received their full wages all the time. And with all this the business more than doubled in value, and to the last yielded large profits to its proprietors.

In spite of all this, Owen was not content. The existence which he secured for his workers was, in his eyes, still far from being worthy of human beings.

> "The people were slaves at my mercy."

The relatively favourable conditions in which he had placed them were still far from allowing a rational development of the character and of the intellect in all directions, much less of the free exercise of all their faculties.

> "And yet, the working part of this population of 2,500 persons was daily producing as much real wealth for society as, less than half a century before, it would have required the working part of a population of 600,000 to create. I asked myself, what became of the difference between the wealth consumed by 2,500 persons and that which would have been consumed by 600,000?" *

The answer was clear. It had been used to pay the proprietors of the establishment 5 per cent on the capital they had laid out, in addition to over £300,000 clear profit. And that which held for New Lanark held to a still greater extent for all the factories in England.

> "If this new wealth had not been created by machinery, imperfectly as it has been applied, the wars of Europe, in opposition to Napoleon, and to support the aristocratic principles of society, could not have been maintained. And yet this new power was the creation of the working-classes." **

To them, therefore, the fruits of this new power belonged. The newly-created gigantic productive forces, hitherto used only to enrich individuals and to enslave the masses, offered to Owen the foundations for a reconstruction of society; they were destined, as the common property of all, to be worked for the common good of all.

Owen's Communism was based upon this purely business foundation, the outcome, so to say, of commercial calculation. Throughout, it maintained this practical character. Thus, in 1823, Owen proposed the relief of the distress in Ireland by Communist colonies, and drew up complete estimates of costs of founding them, yearly expenditure, and probable revenue.[a] And in his definite plan for the future, the technical working out of details is managed with such practical knowledge—ground plan, front and side and bird's-eye views all included[b]—that the Owen method of social reform once accepted, there is from the practical point of view little to be said against the actual arrangement of details.

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* From "The Revolution in Mind and Practice", p. 21, a memorial addressed to all the "red Republicans, Communists and Socialists of Europe", and sent to the provisional government of France, 1848, and also "to Queen Victoria and her responsible advisers".[358]

** Note, l. c., p. 22.

His advance in the direction of Communism was the turning-point in Owen's life. As long as he was simply a philanthropist, he was rewarded with nothing but wealth, applause, honour, and glory. He was the most popular man in Europe. Not only men of his own class, but statesmen and princes listened to him approvingly. But when he came out with his Communist theories, that was quite another thing. Three great obstacles seemed to him especially to block the path to social reform: private property, religion, the present form of marriage. He knew what confronted him if he attacked these—outlawry, excommunication from official society, the loss of his whole social position. But nothing of this prevented him from attacking them without fear of consequences, and what he had foreseen happened. Banished from official society, with a conspiracy of silence against him in the press, ruined by his unsuccessful Communist experiments in America, in which he sacrificed all his fortune, he turned directly to the working-class and continued working in their midst for thirty years. Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers links itself on to the name of Robert Owen. He forced through in 1819, after five years' fighting, the first law limiting the hours of labour of women and children in factories.[359] He was president of the first Congress at which all the Trade Unions of England united in a single great trade association.[360] He introduced as transition measures to the complete communistic organisation of society, on the one hand, co-operative societies for retail trade and production. These have since that time, at least, given practical proof that the merchant and the manufacturer are socially quite unnecessary. On the other hand, he introduced labour bazaars for the exchange of the products of labour through the medium of labour-notes, whose unit was a single hour of work[361]; institutions necessarily doomed to failure, but completely anticipating Proudhon's bank of exchange of a much later period,[362] and differing entirely from this in that it did not claim to be the panacea for all social ills, but only a first step towards a much more radical revolution of society.

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[a] See R. Owen, *Report of the Proceedings at the Several Public Meetings, held in Dublin ... on the 18th March, 12th April, 19th April and 3rd May*, Dublin, 1823.—*Ed.*

[b] See R. Owen, *The Book of the New Moral World, Containing the Rational System of Society, Founded on Demonstrable Facts, Developing the Constitution and Laws of Human Nature and of Society*, London, 1842-1844, parts 1-7.—*Ed.*

The Utopians' mode of thought has for a long time governed the socialist ideas of the nineteenth century, and still governs some of them. Until very recently all French and English Socialists did homage to it. The earlier German Communism, including that of Weitling, was of the same school. To all these Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and justice are different with the founder of each different school. And as each one's special kind of absolute truth, reason, and justice is again conditioned by his subjective understanding, his conditions of existence, the measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truths than that they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. Hence, from this nothing could come but a kind of eclectic, average Socialism, which, as a matter of fact, has up to the present time dominated the minds of most of the socialist workers in France and England. Hence, a mish-mash allowing of the most manifold shades of opinion; a mish-mash of such critical statements, economic theories, pictures of future society by the founders of different sects as excite a minimum of opposition; a mish-mash which is the more easily brewed the more the definite sharp edges of the individual constituents are rubbed down in the stream of debate, like rounded pebbles in a brook.

To make a science of Socialism, it had first to be placed upon a real basis.

II

In the meantime, along with and after the French philosophy of the eighteenth century had arisen the new German philosophy, culminating in Hegel. Its greatest merit was the taking up again of dialectics as the highest form of reasoning. The old Greek philosophers were all born natural dialecticians, and Aristotle, the most encyclopaedic intellect of them, had already analysed the most essential forms of dialectic thought. The newer philosophy, on the other hand, although in it also dialectics had brilliant exponents (*e.g.* Descartes and Spinoza), had, especially through English influence, become more and more rigidly fixed in the so-called metaphysical mode of reasoning, by which also the French of the eighteenth century were almost wholly dominated, at all events in their special philosophical work. Outside philosophy in the restricted sense, the French nevertheless produced masterpieces of dialectic. We need only call to mind Diderot's "Le Neveu de Rameau",[363] and Rousseau's "Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes". We give here, in brief, the essential character of these two modes of thought.

When we consider and reflect upon nature at large, or the history of mankind, or our own intellectual activity, at first we see the picture of an endless entanglement of relations and reactions, permutations and combinations, in which nothing remains what, where, and as it was, but everything moves, changes, comes into being and passes away. We see, therefore, at first the picture as a whole, with its individual parts still more or less kept in the background; we observe the movements, transitions, connections, rather than the things that move, combine, and are connected.

This primitive, naive, but intrinsically correct conception of the world is that of ancient Greek philosophy, and was first clearly formulated by Heraclitus: everything is and is not, for everything is fluid, is constantly changing, constantly coming into being and passing away.[a]

But this conception, correctly as it expresses the general character of the picture of appearances as a whole, does not suffice to explain the details of which this picture is made up, and so long as we do not understand these, we have not a clear idea of the whole picture. In order to understand these details we must detach them from their natural or historical connection and examine each one separately, its nature, special causes, effects, etc. This is, primarily, the task of natural science and historical research; branches of science which the Greeks of classical times, on very good grounds, relegated to a subordinate position, because they had first of all to collect materials for these sciences to work upon. A certain amount of natural and historical material must be collected before there can be any critical analysis, comparison, and arrangement in classes, orders, and species. The foundations of the exact natural sciences were, therefore, first worked out by the Greeks of the Alexandrian period,[364] and later on, in the Middle Ages, by the Arabs. Real natural science dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, and thence onward it has advanced with constantly increasing rapidity. The analysis of Nature into its individual parts, the grouping of the different natural processes and objects in definite classes, the study of the internal anatomy of organised bodies in their manifold forms—these were the fundamental conditions of the gigantic strides in our knowledge of Nature that have been made during the last four hundred years. But this method of work has also left us as legacy the habit of observing natural objects and processes in isolation, apart from their connection with the vast whole; of observing them in repose, not in motion; as constants, not as essentially variables; in their death, not in their life. And when this way of looking at things was transferred by Bacon and Locke from natural science to philosophy, it begot[b] the narrow, metaphysical mode of thought peculiar to the last century.

To the metaphysician, things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all. He thinks in absolutely irreconcilable antitheses. "His communication is 'yea, yea; nay, nay'; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."[a] For him a thing either exists or does not exist; a thing cannot at the same time be itself and something else. Positive and negative absolutely exclude one another; cause and effect stand in a rigid antithesis one to the other.

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[a] Heraclitus, *Fragmente*.—*Ed.*

[b] The French edition of 1880 and the German edition of 1891 further have: "the specific narrow-mindedness of the last centuries, the metaphysical mode of thought".—*Ed.*

At first sight this mode of thinking seems to us very luminous, because it is that of so-called sound commonsense. Only sound commonsense, respectable fellow that he is, in the homely realm of his own four walls, has very wonderful adventures directly he ventures out into the wide world of research. And the metaphysical mode of thought, justifiable and necessary as it is in a number of domains whose extent varies according to the nature of the particular object of investigation, sooner or later reaches a limit, beyond which it becomes one-sided, restricted, abstract, lost in insoluble contradictions. In the contemplation of individual things, it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence, it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees.

For everyday purposes we know and can say, *e.g.*, whether an animal is alive or not. But, upon closer inquiry, we find that this is, in many cases, a very complex question, as the jurists know very well. They have cudgelled their brains in vain to discover a rational limit beyond which the killing of the child in its mother's womb is murder. It is just as impossible to determine absolutely the moment of death, for physiology proves that death is not an instantaneous, momentary phenomenon, but a very protracted process.

In like manner, every organic being is every moment the same and not the same; every moment it assimilates matter supplied from without, and gets rid of other matter; every moment some cells of its body die and others build themselves anew; in a longer or shorter time the matter of its body is completely renewed, and is replaced by other molecules[b] of matter, so that every organic being is always itself, and yet something other than itself.

Further, we find upon closer investigation that the two poles of an antithesis, positive and negative, *e.g.*, are as inseparable as they are opposed, and that despite all their opposition, they mutually interpenetrate. And we find, in like manner, that cause and effect are conceptions which only hold good in their application to individual cases; but as soon as we consider the individual cases in their general connection with the universe as a whole, they run into each other, and they become confounded when we contemplate that universal action and reaction in which causes and effects are eternally changing places, so that what is effect here and now will be cause there and then, and *vice versa*.

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[a] Matthew 5:37.—*Ed.*

[b] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions: "atoms".—*Ed.*

None of these processes and modes of thought enters into the framework of metaphysical reasoning. Dialectics, on the other hand, comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending. Such processes as those mentioned above are, therefore, so many corroborations of its own method of procedure.

Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern science[a] that it has furnished this proof with very rich materials increasing daily, and thus has shown that, in the last resort, Nature works dialectically and not metaphysically; that she does not move in the eternal oneness of a perpetually recurring circle, but goes through a real historical evolution.[b] In this connection Darwin must be named before all others. He dealt the metaphysical conception of Nature the heaviest blow by his proof that all organic beings, plants, animals, and man himself, are the products of a process of evolution going on through millions of years.[c] But the naturalists who have learned to think dialectically are few and far between, and this conflict of the results of discovery with preconceived modes of thinking explains the endless confusion now reigning in theoretical natural science, the despair of teachers as well as learners, of authors and readers alike.

An exact representation of the universe, of its evolution, of the development of mankind, and of the reflection of this evolution in the minds of men, can therefore only be obtained by the methods of dialectics with its constant regard to the innumerable actions and reactions of life and death, of progressive or retrogressive changes. And in this spirit the new German philosophy has worked. Kant began his career by resolving the stable solar system of Newton and its eternal duration, after the famous initial impulse had once been given, into the result of a historic process, the formation of the sun and all the planets out of a rotating nebulous mass. From this he at the same time drew the conclusion that, given this origin of the solar system, its future death followed of necessity. His theory half a century later was established mathematically by Laplace, and half a century after that the spectroscope proved the existence in space of such incandescent masses of gas in various stages of condensation.[365]

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[a] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions: "modern natural science".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has: "a real history".—*Ed.*

[c] See Ch. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London, 1859.—*Ed.*

This new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system—and herein is its great merit—for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process, *i.e.*, as in constant motion, change, transformation, development; and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development. From this point of view the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild whirl of senseless deeds of violence, all equally condemnable at the judgment-seat of mature philosophic reason, and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible; but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was now the task of the intellect to follow the gradual march of this process through all its devious ways, and to trace out the inner law running through all its apparently accidental phenomena.

That the Hegelian system did not solve the problem it propounded is here immaterial. Its epoch-making merit was that it propounded the problem. This problem is one that no single individual will ever be able to solve. Although Hegel was—with Saint-Simon—the most encyclopaedic[a] mind of his time, yet he was limited, first, by the necessarily limited extent of his own knowledge, and, second, by the limited extent and depth of the knowledge and conceptions of his age. To these limits a third must be added. Hegel was an idealist. To him the thoughts within his brain were not the more or less abstract pictures of actual things and processes, but, conversely, things and their evolution were only the realised pictures of the "Idea", existing somewhere from eternity before the world was. This way of thinking turned everything upside down, and completely reversed the actual connection of things in the world. Correctly and ingeniously as many individual groups of facts were grasped by Hegel, yet, for the reasons just given, there is much that is botched, artificial, laboured, in a word, wrong in point of detail. The Hegelian system, in itself, was a colossal miscarriage—but it was also the last of its kind. It was suffering, in fact, from an internal and incurable contradiction. Upon the one hand, its essential proposition was the conception that human history is a process of evolution, which, by its very nature, cannot find its intellectual final term in the discovery of any so-called absolute truth. But, on the other hand, it laid claim to being the very essence of this absolute truth. A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything, and final for all time, is a contradiction to the fundamental law of dialectic reasoning. This law, indeed, by no means excludes, but, on the contrary, includes the idea that the systematic knowledge of the external universe can make giant strides from age to age.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "universal".—*Ed.*

The perception of the fundamental contradiction in German idealism led necessarily back to materialism, but *nota bene,* not to the simply metaphysical, exclusively mechanical materialism of the eighteenth century. Old materialism looked upon all previous history as a crude heap of irrationality and violence[a]; modern materialism sees in it the process of evolution of humanity, and aims at discovering the laws thereof. With the French of the eighteenth century, and even with Hegel, the conception obtained of Nature as a whole, moving in narrow circles, and forever immutable, with its eternal celestial bodies, as Newton, and unalterable organic species, as Linnaeus, taught.[366] Modern materialism embraces the more recent discoveries of natural science, according to which Nature also has its history in time, the celestial bodies, like the organic species that, under favourable conditions, people them, being born and perishing. And even if Nature, as a whole, must still be said to move in recurrent cycles, these cycles assume infinitely larger dimensions. In both aspects, modern materialism is essentially dialectic, and no longer requires the assistance of that sort of philosophy which, queen-like, pretended to rule the remaining mob of sciences. As soon as each special science is bound to make clear its position in the great totality of things and of our knowledge of things, a special science dealing with this totality is superfluous or unnecessary. That which still survives of all earlier philosophy is the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics. Everything else is subsumed in the positive science of Nature and history.

Whilst, however, the revolution in the conception of Nature could only be made in proportion to the corresponding positive materials furnished by research, already much earlier certain historical facts had occurred which led to a decisive change in the conception of history. In 1831, the first working-class rising took place in Lyons[367]; between 1838 and 1842, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists,[368] reached its height. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie came to the front in the history of the most advanced countries in Europe, in proportion to the development, upon the one hand, of modern industry, upon the other, of the newly-acquired political supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Facts more and more strenuously gave the lie to the teachings of bourgeois economy as to the identity of the interests of capital and labour, as to the universal harmony and universal prosperity that would be the consequence of unbridled competition. All these things could no longer be ignored, any more than the French and English Socialism, which was their theoretical, though very imperfect, expression. But the old idealist conception of history, which was not yet dislodged, knew nothing of class struggles based upon economic interests, knew nothing of economic interests; production and all economic relations appeared in it only as incidental, subordinate elements in the "history of civilisation".

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[a] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions this part of the sentence reads as follows: "In contrast to naively revolutionary, simple rejection of all previous history".—*Ed.*

The new facts made imperative a new examination of all past history. Then it was seen that *all* past history, with the exception of its primitive stages, was the history of class struggles; that these warring classes of society are always the products of the modes of production and of exchange[a]—in a word, of the *economic* conditions of their time; that the economic structure of society always furnishes the real basis, starting from which we can alone work out the ultimate explanation of the whole superstructure of juridical and political institutions as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other ideas of a given historical period. Hegel had freed history from metaphysics—he had made it dialectic; but his conception of history was essentially idealistic. But now idealism was driven from its last refuge, the philosophy of history[b]; now a materialistic treatment of history was propounded, and a method found of explaining man's "knowing" by his "being", instead of, as heretofore, his "being" by his "knowing".

From that time forward Socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historico-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict. But the Socialism of earlier days was as incompatible with this materialistic conception as the conception of Nature of the French materialists was with dialectics and modern natural science. The Socialism of earlier days certainly criticised the existing capitalistic mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and, therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. The more strongly this earlier Socialism denounced the exploitation of the working-class, inevitable under Capitalism, the less able was it clearly to show in what this exploitation consisted and how it arose. But for this it was necessary—(1) to present the capitalistic method of production in its historical connection and its inevitableness during a particular historical period, and therefore, also, to present its inevitable downfall; and (2) to lay bare its essential character, which was still a secret. This was done by the discovery of *surplus-value.* It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour-power of his labourer at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus-value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes. The genesis of capitalist production and the production of capital were both explained.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "and of intercourse".—*Ed.*

[b] The German edition of 1891 has: "the conception of history".—*Ed.*

These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus-value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries Socialism became a science. The next thing was to work out all its details and relations.

III

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life[a] and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the *philosophy*, but in the *economics* of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong,[b] is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but are to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.[c]

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[a] The words "of the means to support human life" are missing in the German edition of 1891.—*Ed.*

[b] Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Teil, "Studierzimmer".—*Ed.*

[c] In the German edition of 1891 this sentence reads: "These means are not to be *invented* in the head, but are to be *discovered* with the help of the head in the existing material facts of production."—*Ed.*

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connexion?

The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class of to-day, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with[a] the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of subordination which constituted the framework of its social organisation. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty,[b] of the equality, before the law, of all commodity owners,[c] of all the rest of the capitalist blessings. Thenceforward the capitalist mode of production could develop in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery[d] transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unheard of before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalistic mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalistic mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice. It exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection in the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working-class.

Now, in what does this conflict consist?

Before capitalistic production, *i.e.*, in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the labourers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organised in guilds.[a] The instruments of labour—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool—were the instruments of labour of single individuals, adapted for the use of one worker, and, therefore, of necessity, small, dwarfish, circumscribed. But, for this very reason they belonged, as a rule, to the producer himself. To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day—this was precisely the historic role of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. In the fourth section of *Capital*[b] Marx has explained in detail, how since the fifteenth century this has been historically worked out through the three phases of simple co-operation, manufacture, and modern industry. But the bourgeoisie, as is also shown there, could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces, without transforming them, at the same time, from means of production of the individual into *social* means of production only workable by a collectivity of men. The spinning-wheel, the handloom, the blacksmith's hammer, were replaced by the spinning-machine, the power-loom, the steam-hammer; the individual workshop, by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them: "I made that; this is *my* product."

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 the end of this sentence reads as follows: "the local and social-estate privileges as well as with the mutual personal ties of the feudal system".—*Ed.*

[b] The French (1880) and German (1891) editions have: "the freedom of movement".—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has: "the equality of commodity owners".—*Ed.*

[d] In the French (1880) and German (1891) editions the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "Since steam and the new machine tools".—*Ed.*

But where, in a given society, the fundamental form of production is that spontaneous division of labour which creeps in gradually and not upon any preconceived plan, there the products take on the form of *commodities*, whose mutual exchange, buying and selling, enable the individual producers to satisfy their manifold wants. And this was the case in the Middle Ages. The peasant, *e.g.*, sold to the artisan agricultural products and bought from him the products of handicraft. Into this society of individual producers, of commodity-producers, the new mode of production thrust itself. In the midst of the old division of labour, grown up spontaneously and upon *no definite plan,* which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labour upon *a definite plan,* as organised in the factory; side by side with *individual* production appeared *social* production. The products of both were sold in the same market, and, therefore, at prices at least approximately equal. But organisation upon a definite plan was stronger than spontaneous division of labour. The factories working with the combined social forces of a collectivity of individuals produced their commodities far more cheaply than the individual small producers. Individual production succumbed in one department after another. Socialised production revolutionised all the old methods of production. But its revolutionary character was, at the same time, so little recognised, that it was, on the contrary, introduced as a means of increasing and developing the production of commodities. When it arose, it found ready-made, and made liberal use of, certain machinery for the production and exchange of commodities: merchants' capital, handicraft, wage-labour. Socialised production thus introducing itself as a new form of the production of commodities, it was a matter of course that under it the old forms of appropriation remained in full swing, and were applied to its products as well.

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[a] The words "organised in guilds" were added in the English edition.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

In the mediaeval stage of evolution of the production of commodities, the question as to the owner of the product of labour could not arise. The individual producer, as a rule, had, from raw material belonging to himself, and generally his own handiwork, produced it with his own tools, by the labour of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product. It belonged wholly to him, as a matter of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based *upon his own labour.* Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production and socialised producers.[a] But the socialised producers and means of production and their products[a] were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, *i.e.*, as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labour had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labour always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer *his* product but exclusively the product of the *labour of others.* Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the *capitalists.* The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals, under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests.*

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[a] The words "and of the producers" and "and socialised producers" are missing in the German edition of 1891.—*Ed.*

This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalistic character, *contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of to-day.* The greater the mastery obtained by the new mode of production over all important fields of production and in all manufacturing countries, the more it reduced individual production to an insignificant residuum, *the more clearly was brought out the incompatibility of socialised production with capitalistic appropriation.*

The first capitalists found, as we have said, alongside of other forms of labour,[b] wage-labour ready-made for them on the market. But it was exceptional, complementary, accessory, transitory wage-labour. The agricultural labourer, though, upon occasion, he hired himself out by the day, had a few acres of his own

* It is hardly necessary in this connexion to point out, that, even if the form of appropriation remains the same, the *character* of the appropriation is just as much revolutionised as production is by the changes described above. It is, of course, a very different matter whether I appropriate to myself my own product or that of another. Note in passing that wage-labour, which contains the whole capitalistic mode of production in embryo, is very ancient; in a sporadic, scattered form it existed for centuries alongside of slave-labour. But the embryo could duly develop into the capitalistic mode of production only when the necessary historical pre-conditions had been furnished.

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "But the socialised means of production and products".— *Ed.*

[b] The words "alongside of other forms of labour" were added in the English edition.— *Ed.*

land on which he could at all events live at a pinch. The guilds were so organised that the journeyman of to-day became the master of to-morrow. But all this changed, as soon as the means of production became socialised and concentrated in the hands of capitalists. The means of production, as well as the product, of the individual producer became more and more worthless; there was nothing left for him but to turn wage-worker under the capitalist. Wage-labour, aforetime the exception and accessory, now became the rule and basis of all production; aforetime complementary, it now became the sole remaining function of the worker. The wage-worker for a time became a wage-worker for life. The number of these permanent wage-workers was further enormously increased by the breaking-up of the feudal system that occurred at the same time, by the disbanding of the retainers of the feudal lords, the eviction of the peasants from their homesteads, etc. The separation was made complete between the means of production concentrated in the hands of the capitalists on the one side, and the producers, possessing nothing but their labour-power, on the other. *The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie.*

We have seen that the capitalistic mode of production thrust its way into a society of commodity-producers, of individual producers, whose social bond was the exchange of their products. But every society, based upon the production of commodities, has this peculiarity: that the producers have lost control over their own social inter-relations. Each man produces for himself with such means of production as he may happen to have, and for such exchange as he may require to satisfy his remaining wants. No one knows how much of his particular article is coming on the market, nor how much of it will be wanted. No one knows whether his individual product will meet an actual demand, whether he will be able to make good his cost of production or even to sell his commodity at all. Anarchy reigns in socialised production.

But the production of commodities, like every other form of production, has its peculiar, inherent laws inseparable from it; and these laws work, despite anarchy, in and through anarchy. They reveal themselves in the only persistent form of social inter-relations, *i.e.*, in exchange, and here they affect the individual producers as compulsory laws of competition. They are, at first, unknown to these producers themselves, and have to be discovered by them gradually and as the result of experience. They work themselves out, therefore, independently of the producers, and in antagonism to them, as inexorable[a] natural laws of their particular form of production. The product governs the producers.

In mediaeval society, especially in the earlier centuries, production was essentially directed towards satisfying the wants of the individual. It satisfied, in the main, only the wants of the producer and his family. Where relations of personal dependence existed, as in the country, it also helped to satisfy the wants of the feudal lord. In all this there was, therefore, no exchange; the products, consequently, did not assume the character of commodities. The family of the peasant produced almost everything they wanted: clothes and furniture, as well as means of subsistence. Only when it began to produce more than was sufficient to supply its own wants and the payments in kind to the feudal lord, only then did it also produce commodities. This surplus, thrown into socialised exchange and offered for sale, became commodities.

The artisans of the towns, it is true, had from the first to produce for exchange. But they, also, themselves supplied the greatest part of their own individual wants. They had gardens and plots of land. They turned their cattle out into the communal forest, which, also, yielded them timber and firing. The women spun flax, wool, and so forth. Production for the purpose of exchange, production of commodities, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted, the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without, local unity within; the mark* in the country, in the town, the guild.

But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity-production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy[c] grew to greater and greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialised production, was the exact

* See Appendix.[b]

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "blindly working".—*Ed.*

[b] Here Engels refers to his work *The Mark* (see this volume, pp. 439-56).—*Ed.*

[c] In the German edition of 1891 the beginning of the sentence reads as follows: "The anarchy of socialised production became apparent and".—*Ed.*

opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organisation of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organisation of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side.[a] The field of labour became a battle-ground. The great geographical discoveries, and the colonisation following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begot in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[369]

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The contradiction between socialised production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an antagonism between the organisation of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism immanent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle", which Fourier had already discovered.[b] What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is, that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large[c] that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has one more sentence here: "Wherever it took possession of handicraft, it destroyed its old form."— *Ed.*

[b] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. 6.— *Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has here: "It is the compelling force of the social anarchy of production".— *Ed.*

But the perfecting of machinery is the making human labour superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine, workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845,* available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital. Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working-class; that the instruments of labour constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the labourer; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation.[b] Thus it comes about that the economising of the instruments of labour becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labour-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labour functions[c]; that machinery, "the most powerful instrument for shortening labour-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the labourer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital" (*Capital*, English edition, p. 406). Thus it comes about that over-work of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after

* "The Condition of the Working-Class in England" (Sonnenschein & Co.), p. 84.[a]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*. With Preface written in 1892. Translated by Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky, London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1892 (see present edition, Vol. 4, p. 384).— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part IV, Chapter XV, Sections 5 and 9 (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[c] Ibid., Part IV, Chapter XV, Section 8, Sub-section "b": "Reaction of the Factory System on Manufacture and Domestic Industries".— *Ed.*

new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market. "The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the labourer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i.e.*, on the side of the class that produces *its own product in the form of capital*" (Marx's *Capital* [Sonnenschein & Co.], p. 661). And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle".

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilised peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone through this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going through it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off, when he described the first as "*crise pléthorique*", a crisis from plethora.[a]

In these crises, the contradiction between socialised production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.*

The fact that the socialised organisation of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. Means of production, means of subsistence, available labourers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier), because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labour-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live. On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

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[a] See Ch. Fourier, *Le nouveau monde industriel et sociétaire, ou invention du procédé d'industrie attrayante et naturelle distribuée en séries passionnées.* In: *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 6, pp. 393-94.—*Ed.*

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful, against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognised, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialisation of great masses of means of production which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies. Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal, that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust", a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and, on this very account, compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production.* This necessity for conversion into State-property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the post-office, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution[a] into joint-stock companies, trusts, and State property, shows how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one

* I say "have to". For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the State of to-day that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious Socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* State-ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines,[370] simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company,[371] the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "communication".—*Ed.*

another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State-ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital.[a] The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State-ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonising the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products to-day reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilised by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with, them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of to-day. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

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[a] The French (1880) and German (1891) editions have: "the ideal total capitalist".— *Ed.*

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of to-day, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialised, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.*

But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organisation of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, an organisation for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labour). The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished". *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free State",[a] both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realisation were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times. So long as the total social labour only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labour engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labour, arises a class freed from directly productive labour, which looks after the general affairs of society: the direction of labour, State business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labour that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working-class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 71 and 94-96.—*Ed.*

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products, which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly-accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself. Nor is this all. The socialised appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of to-day, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of society, by means of socialised production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but *it is here.**

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

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* A few figures may serve to give an approximate idea of the enormous expansive force of the modern means of production, even under capitalist pressure. According to Mr. Giffen,[372] the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland amounted, in round numbers, in

1814 to £2,200,000,000.
1865 to £6,100,000,000.
1875 to £8,500,000,000.

As an instance of the squandering of means of production and of products during a crisis, the total loss in the German iron industry alone, in the crisis 1873-78, was given at the second German Industrial Congress (Berlin, February 21, 1878) as £22,750,000.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.[a]

I. *Mediaeval Society.*—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use; hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large.*

II. *Capitalist Revolution.*—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a *social* act. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual* acts, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist.* Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present-day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labour for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.*

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialised organisation in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole.*

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of labourers. *Industrial reserve army.* On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, over-production, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle: excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of labourers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange.* The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has: "of the course of development".—*Ed.*

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution.*—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialised character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialised production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the State dies out. Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism.

Karl Marx

[NOTE ON *THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY*][373]

The Poverty of Philosophy by Karl Marx appeared in 1847[a] shortly after the *Economic Contradictions* by Proudhon,[b] which bore the sub-title *Philosophy of Poverty*. What prompted us to reprint this book, the first edition of which is out of print, was the fact that it contains the seeds of the theory developed after twenty years' work in *Capital*. Reading the *Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published by Marx and Engels in 1848, might thus serve as an introduction to the study of *Capital* and the works of other modern socialists who, like Lassalle, have derived their ideas from them. By authorising this republication in our journal, Marx wished to give us a token of his sympathy.

We must say a few more words about the drastic tone of this polemic against Proudhon. On the one hand, Proudhon, while attacking the official economists such as Dunoyer, Blanqui the Academician and the whole clique around the *Journal des Économistes*,[c] knew how to appeal to their vanity at the same time as he heaped coarse insults on the utopian socialists and communists whom Marx honoured as the forebears[d] of modern socialism. On the other hand, to prepare the way for the critical and materialist socialism which alone can render the real, historical development of social production intelligible, it was necessary to break abruptly with the ideological economics of which Proudhon was unwittingly the last incarnation.

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[a] K. Marx, *Misère de la philosophie. Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon*, Paris, Brussels, 1847.— *Ed.*

[b] P. J. Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère*, Vols. 1-2, Paris, 1846.— *Ed.*

[c] Léon Faucher, Charles Duchâtel, Louis François Benoiston de Châteauneuf, Maurice Rubichon, and Edelestand Duméril.— *Ed.*

[d] *L'Égalité* has here: "initiators".— *Ed.*

Besides, in an article published in the Berlin *Social-Demokrat*[a] on the death of Proudhon, Marx did justice to this fighter's great qualities, to his manly attitude after the days of June 1848,[374] and to his talent as a political writer.

Written in late March or early April 1880

First published in *L'Égalité*, No. 12, April 7, 1880

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the newspaper

Translated from the French

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[a] K. Marx, "On Proudhon", *Der Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 16-18, February 1, 3 and 5, 1865 (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 26-33).—*Ed.*

Karl Marx

WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE[375]

I

1) Which is your branch of industry?

2) Is the concern in which you work carried on by private capitalists or by a joint-stock company? Give the names of the private employer or the manager of the company.

3) State the number of persons employed.

4) State their sex and age.

5) Which is the lowest age at which children—male or female—are admitted?

6) State the number of overlookers and *other employés* who are no common wage-labourers.

7) Are apprentices employed and how many?

8) Are there besides the usual and regularly employed workmen others called in from abroad at certain seasons?

9) Is your master's business exclusively or mainly carried on for local customers, for the general home-market, or for export to Foreign countries?

10) Is the place of work rural or townish?

11) If your industry is carried on in a country-place, does it form your main subsistence or is it accessory to, or combined with, agriculture?

12) Is the work entirely or mainly hand-work or machine work?

13) State the division of labour in the business where you are employed.

14) Is steam-power employed as the motive power?

15) State the number of sets of working rooms in which the different parts of the business are carried on and describe that part of the industrial process in which you are employed, not only

technically, but with respect to the muscular and nervous strain it imposes and its general effects upon the health of the operative.

16) Describe the sanitary state of the place of work in regard to size (the space left for each operative), ventilation, temperature, whitewashing, *lieux d'aisance*, general cleanliness, noise of machinery, dust, dampness etc.

17) Is there any supervision, governmental or municipal, over the sanitary state of the working place?

18) Are there any peculiar deleterious influences in your business which breed specific diseases amongst the workmen?

19) Is the working place overcrowded with machinery?

20) Are the motive power, the machinery of transmission and the working machinery so secured as to prevent bodily harm to the workmen?

21) State the main accidents to limb and life of the operatives during your personal experience.

22) If working in a mine, state the precautionary measures taken by your employer to secure ventilation and to prevent explosions and other dangerous accidents.

23) If working in a metal manufacture, chemical manufacture, for railways or other specially perilous industry, state whether precautionary measures are taken by your employer.

24) What means of illumination, gas-light, petroleum etc. are applied in your working place?

25) Are there sufficient means of escape within and outside of the working buildings in case of fire?

26) In case of an accident, is the employer *legally* bound to indemnify the sufferer or his family?

27) If not, does he indemnify anyhow the parties that have come to grief in the work of enriching him?

28) Does there exist any medical attendance at your working place?

29) If you work at home, state the condition of your working room; whether you use any tools or also little machines; whether you employ your wife and children or other helpmates, adults or children, male or female; whether you work for private customers or for an "entrepreneur"; whether you engage directly with him or through middlemen.

II

1) State the usual daily hours of work and the usual number of working days in the week.

2) State the number of holidays during the year.

3) Which are the interruptions of the working day?

4) Are meal-times fixed at certain regular intervals or are they irregularly taken?[a]

5) Is work performed during meal-times?

6) If steam-power is employed, state the actual time of starting and stopping it.

7) Is there night-work?

8) State the working time of children and young persons under 16 years of age.

9) Do different sets of children and young persons relieve each other during the working day?

10) Are such *legislative enactments* as exist for children's labour enforced by the government and strictly carried out by the employers?

11) Do there exist any schools for children and young persons engaged in your industry? If so, at what hours of the day are the children in school? What are they taught?

12) Where the work is continued night and day, what shifting system—relays of one set of workmen by another—is employed?

13) To what extent are the usual hours of work lengthened during times of business pressure?

14) Is the cleansing of machinery performed by an extra number of workmen, hired to the purpose, or is it gratuitously done by the operatives employed at the machines, during their usual working day?

15) Which are the regulations and penalties with regard to the exact attendance of workmen at the time when the day's work begins or when it recommences after meals?

16) How much time is daily lost to you by going from home to the working place and by returning home from the working place?

III

1) Which is the mode of engagement with your master? Are you engaged daily, weekly, monthly etc.?

2) Which is the term stipulated for your receiving or giving notice of leave?

3) In case of breach of contract, if the master be the defaulter, which penalties does he incur?

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[a] Here the following question was added by Charles Longuet: "Are they taken in or outside of the building?" — *Ed.*

4) If the workman be the defaulter, which penalties does he incur?

5) If apprentices are employed, state the terms of their contract.

6) Is your occupation regular or irregular?

7) Is your branch of industry mainly carried on in certain seasons or is work, in ordinary times, more or less evenly distributed over the whole year? If your work is bound to certain seasons, how do you live in the interval?

8) Are your wages calculated by time or by peace-work?

9) If by time, are they reckoned by the single hour or by the whole working day?

10) Are extra wages—and which—paid in case of *overtime*?

11) If your wages are paid *à la pièce*, state the method of fixing them; if you be employed in industries where the mass of the work done is estimated by measurement or by weight (as f.i. in coal-mines), are there trickeries recurred to by your master and his underlings in order to defraud you of part of your earnings?

12) If you are paid by piece-work, is the quality of the article made a pretext for fraudulent deduction from wages?

13) Whether calculated by time or by piece-work, *at what terms* are your wages paid? In other words how long a credit must you give to your master before receiving pay for work done? Is it paid after the lapse of a week, a month etc.?

14) Have you found that such delay in the payment of wages obliges you to frequently recur to the *monts de piété*,[a] paying there high interest, and denuding you of things you ought to have at your command, or to take credit from shopkeepers, and, by becoming their debtors, to become their prey?

15) Are the wages paid directly by the "patron" or through a middleman, "*marchandeur*"[b] etc.?

16) If the wages are paid through "*marchandeurs*" or other middlemen, state the terms of your engagement.

17) State the daily or weekly amount of your wages in money.

18) State the wages for the same time of the women and children co-operating with you in the same workshop.

19) State the highest and lowest day wages during last month.

20) State the highest and lowest piece wages during last month.

21) State your actual earnings during the same time, and if you have a family, also those of your wife and children.

22) Are the wages paid in money or partly otherwise?

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[a] Pawnshops.— *Ed.*

[b] Contractor.— *Ed.*

23) If you rent your house accommodation from your employer, state on what terms? Does he deduct the house-rent from your wages?

24) *State the price of your necessaries*, such as[a]:

a) the pay for your dwelling and the terms on which it is rented; the number of rooms of which it consists; how many people live in it; repair and insurance; purchase and repair of furniture; lodging; heating, lighting, water etc.;

b) nourishment: bread, meat, vegetables (potatoes etc.); milk products, eggs, fish; butter, oil, lard, sugar, salt, spice; coffee, tea, chicory; beer, cider, wine etc.; tobacco;

c) clothes (for the parents and the children); washing; articles of hygiene, bath, soap etc.;

d) various expenses, such as for mail, loan and payment for keeping things in pawnshops; expenses for teaching children in school, paying for apprenticeship, purchase of journals, books etc. Contributions to societies for mutual relief, to strike fund, to associations, TRADES-UNIONS etc.;

e) expenses, if there are any, connected with the exercise of your trade;

f) taxes.

25) Try to arrange in form of a budget your weekly and yearly income (and that of your family, if you have one) and your weekly and yearly expense.

26) Have you remarked during your personal experience a greater rising in the necessaries of life (such as house-rent, price of food etc.) than in that of wages?

27) State changes in the *taux de salaires* for as long a time as you can remember.

28) State fall of wages during the times of stagnation or crisis.

29) State rise of wages in so-called times of prosperity.

30) State interruption of work through change of fashion, and partial or general crises.

31) State the changes *in the price of the articles* you produce or the services you render as compared with the *simultaneous changes* or permanency of your wages.

32) Have in the time of your experience workmen been displaced by the introduction of machines or other improvements?

33) Has with the development of machinery and the productive power of labour the intensity and the duration of labour decreased or increased?

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[a] Points a-f were written by Marx in French.— *Ed.*

34) Are you aware of any rise of wages in consequence of improved production?

35) Have you ever known instances wherein an ordinary operative was enabled to retire, at 50 years of age, on money earned as a wages-labourer?

36) What is the number of years for which, in your branch of industry, an operative of average health can continue his work?

IV

1) Do trades-unions exist in your trade, and how are they managed?

2) How many strikes have occurred in your trade during your personal experience?

3) How long did those strikes last?

4) Were they partial or general?

5) Was their purpose an increase of wages or resistance to the reduction of the same; or did they relate to the length of the working day; or did they arise from any other motive?

6) What was their result?

7) Does your trade support the strikes of workmen belonging to other trades?

8) State the rules and the penalties for breach of them established by your master for the government of his wages-labourers.[a]

9) Do there exist combinations between the masters for imposing upon the workmen reduction of wages, increase of working day, interference with strikes, and generally for enforcing their behests upon the working class?

10) Has, in your experience, the government abused the public force in the service of the masters against their men?

11) Has the same government, in your experience, ever interfered for the men against the encroachments and unlawful combinations of the masters?

12) Does the same government enforce the factory laws, as far as they exist, against the masters? Do its inspectors—if there are any—strictly fulfil their duties?

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "in his workshop, where he, of course, unites the supreme legislative, judiciary and executive powers in his hands".— *Ed.*

13) Do there exist in your workshop or your trade, societies for mutual relief and assistance in cases of accidents, sickness, death, temporary incapacity for work, old age etc.?

14) Is the membership in such societies voluntary or compulsory? Are their funds exclusively under the control of the workmen?

15) If the contributions to such funds are compulsory and under the control of the master, does he deduct the contributions from the wages; does he pay interest for them? Have the working-men giving or receiving leave their instalments returned?

16) Are there working-men's co-operative enterprises in your department of industry? How are they managed? Do they also employ extraneous operatives for wages in the same way as the capitalists do?

17) Are there in your trade workshops where part of the retribution of the operative is paid under the name of wages and another part in so-called shares in the master's profit? Compare the entire income of those operatives with that of others where there does not exist this so-called partnership. State the engagements of workmen living under this regime. State whether they are allowed to participate in strikes etc. or whether they are only permitted to be the obedient "subjects" of their master.

18) Which is the general physical, intellectual and moral condition of working-men and working-women in your branch of trade?

Drawn up in the first half of April 1880

First published in *La Revue socialiste*, No. 4, April 20, 1880

Reproduced from the manuscript

Karl Marx

[INTRODUCTION TO THE FRENCH EDITION OF ENGELS' *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*][376]

The pages which form the subject of the present pamphlet, first published as three articles in the *Revue socialiste*,[a] have been translated from the latest book by Engels *Revolution in Science*.[b]

Frederick Engels, one of the foremost representatives of contemporary socialism, distinguished himself in 1844 with his *Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy*, which first appeared in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, published in Paris by Marx and Ruge. The *Outlines* already formulates certain general principles of scientific socialism. Engels was then living in Manchester, where he wrote (in German) *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* (1845), an important work to which Marx did full justice in *Capital*.[c] During his first stay in England he also contributed—as he later did from Brussels—to *The Northern Star*, the official journal of the socialist[d] movement, and to the *New Moral World* of Robert Owen.

During his stay in Brussels he and Marx founded the German workers' communist club,[377] linked with Flemish and Walloon working men's clubs, and, with Bornstedt, the *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung*. At the invitation of the German committee (residing in London) of the *League of the Just*,[378] they joined this society, which had originally been set up by Karl Schapper after his flight from France, where he had taken part in the Blanqui conspiracy of 1839.[379] From then on the League was transformed into an international *League of Communists* after the suppression of the usual formalism of secret societies. Nevertheless, in those circumstances the society had to remain a secret as far as governments were concerned. In 1847 at the International Congress held by the League in London, Marx and Engels were instructed to draft the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*,[380] published immediately before the February Revolution and translated[a] into almost all the European languages.[b]

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[a] F. Engels, "Le socialisme utopique et le socialisme scientifique, I-III", *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3-5, March 20, April 20 and May 5, 1880 (see this volume, pp. 281-325).—*Ed.*

[b] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring. Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. In the Introduction to the French edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* the following sentence was added: "They were revised by the author who introduced diverse additions in the third chapter in order to make the dialectical movement of the economic forces of capitalist production more comprehensible to the French reader."—*Ed.*

[c] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter X; Part IV, Chapter XV; Part VII, Chapters XXIV, XXV (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[d] The 1880 edition has "Chartist" instead of "socialist".—*Ed.*

In the same year they were involved in founding the *Democratic Association of Brussels*,[381] an international and public association, where the delegates of the radical bourgeois and those of the proletarian[c] workers met.

After the February Revolution, Engels became one of the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (*Nouvelle Gazette Rhénane*), founded in 1848 by Marx in Cologne and suppressed in June 1849[d] by a Prussian coup d'état. After taking part in the rising at Elberfeld Engels fought in the Baden campaign[e] against the Prussians (June and July 1849) as the aide-de-camp of Willich, who was then colonel of a battalion of *francs-tireurs*.[382]

In 1850, in London, he contributed to the Review of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*[f] edited by Marx and printed in Hamburg. There Engels for the first time published *The Peasant War in Germany*, which 19 years later appeared again in Leipzig as a pamphlet and ran into three editions.

After the resumption of the socialist movement in Germany, Engels contributed to the *Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts* his most

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[a] The 1880 edition further has: "at once into almost".—*Ed.*

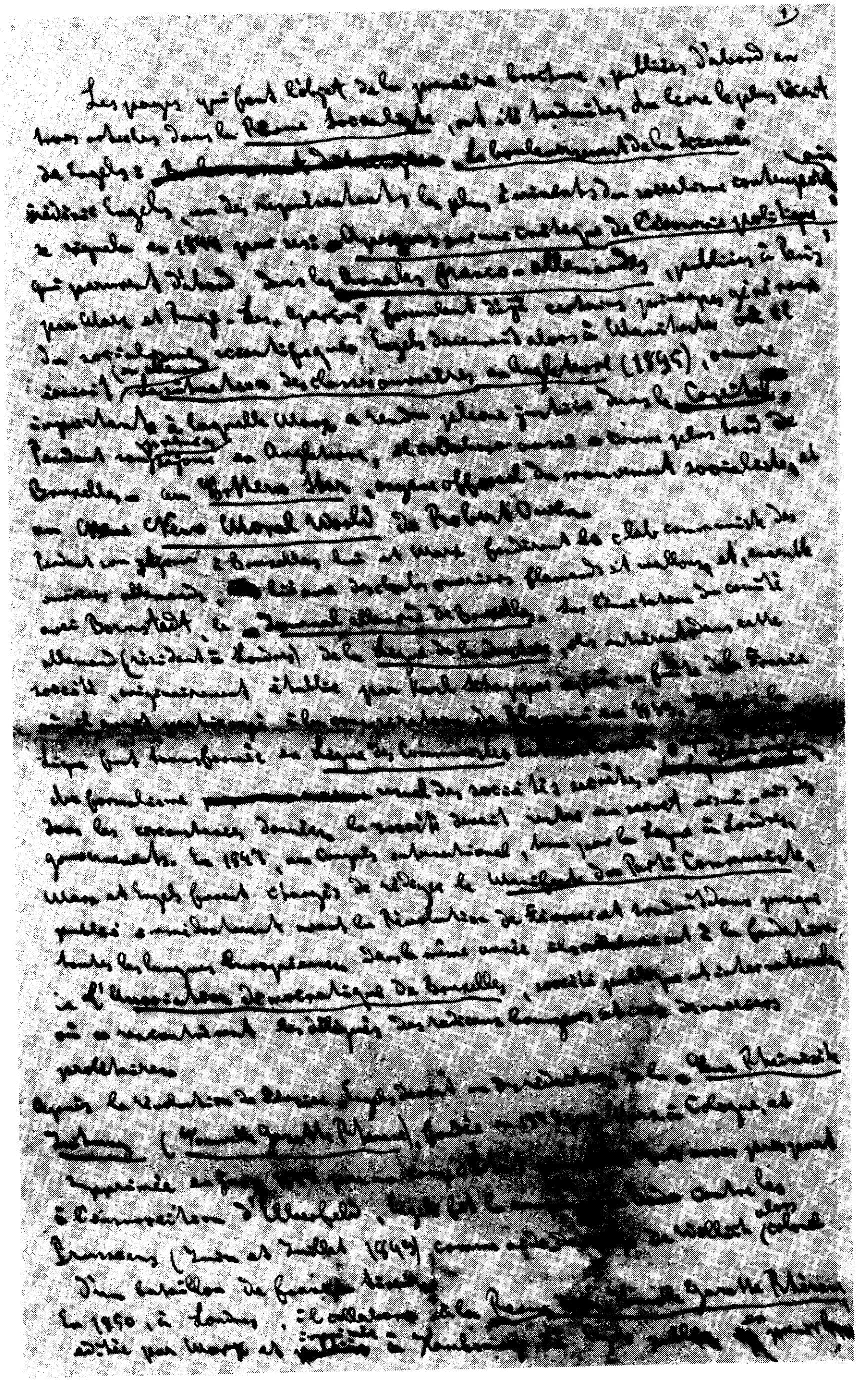
[b] The following passage was added in the French edition which appeared in 1880: "The *Communist Manifesto* is one of the most valuable documents of modern socialism; even today it remains one of the most vigorous and clearest expositions of the development of bourgeois society and the formation of the proletariat which must put an end to capitalist society; as in *The Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx, published a year earlier, here, for the first time, the theory of class struggle is clearly formulated."—*Ed.*

[c] The 1880 edition has here: "socialist".—*Ed.*

[d] The last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* came out on May 19, 1849.—*Ed.*

[e] The 1880 edition has: "the Baden and Palatinate campaign".—*Ed.*

[f] *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.*—*Ed.*



The first page of Marx's "Introduction to the French Edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*"

important articles, most of which were reprinted in the form of pamphlets such as *On Social Relations in Russia, The Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag, The Housing Question, The Cantonalist Rising in Spain,*[a] etc.

In 1870, after leaving Manchester for London, Engels joined the General Council of the International, where he was entrusted with the correspondence with Spain, Portugal and Italy.

The series of final articles which he contributed to the *Vorwärts* under the ironic title of *Herr Dühring's Revolution in Science*[b] (in response to the allegedly new theories of Mr. E. Dühring on science in general and socialism in particular) were assembled in one volume and were a great success among German socialists. In the present pamphlet we reproduce the most topical excerpt from the theoretical section of the book, which constitutes what might be termed an *introduction to scientific socialism.*

Written on about May 4-5, 1880

First published in a pamphlet: F. Engels, *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique,* Paris, 1880

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the 1880 edition

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time

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[a] A reference to *The Bakuninists at Work.*— *Ed.*

[b] In the 1880 edition the title is given in French and, in brackets, in German — *Herrn Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft.*— *Ed.*

Karl Marx

[PREAMBLE TO THE PROGRAMME OF THE FRENCH WORKERS' PARTY][383]

Considering

That the emancipation of the producing class is that of all human beings without distinction of sex or race;

That the producers cannot be free unless they are in possession of the means of production;

That there are only two forms in which the means of production can belong to them:

1) the individual form, which has never existed as a general state of affairs and which is increasingly eliminated by industrial progress;

2) the collective form, whose material and intellectual elements are shaped by the very development of capitalist society;

Considering

That this collective appropriation can only spring from the revolutionary action of the producing class—or proletariat—organised into an independent political[a] party;

That such an organisation must be striven for, using all the means at the disposal of the proletariat, including[b] universal suffrage, thus transformed from the instrument of deception which it has been hitherto into an instrument of emancipation;

The French socialist workers,

Adopting as the object of their efforts in the economic sphere the return of all the means of production to collective ownership, have decided, as a *means of organisation and struggle,* to take part in the elections with the following *minimum* programme.[384]

Written on about May 10, 1880

First published in *Le Précurseur,* No. 25, June 19, 1880

Printed according to *L'Égalité,* No. 24, June 30, 1880, checked with the text of *Le Précurseur*

Translated from the French

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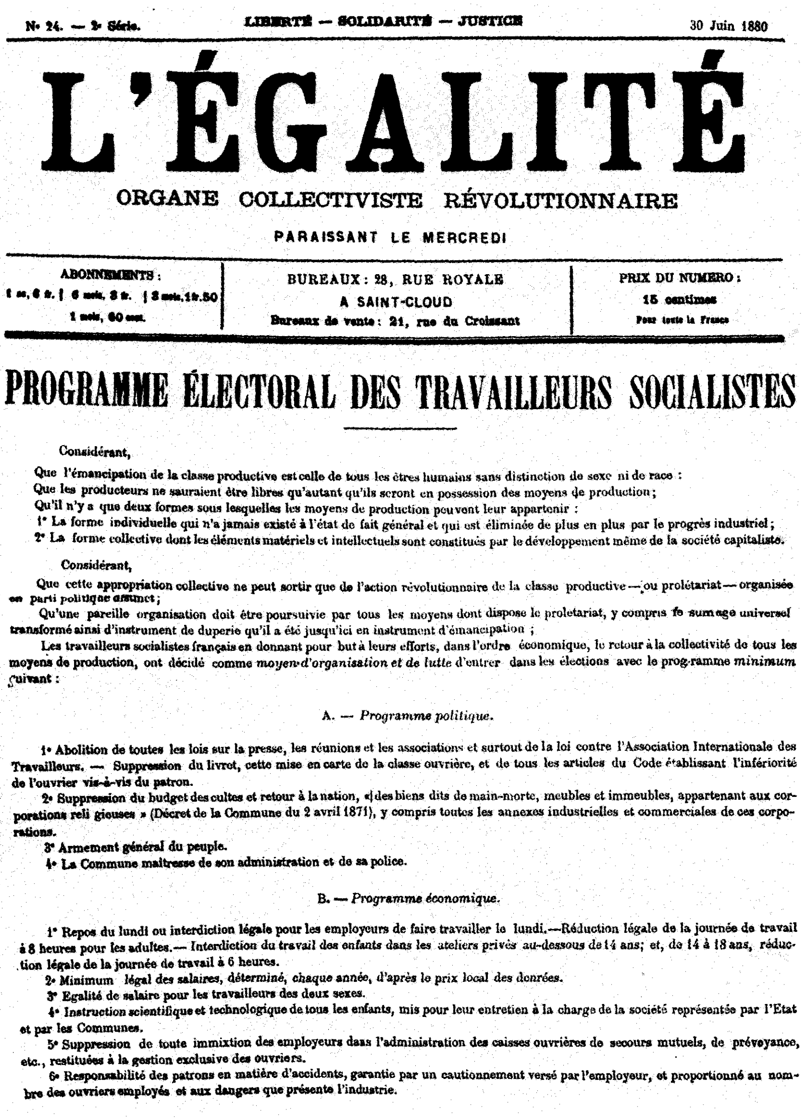
[a] In *Le Précurseur* the word is omitted.—*Ed.*

[b] *Le Précurseur* has here: "above all".—*Ed.*



N° 24. — 2e Série. LIBERTÉ — SOLIDARITÉ — JUSTICE 30 Juin 1880

L'ÉGALITÉ

ORGANE COLLECTIVISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE

PARAISSANT LE MERCREDI

ABONNEMENTS :	BUREAUX : 28, RUE ROYALE	PRIX DU NUMERO :
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PROGRAMME ÉLECTORAL DES TRAVAILLEURS SOCIALISTES

Considérant,

Que l'émancipation de la classe productive est celle de tous les êtres humains sans distinction de sexe ni de race :

Que les producteurs ne sauraient être libres qu'autant qu'ils seront en possession des moyens de production ;

Qu'il n'y a que deux formes sous lesquelles les moyens de production peuvent leur appartenir :

1° La forme individuelle qui n'a jamais existé à l'état de fait général et qui est éliminée de plus en plus par le progrès industriel ;

2° La forme collective dont les éléments matériels et intellectuels sont constitués par le développement même de la société capitaliste.

Considérant,

Que cette appropriation collective ne peut sortir que de l'action révolutionnaire de la classe productive — ou prolétariat — organisée en parti politique distinct ;

Qu'une pareille organisation doit être poursuivie par tous les moyens dont dispose le proletariat, y compris le suffrage universel transformé ainsi d'instrument de duperie qu'il a été jusqu'ici en instrument d'émancipation ;

Les travailleurs socialistes français en donnant pour but à leurs efforts, dans l'ordre économique, le retour à la collectivité de tous les moyens de production, ont décidé comme *moyen d'organisation et de lutte* d'entrer dans les élections avec le programme *minimum* suivant :

A. — *Programme politique.*

1° Abolition de toutes les lois sur la presse, les réunions et les associations et surtout de la loi contre l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. — Suppression du livret, cette mise en carte de la classe ouvrière, et de tous les articles du Code établissant l'infériorité de l'ouvrier vis-à-vis du patron.

2° Suppression du budget des cultes et retour à la nation, « des biens dits de main-morte, meubles et immeubles, appartenant aux corporations religieuses » (Décret de la Commune du 2 avril 1871), y compris toutes les annexes industrielles et commerciales de ces corporations.

3° Armement général du peuple.

4° La Commune maîtresse de son administration et de sa police.

B. — *Programme économique.*

1° Repos du lundi ou interdiction légale pour les employeurs de faire travailler le lundi. — Réduction légale de la journée de travail à 8 heures pour les adultes. — Interdiction du travail des enfants dans les ateliers privés au-dessous de 14 ans ; et, de 14 à 18 ans, réduction légale de la journée de travail à 6 heures.

2° Minimum légal des salaires, déterminé, chaque année, d'après le prix local des denrées.

3° Egalité de salaire pour les travailleurs des deux sexes.

4° Instruction scientifique et technologique de tous les enfants, mis pour leur entretien à la charge de la société représentée par l'Etat et par les Communes.

5° Suppression de toute immixtion des employeurs dans l'administration des caisses ouvrières de secours mutuels, de prévoyance, etc., restituées à la gestion exclusive des ouvriers.

6° Responsabilité des patrons en matière d'accidents, garantie par un cautionnement versé par l'employeur, et proportionné au nombre des ouvriers employés et aux dangers que présente l'industrie.

L'Égalité, No. 24, June 30, 1880, containing Marx's "Preamble to the Programme of the French Workers' Party"

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

TO THE MEETING IN GENEVA HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH REVOLUTION OF 1830[385]

Citizens!

After the first partition of their country, Poles who had left their fatherland crossed the Atlantic in order to defend the great American republic, which had just come into being.[386] Kościuszko fought side by side with Washington. In 1794, when the French Revolution was resisting the coalition forces with difficulty, the glorious Polish revolt deflected danger away from it.[387] Poland lost its independence, but the Revolution survived. The defeated Poles joined the army of the sans-culottes and helped to smash feudal Europe.[388] Finally, in 1830, when Tsar Nicholas and the Prussian King[a] sought to carry out their plans to restore the Legitimist monarchy with a new attack on France, the Polish Revolution,[389] whose memory you are celebrating today, blocked their path: "Order was restored in Warsaw."

The cry "Long live Poland!" which then resounded throughout Western Europe was not merely an expression of sympathy and admiration for the patriotic fighters who were crushed with brutal force—with this cry men hailed the people whose revolts all ended so unhappily for itself but always halted the advance of the counter-revolution, the people whose best sons never ceased to fight the struggle of resistance by everywhere going into battle under the banner of the popular revolutions. On the other hand, the partition of Poland consolidated the Holy Alliance, which served as a disguise for the Tsar's hegemony over all the governments of Europe. Thus the cry "Long live Poland!" has really meant: Death to the Holy Alliance, death to the military despotism of Russia, Prussia and Austria, death to Mongol rule over modern society.

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[a] Frederick William III.—*Ed.*

Since 1830, when the bourgeoisie in France and England more or less took power in their hands, the proletarian movement began to grow. Since 1840 the propertied classes of England were already obliged to resort to force of arms to resist the Chartist Party, this first militant organisation of the working class. Then in 1846 in the last corner of independent Poland, Cracow, the first political revolution to proclaim socialist demands broke out.[390] From that time on, Poland forfeited all the ostensible sympathies of the whole of Europe.[a]

In 1847 the first international congress of the proletariat[391] met secretly in London. One outcome of this congress was the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, which ended with the new revolutionary watchword: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" Poland had its representatives at this congress, and at a public meeting in Brussels[392] the famous Lelewel and his supporters declared their adhesion to the resolutions of the congress.—In 1848 and 1849 numerous Poles served in the revolutionary German, Italian, Hungarian and Romanian armies, distinguishing themselves as soldiers and commanders.[393] Although the socialist aspirations of this age were drowned in the bloodbath of the June days,[394] the revolution of 1848 nevertheless—and this should not be forgotten—turned Europe for a moment into one community by seizing it almost entirely with its flame, and in this way prepared the ground for the International Working Men's Association. The Polish insurrection of 1863,[395] by giving rise to a joint protest of English and French workers at the international machinations of their governments, formed the starting point for the International, which was founded with the participation of Polish exiles. Finally, the Paris Commune[396] found its true champions among the Polish refugees and after its fall, it was sufficient to be a Pole to be shot by the war tribunals in Versailles.

Thus outside the borders of their country the Poles have played a major part in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat; in this struggle they were predominantly its international combat force.

May this struggle develop among the Polish people itself, may our propaganda and the refugee press[b] support it, and may it unite with the unequalled[a] endeavours of our Russian brothers; this will be yet another reason to echo the cry of old: "Long live Poland!" Fraternal Greetings!

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[a] The Polish pamphlet has here: "property-owning Europe".— *Ed.*

[b] The Polish pamphlet has: "revolutionary press".— *Ed.*

London, November 27, 1880

(Signed) *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels,*
Paul Lafargue, F. Lessner[b]

First published in *Le Précurseur*, No. 49, December 4, 1880

Printed according to the newspaper, checked with the text of the Polish pamphlet *Sprawozdanie z międzynarodowego zebrania zwolanego w 50-letnią rocznicę listopadowego powstania*, Geneva, 1881

Translated from the French

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[a] This word is omitted in the Polish pamphlet.—*Ed.*

[b] The Polish pamphlet further has: "Former members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association".—*Ed.*

Karl Marx

[DRAFTS OF THE LETTER TO VERA ZASULICH][397]

[FIRST DRAFT][398]

1) In dealing with the genesis of capitalist production I stated that it is founded on "the complete separation of the producer from the means of production" (p. 315, column I, French edition of *Capital*) and that "the basis of this whole development *is the expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... But *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (l.c., column II).[a]

I thus *expressly* limited the "historical inevitability" of this process[399] to the *countries of Western Europe.* And why? Be so kind as to compare Chapter XXXII, where it says:

The "process of elimination transforming individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated means of production, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, this painful and fearful expropriation of the working people, forms the origin, the genesis of capital... *Private property,* based on personal labour ... will be supplanted by *capitalist private property,* based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (p. 341, column II).[b]

Thus, in the final analysis, it is a question of the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property.* Since the land in the hands of the Russian peasants has never been *their private property,* how could this development be applicable?

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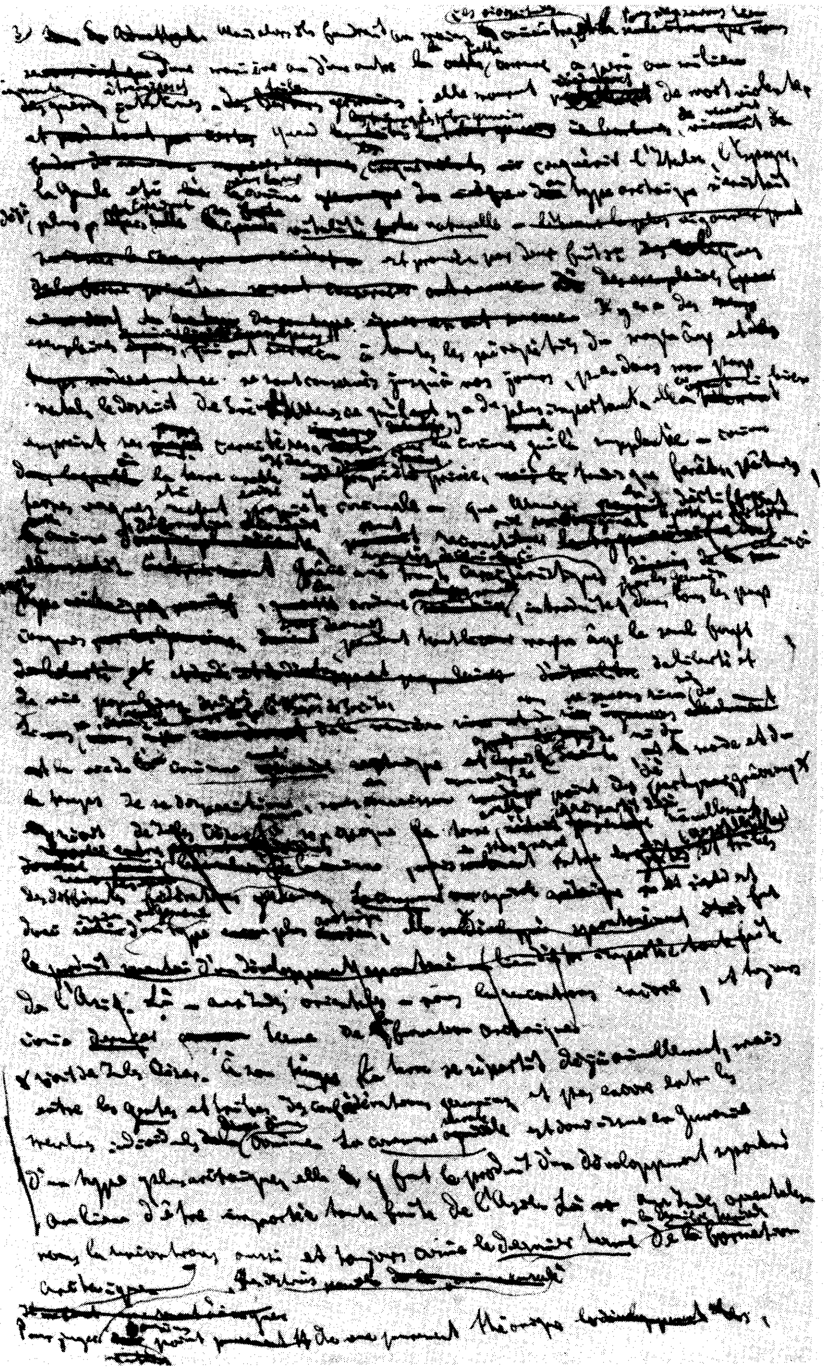
[a] Karl Marx, *Le Capital,* Paris, [1872-1875,] p. 315 (see *Capital,* Vol. I, Part VIII, "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation", Chapter XXVI: "The Secret of Primitive Accumulation", present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] Ibid.



A page of the first draft of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich

2) From the historical point of view the only serious argument put forward in favour of the *fatal dissolution* of *the Russian peasants'* commune is this: By going back a long way communal property of a more or less archaic type[400] may be found throughout Western Europe; everywhere it has disappeared with increasing social progress. Why should it be able to escape the same fate in Russia alone? I reply: because in Russia, thanks to a unique combination of circumstances, the rural commune, still established on a nationwide scale, may gradually detach itself from its primitive features and develop directly as an element of collective production on a nationwide scale. It is precisely thanks to its contemporaneity with capitalist production that it may appropriate the latter's *positive acquisitions* without experiencing all its frightful misfortunes. Russia does not live in isolation from the modern world; neither is it the prey of a foreign invader like the East Indies.

If the Russian admirers of the capitalist system denied the *theoretical* possibility of such a development, I would ask them this question: In order to utilise machines, steam engines, railways, etc., was Russia forced, like the West, to pass through a long incubation period in the engineering industry? Let them explain to me, too, how they managed to introduce in their own country, in the twinkling of an eye, the entire mechanism of exchange (banks, credit institutions, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise?

If at the time of emancipation the rural communes had first been placed in conditions of normal prosperity; if the immense public debt, mostly paid for at the expense of the peasants, with the other enormous sums provided through the agency of the State (and still at the expense of the peasants) to the "new pillars of society",[401] transformed into capitalists,—if all this expenditure had been applied to further developing the rural commune, no one would today be envisaging the "historical inevitability" of the destruction of the commune: everyone would recognise in it the element of regeneration of Russian society and an element of superiority over the countries still enslaved by the capitalist regime.

Another circumstance favouring the preservation of the Russian commune (by the path of development) is the fact that it is not only contemporaneous with capitalist production but has outlasted the era when this social system still appeared to be intact; that it now finds it, on the contrary, in Western Europe as well as in the United States, engaged in battle both with science, with the popular masses, and with the very productive forces which it engenders.[a] In a word, it finds it in a crisis which will only end in its elimination, in the return of modern societies to the "archaic" type of communal property, a form in which, in the words of an American writer[b] quite free from any suspicion of revolutionary tendencies and subsidised in his work by the Washington government, "the new system" towards which modern society tends "will be A REVIVAL IN A SUPERIOR FORM of an archaic social type". So we must not let ourselves to be alarmed at the word "archaic".

But then we would at least have to be familiar with these vicissitudes. We know nothing about them. In one way or another this commune perished in the midst of incessant wars, foreign and internal; it probably died a violent death. When the Germanic tribes came to conquer Italy, Spain, Gaul, etc.,[402] the commune of the archaic type no longer existed. Yet its *natural viability* is demonstrated by two facts. There are sporadic examples which survived all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages and have been preserved into our own day, for instance the district of Trier, in my native country. But more importantly, it imprinted its own characteristics so effectively on the commune which replaced it—a commune in which the arable land has become private property, whereas forests, pastures, common lands, etc., still remain communal property—that Maurer,[c] when analysing this commune of secondary formation, was able to reconstruct the archaic prototype. Thanks to the characteristic features borrowed from the latter, the new commune introduced by the Germanic peoples in all the countries they invaded was the sole centre of popular liberty and life throughout the Middle Ages.

If we know nothing about the life of the *commune* or about the manner and time of its disappearance after the age of Tacitus, at least we know the starting point, thanks to Julius Caesar.[d] In his day the land was already shared out annually, but between the *gentes* and the tribes of the Germanic confederations, and not yet between the individual members of the commune. The *rural commune* in Germany is therefore descended from a more archaic type; it was the product of a spontaneous development instead of being imported fully developed from Asia. There—in the East Indies—we also encounter it, and always as the *final stage* or final period of the archaic formation.

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "In a word, that it has turned into an arena of blatant antagonisms, of periodic crises, conflicts, disasters; that, increasingly blind, it reveals its incompetence; that it is a transitory system of production destined to be eliminated by the return of society...".— *Ed.*

[b] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilisation*, London, 1877, p. 552.— *Ed.*

[c] G. L. von Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt*, Munich, 1854.— *Ed.*

[d] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico.*— *Ed.*

To assess the possible outcomes from a purely theoretical point of view, that is to say, assuming normal conditions of life, I must now point out certain characteristic features which distinguish the "agricultural commune" from the more archaic types.

Firstly, previous primitive communities are all based on the natural kinship of their members; by breaking this strong but tight bond, the agricultural commune is better able to spread and to withstand contact with strangers.

Next, in this form the house and its complement, the courtyard, are already the private property of the cultivator, whereas long before the introduction of agriculture the communal house was one of the material bases of previous communities.

Finally, although arable land remains communal property, it is divided periodically between the members of the agricultural commune, so that each cultivator tills the fields assigned to him on his own account and appropriates as an individual the fruits thereof, whereas in more archaic communities production took place communally and only the yield was shared out. This primitive type of cooperative or collective production resulted, of course, from the weakness of the isolated individual, and not from the socialisation of the means of production. It is easy to see that the dualism inherent in the "agricultural commune" might endow it with a vigorous life, since on the one hand communal property and all the social relations springing from it make for its solid foundation, whereas the private house, the cultivation of arable land in parcels and the private appropriation of its fruits permit a development of individuality which is incompatible with conditions in more primitive communities.

But it is no less evident that this very dualism might in time become a source of decay. Apart from all the influences of hostile surroundings, the mere gradual accumulation of chattels which begins with wealth in the form of cattle (even admitting wealth in the form of serfs), the increasingly pronounced role which the movable element plays in agriculture itself, and a host of other circumstances inseparable from this accumulation but which it would take me too long to go into here, will eat away at economic and social equality and give rise to a conflict of interests at the very heart of the commune, entailing first the conversion of arable land into private property and ending with the private appropriation of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., which have already become *communal appendages* of private property.

This is why the "agricultural commune" occurs everywhere as the *most recent type* of the archaic form of societies, and why in the historical development of Western Europe, ancient and modern, the period of the agricultural commune appears as a period of transition from communal property to private property, as a period of transition from the primary form to the secondary one. But does this mean that in all circumstances the development of the "agricultural commune" must follow this path? Not at all. Its constitutive form allows this alternative: either the element of private property which it implies will gain the upper hand over the collective element, or the latter will gain the upper hand over the former. Both these solutions are *a priori* possible, but for either one to prevail over the other it is obvious that quite different historical surroundings are needed.[a] All this depends on the historical surroundings in which it finds itself (see p. 10[b]).[c]

Russia is the sole European country where the "agricultural commune" has kept going on a nationwide scale up to the present day. It is not the prey of a foreign conqueror, as the East Indies, and neither does it lead a life cut off from the modern world. On the one hand, the common ownership of land allows it to transform individualist farming in parcels directly and gradually into collective farming, and the Russian peasants are already practising it in the undivided grasslands; the physical lie of the land invites mechanical cultivation on a large scale; the peasant's familiarity with the contract of *artel*[403] facilitates the transition from parcel labour to cooperative labour; and, finally, Russian society, which has so long lived at his expense, owes him the necessary advances for such a transition.[d] On the other hand, the

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[a] This sentence was written by Marx on p. 8 of his manuscript with the indication of the place it referred to ("ad 5 *****"). A version of this sentence is also on p. 9 where it was not, probably by mistake, crossed out.— *Ed.*

[b] Marx is presumably referring to p. 10 of his manuscript, to the following passage: "The best proof that this development of the 'rural commune'... the most archaic type—collective production and appropriation" (see this volume, p. 357).— *Ed.*

[c] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Coming now to the agrarian commune in Russia, I discount for the time being all the miseries which overwhelm it. I consider only the capacity for further development which its constitutive form and its historical surroundings allow it."— *Ed.*

[d] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Certainly, it would be necessary to begin by placing the commune in a normal state *on its present basis*, on the

contemporaneity of western production, which dominates the world market, allows Russia to incorporate in the commune all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks.[404]

If the spokesmen of the "new pillars of society" were to deny the *theoretical* possibility of the suggested evolution of the modern rural commune, one might ask them: Was Russia forced to pass through a long incubation period in the engineering industry, as was the West, in order to arrive at the machines, the steam engines, the railways, etc.? One would also ask them how they managed to introduce in their own country in the twinkling of an eye the entire mechanism of exchange (banks, joint-stock companies, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise?

There is one characteristic of the "agricultural commune" in Russia which afflicts it with weakness, hostile in every sense. That is its isolation, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, this *localised microcosm* which is not encountered everywhere as an immanent characteristic of this type but which, wherever it is found, has caused a more or less centralised despotism to arise on top of the communes. The federation of Russian republics of the North proves that this isolation, which seems to have been originally imposed by the vast expanse of the territory, was largely consolidated by the political destinies which Russia had to suffer after the Mongol invasion.[405] Today it is an obstacle which could easily be eliminated. It would simply be necessary to replace the *volost*,[406] the government body, with an assembly of peasants elected by the communes themselves, serving as the economic and administrative organ for their interests.

One circumstance very favourable, from the historical point of view, to the preservation of the "agricultural commune" by the path of its further development is the fact that it is not only the contemporary of Western capitalist production and is thus able to appropriate its fruits without subjecting itself to its *modus operandi*,[a] but has outlasted the era when the capitalist system still appeared to be intact; that it now finds it, on the contrary, in Western Europe as well as in the United States, engaged in battle both with the working-class masses, with science, and with the very productive forces which it engenders—in a word, in a crisis which will end in its elimination, in the return of modern societies to a

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other hand, since the peasant is everywhere the enemy of too many sudden changes."—*Ed.*

superior form of an "archaic" type of collective property and production.

It goes without saying that the evolution of the commune would be carried out gradually, and that the first step would be to place it in normal conditions on *its present basis.*

Theoretically speaking, then, the Russian "rural commune" can preserve itself by developing its basis, the common ownership of land, and by eliminating the principle of private property which it also implies; it can become a *direct point of departure* for the economic system towards which modern society tends; it can turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide; it can gain possession of the fruits with which capitalist production has enriched mankind, without passing through the capitalist regime, a regime which, considered solely from the point of view of its possible *duration* hardly counts in the life of society. But we must descend from pure theory to the Russian reality.[a]

3) To expropriate the agricultural producers it is not necessary to chase them off their land, as was done in England and elsewhere; nor is it necessary to abolish communal property by means of an ukase. Go and seize from the peasants the product of their agricultural labour beyond a certain measure, and despite your gendarmerie and your army you will not succeed in chaining them to their fields! In the last years of the Roman Empire, the provincial decurions[407]—not peasants but landowners—fled from their houses, abandoning their lands, even selling themselves into slavery, all in order to get rid of a property which was no longer anything more than an official pretext for extorting money from them, mercilessly and pitilessly.

From the time of the so-called emancipation of the peasants the Russian commune has been placed by the State in abnormal economic conditions and ever since then it has never ceased to overwhelm it with the social forces concentrated in its hands. Exhausted by its fiscal exactions, the commune became an inert thing, easily exploited by trade, landed property and usury. This oppression from without unleashed in the heart of the commune itself the conflict of interests already present, and rapidly developed the seeds of decay. But that is not all. At the expense of the peasants the State has forced, as in a hothouse, some branches of the Western capitalist system which, without developing the productive forces of agriculture in any way, are most calculated to facilitate and precipitate the theft of its fruits by unproductive middlemen. It has thus cooperated in the enrichment of a new capitalist vermin, sucking the already impoverished blood of the "rural commune".[a]

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[a] This paragraph is to be found on p. 10 of Marx's manuscript with the exact indication to transfer it to p. 7 ("ad p. 7"). On p. 7 of the manuscript the following passage is crossed out: "If we descend from theory to reality no one can conceal the fact that the Russian commune is today faced with a conspiracy of interests and powerful forces. Apart from its incessant exploitation by the State, which exists at the expense of the peasants, the establishment of a certain part of the capitalist system—finance, stock exchange, bank, railway construction speculation, commerce".— *Ed.*

...In a word, *the State* has given its assistance to the precocious development of the technical and economic means most calculated to facilitate and precipitate the exploitation of the agricultural producer, that is to say, of the largest productive force in Russia, and to enrich the "new pillars of society".

5) This combination of destructive influences, unless smashed by a powerful reaction, is bound to lead to the death of the rural commune.

But one wonders why all these interests (including the large industries placed under government protection), seeing that they are doing so well out of the current state of the rural commune—why would they deliberately conspire to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs? Precisely because they sense that this "current state" is no longer tenable, and that consequently the current method of exploiting it is now outdated. Already the poverty of the agricultural producer has affected the land, which is becoming barren. Good harvests succeed famines by turns. The average of the last ten years showed agricultural production not simply standing still but actually declining. Finally, for the first time Russia now has to import cereals instead of exporting them. So there is no time to lose. There must be an end to it. It is necessary to make an intermediate rural class of the more or less prosperous minority of the peasants, and turn the majority into proletarians, without mincing matters. To this end the spokesmen of the "new pillars of society" denounce the very wounds which they have inflicted on the commune as being as many natural symptoms of its decrepitude.

Disregarding all the miseries which are at present overwhelming the Russian "rural commune", and considering only its constitutive form and its historical surroundings, it is first of all evident that one of its fundamental characteristics, communal ownership of the land, forms the natural basis of collective production and appropriation. What is more, the Russian peasant's familiarity with the contract of *artel* would ease the transition from parcel labour to collective labour, which he already practises to a certain extent in the undivided grasslands, in land drainage and other undertakings of general interest. But for collective labour to supplant parcel labour—the source of private appropriation—in agriculture in the strict sense, two things are required: the economic need for such a change, and the material conditions to bring it about.

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[a] The passage from the words "At the expense of the peasants..." till the end of the paragraph was transferred by Marx to page 7 of the manuscript from page 10 with a special mark ("ad p. 7").—*Ed.*

As for the economic need, it will be felt by the "rural commune" itself from the moment it is placed in normal conditions, that is to say, as soon as the burdens weighing on it are removed and its cultivable land has assumed a normal extent. Gone are the days when Russian agriculture called for nothing but land and its parcel cultivator, armed with more or less primitive tools. These days have passed all the more swiftly as the oppression of the agricultural producer infects and lays waste his fields. What he needs now is cooperative labour, organised on a large scale. Moreover, will the peasant who lacks[a] the necessary things for cultivating two or three dessiatines[b] be better off with ten times the number of dessiatines?

But where are the tools, the manure, the agronomic methods, etc., all the means that are indispensable to collective labour, to come from? It is precisely this point which demonstrates the great superiority of the Russian "rural commune" over archaic communes of the same type. Alone in Europe it has kept going on a vast, nationwide scale. It thus finds itself in historical surroundings in which its contemporaneity with capitalist production endows it with all the conditions necessary for collective labour. It is in a position to incorporate all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. The physical lie of the land in Russia invites agricultural exploitation with the aid of machines, organised on a vast scale and managed by cooperative labour. As for the costs of establishment—the intellectual and material costs—Russian society owes this much to the "rural commune", at whose expense it has lived for so long and to which it must still look for its "element of regeneration".

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "the necessary capital, tools, horses and other necessary technical means for cultivating two or three dessiatines".— *Ed.*

[b] Marx transliterated this Russian measure of land (=approximately 2.7 acres) in Latin characters.— *Ed.*

The best proof that this development of the "rural commune" is in keeping with the historical trend of our age is the fatal crisis which capitalist production has undergone in the European and American countries where it has reached its highest peak, a crisis that will end in its destruction, in the return of modern society to a higher form of the most archaic type—collective production and appropriation.

Since so many different interests, and especially those of the "new pillars of society" erected under the benign rule of Alexander II, have gained a good deal from the *present state* of the "rural commune", why would they deliberately plot to bring about its death? Why do their spokesmen denounce the wounds inflicted on it as so much irrefutable proof of its natural decrepitude? Why do they wish to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs?

Simply because the economic facts, which it would take me too long to analyse here, have revealed the mystery that the *current state of the commune is no longer tenable* and that soon, by sheer force of circumstances, the current method of exploiting the mass of the people will no longer be in fashion. So new measures are needed—and the innovation stealthily introduced in widely differing forms always comes down to this: abolish communal property, make an intermediate rural class of the more or less prosperous minority of the peasants, and turn the majority into proletarians, without mincing matters.

On the one hand, the "rural commune" has nearly been brought to the point of extinction; on the other, a powerful conspiracy is keeping watch with a view to administering the final blow. To save the Russian commune, a Russian revolution is needed. For that matter, the holders of political and social power are doing their very best to prepare the masses for just such a disaster.

And the historical situation of the Russian "rural commune" is unparalleled! Alone in Europe, it has kept going not merely as scattered debris such as the rare and curious miniatures in a state of the archaic type which one could still come across until quite recently in the West, but as the virtually predominant form of popular life covering an immense empire. If it possesses in the communal ownership of the soil the basis of collective appropriation, its historical surroundings, its contemporaneity with capitalist production, lend it all the material conditions of communal labour on a vast scale. It is thus in a position to incorporate all the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. It can gradually replace parcel farming with large-scale agriculture assisted by machines, which the physical lie of the land in Russia invites. It can thus become *the direct point of departure* for the economic system towards which modern society tends, and turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide. On the contrary, it would be necessary to begin by putting it on a normal footing.

But opposing it is landed property controlling almost half the land—and the best land, at that—not to mention the domains of the State. That is where the preservation of the "rural commune" by way of its further development merges with the general trend of Russian society, of whose regeneration it is the price.

Even from the economic point of view alone, Russia can emerge from its agrarian *cul-de-sac* by developing its rural commune; it would try in vain to get out of it by capitalised farming on the English model, to which all the social conditions of the country are inimical.[a]

In order to be able to develop, it needs above all to live, and there is no escaping the fact that at the moment the life of the "rural commune" is in jeopardy.

Apart from the reaction of any other destructive element from hostile surroundings, the gradual growth of chattels in the hands of private families, e.g. their wealth in the form of cattle, and sometimes even slaves or serfs—this sort of private accumulation is, in itself, enough to eat away at primitive economic and social equality in the long run, and give rise in the very heart of the commune to a conflict of interests which first undermines the communal ownership of arable land and ends by removing that of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., after first converting them into a *communal appendage* of private property.

4) The history of the decline of primitive communities (it would be a mistake to place them all on the same level; as in geological formations, these historical forms contain a whole series of primary, secondary, tertiary types, etc.) has still to be written. All we have seen so far are some rather meagre outlines. But in any event the research has advanced far enough to establish that: (1) the vitality of primitive communities was incomparably greater

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[a] This paragraph is taken from the third draft of the letter to Vera Zasulich where Marx indicated with a mark "ad 12☐" the necessity of transferring this paragraph to p. 12 of the first draft, while on p. 12 he marked with ☐ the exact place of insertion. Then the following text is crossed out on p. 12 of the manuscript: "Therefore it is only in the midst of a general uprising that the isolation of the rural commune, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, in a word the *localised microcosm* which deprives it of historical initiative, can be broken..."—*Ed.*

than that of Semitic, Greek, Roman, etc. societies, and, *a fortiori*, that of modern capitalist societies; (2) the causes of their decline stem from economic facts which prevented them from passing a certain stage of development, from historical surroundings not at all analogous with the historical surroundings of the Russian commune of today.

When reading the histories of primitive communities written by bourgeois writers it is necessary to be on one's guard. They do not even shrink from falsehoods. Sir Henry Maine, for example, who was a keen collaborator of the British Government in carrying out the violent destruction of the Indian communes, hypocritically assures us that all the government's noble efforts to support the communes were thwarted by the spontaneous forces of economic laws![a]

5) You know perfectly well that today the very existence of the Russian commune has been jeopardised by a conspiracy of powerful interests; crushed by the direct extortions of the State, fraudulently exploited by the "capitalist" intruders, merchants, etc., and the land "owners", it is undermined, into the bargain, by the village usurers, by conflicts of interests provoked in its very heart by the situation prepared for it.

To expropriate the agricultural producers it is not necessary to chase them off their land, as was done in England and elsewhere; nor is it necessary to abolish communal property by an ukase. On the contrary: go and seize the *product* of their agricultural labour beyond a certain point and, despite all the gendarmes at your command, you will not succeed in keeping them on the land! In the last years of the Roman Empire the provincial decurions—large landowners—left their lands, becoming vagabonds, even selling themselves into slavery, simply in order to get rid of a "property" which was no more than an official pretext for extorting money from them.

At the same time as the commune is bled dry and tortured, its land rendered barren and poor, the literary lackeys of the "new pillars of society" ironically depict the wounds inflicted on it as so many symptoms of its spontaneous decrepitude. They allege that it is dying a natural death and they would be doing a good job by shortening its agony. As far as this is concerned, it is no longer a matter of solving a problem; it is simply a matter of beating an enemy. To save the Russian commune, a Russian revolution is needed. For that matter, the government and the "new pillars of society" are doing their best to prepare the masses for just such a disaster. If revolution comes at the opportune moment, if it concentrates all its forces so as to allow the rural commune full scope, the latter will soon develop as an element of regeneration in Russian society and an element of superiority over the countries enslaved by the capitalist system.

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[a] H. S. Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West*, London, 1871.—*Ed.*

[SECOND DRAFT][408]

1) I showed in *Capital* that the metamorphosis of *feudal production* into *capitalist production* had its starting point in the *expropriation of the producer*, and more particularly that "*the basis of this whole development is the expropriation of the agricultural producer*" (p. 315 of the French ed.). I continue: "To date this (the expropriation of the agricultural producer) has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England ... *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (l.c.).

So I expressly *limited* this "historical inevitability" to the "*countries of Western Europe*". In order to eliminate the slightest doubt about my thinking, I state on p. 341:

"*Private property*, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where ... *the external conditions of labour* belong to *private individuals*. But according as these private individuals are labourers or not labourers, private property changes its form."

Thus the process which I analysed has replaced one form of the private and parcelled property of the labourers with the capitalist property of a tiny minority (l.c., p. 342),[a] *caused one kind of property to be substituted for another*. How could this be applicable to Russia, where land is not and never has been the "private property" of the agricultural producer? *So the only conclusion* which they would be justified in drawing from the progress of things in the West is this: to establish capitalist production in Russia it would be necessary to start by abolishing communal property and expropriating the peasants, i.e. the great mass of the people. This, by the way, is the wish of the Russian liberals,[b] but does their *wish* prove any more than the wish of Catherine II to transplant into Russian soil the Western guild system of the Middle Ages?[409]

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[a] See this volume, p. 346.—*Ed.*

[b] Crossed out in the manuscript: "who wish to naturalise capitalist production in their country and, consistent with themselves, transform the great mass of peasants into simple wage-earners".—*Ed.*

1) Thus the expropriation of the agricultural producers in the West served to "transform the private and parcelled property of the labourers" into the private and concentrated property of the capitalists.[410] But none the less it is the substitution of one form of private property for another form of private property. In Russia, on the contrary, it would be a question of substituting capitalist property for communist property.

2) From the historical point of view there is only one serious argument in favour of *the fatal dissolution* of Russian communist property. It is this: communist property existed everywhere throughout Western Europe; everywhere it has disappeared with social progress. Why would it escape the same fate in Russia alone?

Certainly! If capitalist production is to establish its sway in Russia, the great majority of the peasants, i.e. of the Russian people, must be converted into wage-earners and consequently expropriated by the advance abolition of their communist property. But in any event, the Western precedent would not prove anything at all![a]

2) The Russian "Marxists" of whom you speak are quite unknown to me.[411] To the best of my knowledge, the Russians with whom I am in personal contact hold diametrically opposed views.[412]

3) From the historical point of view the only serious argument in favour of *the fatal dissolution* of Russian communal property is this: communal property existed everywhere throughout Western Europe, yet everywhere it has disappeared with social progress; how would it be able to escape the same fate in Russia?

In the first place, in Western Europe the death of communal property and the birth of capitalist production are separated from one another by an immense interval[b] embracing a whole series of successive economic revolutions and evolutions, of which capitalist production is merely the most recent. On the one hand, it has resulted in a wondrous development of the social productive forces[c]; but on the other hand, it has revealed its own incompatibility with the very forces which it engenders. Its history is henceforth no more than a history of antagonisms, crises, conflicts and disasters. In the last place, it has revealed to the entire world, except those blinded by self-interest, its purely transitory nature. The nations in which it has attained its highest peak in Europe and America aspire only to break its chains[a] by replacing capitalist production with cooperative production, and capitalist property with a *higher form* of the archaic type of property, i.e. communist[b] property.

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[a] The crossed-out version of this sentence reads: "...does not prove anything at all as regards 'the historical inevitability' of this process".— *Ed.*

[b] Then there follows a sentence crossed out in the manuscript: "The death of communal property did not give birth to capitalist production".— *Ed.*

[c] Crossed out in the manuscript: "On the other hand, although it only dates from yesterday, it has already revealed its purely transitory nature, and, even more, the incompatibility between itself and the life of society".— *Ed.*

If Russia were isolated in the world, if it therefore had to work out for itself the economic conquests which Western Europe has only acquired by passing through a long series of evolutions, from the existence of its primitive communities to its present state, there would be no doubt, at least in my eyes, that its communities would be fatally condemned to perish with the progressive development of Russian society. But the situation of the Russian commune is absolutely different from that of the primitive communities of the West. Russia is the only country in Europe where communal property has kept going on a vast, nationwide scale, but at the same time Russia exists in modern historical surroundings, it is contemporary with a higher culture, it is linked to a world market dominated by capitalist production. By appropriating the positive results of this mode of production, it is thus in a position to develop and transform the still archaic form of its rural commune, instead of destroying it. (Let me note in passing that the form of communist property found in Russia is the most modern form of the archaic type, which has itself passed through a whole series of evolutions.) If the supporters of the capitalist system in Russia deny the feasibility of such a plan, let them prove that to exploit machines Russia was forced to pass through the incubation period of mechanical production! Let them explain to me how they succeeded in introducing in their own country in a few days, so to speak, the mechanism of exchange (banks, credit institutions, etc.), which it took the West centuries to devise.[c]

4) What is threatening the life of the Russian commune is neither

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "of capitalist production and capitalist property, which corresponds to it, and appropriate the positive results of capitalist production by returning to a higher form of an archaic type".— *Ed.*

[b] Originally, for the word "communist" Marx had written "collective".— *Ed.*

[c] Further, the following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "Although the capitalist system is on the decline in the West and is approaching the time when it will be no more than an 'archaic' formation, its Russian supporters are...".— *Ed.*

historical inevitability nor a theory; it is oppression by the State and exploitation by capitalist intruders, who have been made powerful at the expense of the peasants by the very same State.

4) The archaic or primary formation of our globe itself contains a series of layers of differing ages, one superimposed on the other; in the same way, the archaic form of society reveals to us a series of different types, marking progressive epochs. The Russian rural commune belongs to the most recent type of this chain. Under it, the agricultural producer already has private ownership of the house in which he lives and the garden which forms the complement to it. This is the first element of decay in the archaic form, an element unknown in older forms. On the other hand, the latter are all based on the natural relations of kinship between the members of the commune, whereas the type to which the Russian commune belongs, released from this tight bond, is thereby capable of further development. The isolation of rural communes, the lack of connexion between the life of one and the life of another, this localised microcosm is not encountered everywhere as an immanent characteristic of the last of the primitive types; but everywhere it is found it always gives rise to a central despotism over and above the communes. In Russia it seems to me an easy matter to do away with this primitive isolation, imposed by the vast extent of the territory, as soon as the government shackles have been cast off.

I am now coming to the heart of the matter. There is no denying that the archaic type, to which the Russian commune belongs, conceals an intimate dualism which, given certain historical conditions, might entail ruin. The ownership of the land is communal, but each peasant tills and uses his field on his own account, just like the small peasant in the West. Communal ownership, parcel farming of the land—this combination, useful in more distant times, becomes dangerous in our own age.[a] On the one hand, the possession of chattels, an element which is playing an increasingly important part in agriculture itself, progressively differentiates the fortune of the members of the commune and there gives rise to a conflict of interests, especially under fiscal pressure from the State; on the other hand, the economic superiority of communal property, as the basis of cooperative and combined labour, is lost. But it should not be forgotten that in farming the undivided grasslands the Russian peasants already practise the collective method, that their familiarity with the contract of *artel* would greatly facilitate the transition from parcel farming to collective farming, that the physical lie of the land in Russia encourages combined mechanised farming on a large scale, and that finally Russian society, which has so long lived at the expense of the rural commune, owes it the first advances necessary for this change. Of course, it is only a question of a gradual change which would commence by placing the commune on a normal footing on its *present* basis.

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[a] Crossed out in the manuscript: "especially under fiscal pressure from the State", "especially in a society in which exchange is already heavily commercial".—*Ed.*

5) Leaving aside any more or less theoretical question, I need not tell you that today the very existence of the Russian commune is threatened by a conspiracy of powerful interests. A certain kind of capitalism, nourished at the expense of the peasants through the agency of the State, has risen up in opposition to the commune; it is in its interest to crush the commune. It is also in the interest of the landed proprietors to set up the more or less well-off peasants as an intermediate agrarian class, and to turn the poor peasants—that is to say the majority—into simple wage-earners. This will mean cheap labour! And how would a commune be able to resist, crushed by the extortions of the State, robbed by business, exploited by the landowners, undermined from within by usury?

[THIRD DRAFT][413]

Dear Citizen,

To deal thoroughly with the questions posed in your letter of February 16 I would have to go into matters in detail and break off urgent work, but the concise exposé which I have the honour of presenting to you will, I trust, suffice to dispel any misunderstandings with regard to my so-called theory.

I. In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say: "At the core of the capitalist system, therefore, lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production ... the basis of this whole development is *the expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... *But all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (*Capital,* French ed., p. 315).

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe.* The cause of that limitation is indicated in the following passage from Chapter XXXII: "*Private property, based on personal labour* ... will be supplanted by *capitalist* *private property*, based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (l.c., p. 341).

In this Western movement, therefore, what is taking place is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of private property*. In the case of the Russian peasants, *their communal property* would, on the contrary, have to be *transformed into private property*. Whether one asserts or denies the inevitability of that transformation, the reasons for and against have nothing to do with my analysis of the genesis of the capitalist system. At the very most one might infer from it that, given the present state of the great majority of Russian peasants, the act of converting them into small proprietors would merely be the prelude to their rapid expropriation.

II. The most serious argument which has been put forward against the Russian commune amounts to this:

Go back to the origins of Western societies and everywhere you will find communal ownership of the land; with social progress it has everywhere given way to private property; so it will not be able to escape the same fate in Russia alone.

I will not take this argument into account except in so far as it is based on European experiences. As for the East Indies, for example, everyone except Sir Henry Maine and others of his ilk realises that the suppression of communal landownership out there was nothing but an act of English vandalism, pushing the native people not forwards but backwards.

Primitive communities are not all cast from the same die. On the contrary, taken all together, they form a series of social groupings which differ in both type and age, marking successive stages of evolution. One of these types, which convention terms *the agricultural commune*, is also that of the *Russian commune*. Its counterpart in the West is the *Germanic commune*, which is of very recent date. It did not yet exist in the days of Julius Caesar, nor did it exist any longer when the Germanic tribes came to conquer Italy, Gaul, Spain, etc. In Julius Caesar's day there was already an annual share-out of the arable land between groups, the *gentes* and the *tribes*, but not yet between the individual families of a commune; farming was probably also carried out in groups, communally. On Germanic soil itself this community of the archaic type turned, by natural development, into the *agricultural commune* as described by Tacitus. From that time on we lose sight of it. It perished obscurely amidst incessant wars and migrations; perhaps it died a violent death. But its natural viability is proved by two incontestable facts. Some scattered examples of this model survived all the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages and have been preserved into our own day, for instance the district of Trier in my own country. But, more importantly, we find the imprint of this "agricultural commune" so clearly traced on the commune that succeeded it that Maurer, in analysing the latter, was able to reconstruct the former. The new commune, in which arable land belongs to its cultivators as *private property*, at the same time as forests, pastures, common lands, etc., remain *communal property*, was introduced by the Germanic peoples in all the countries which they conquered. Thanks to the characteristics borrowed from its prototype, it became the sole centre of popular liberty and life throughout the Middle Ages.

The "rural commune" is also found in Asia, among the Afghans, etc., but everywhere it appears as the *most recent type* and, so to speak, as the last word in the *archaic formation* of societies. It is in order to emphasise this fact that I went into the Germanic commune in some detail.

We must now consider the most characteristic features distinguishing the "agricultural commune" from more archaic communities.

1) All other communities are based on blood relations between their members. One cannot enter them unless one is a natural or adopted relative. Their structure is that of a family tree. The "agricultural commune" was the first social grouping of free men not held together by blood-ties.

2) In the agricultural commune, the house and its complement, the courtyard, belonged to the agricultural producer as an individual. The *communal house* and *collective dwelling*, on the other hand, were the economic basis of more primitive communities, long before the introduction of the pastoral or agrarian way of life. True, one finds agricultural communes where the houses, despite having ceased to be collective dwelling places, periodically change owners. Individual usufruct is thus combined with communal property. But such communes still carry their birthmark: they are in a state of transition between a more archaic community and the agricultural commune proper.

3) The arable land, inalienable and communal property, is periodically divided between members of the agricultural commune in such a way that everyone tills the fields assigned to him on his own account and appropriates the fruits thereof as an individual. In more primitive communities the work is carried out communally and the communal product is shared out according as it is required for consumption, excepting the portion reserved for reproduction.

One can understand that the *dualism* inherent in the constitution of the agricultural commune is able to endow it with a vigorous life. Freed from the strong but tight bonds of natural kinship, communal ownership of the land and the social relations stemming from it guarantee it a solid foundation, at the same time as the house and the courtyard, the exclusive domain of the individual family, parcel farming and the private appropriation of its fruits give a scope to individuality incompatible with the organism of more primitive communities.

But it is no less evident that in time this very dualism might turn into the germ of decomposition. Apart from all the malign influences from without, the commune carries the elements of corruption in its own bosom. Private landed property has already slipped into it in the guise of a house with its rural courtyard, which can be turned into a stronghold from which to launch the assault on the communal land. That is nothing new. But the vital thing is parcel labour as a source of private appropriation. It gives way to the accumulation of personal chattels, for example cattle, money and sometimes even slaves or serfs. This movable property, beyond the control of the commune, subject to individual exchanges in which guile and accident have their chance, will weigh more and more heavily on the entire rural economy. There we have the destroyer of primitive economic and social equality. It introduces heterogeneous elements, provoking in the bosom of the commune conflicts of interests and passions designed first to encroach on the communal ownership of arable lands, and then that of the forests, pastures, common lands, etc., which once converted into *communal appendages* of private property will fall to it in the long run.

As the last phase of the primitive formation of society, the agricultural commune is, at the same time, a transitional stage leading to the secondary formation, and hence marks the transition from a society founded on communal property to a society founded on private property. The secondary formation, of course, includes the series of societies resting on slavery and serfdom.

But does this mean to say that the historical career of the agricultural commune must inevitably come to such an end? Not at all. Its innate dualism admits of an alternative: either the property element will gain the upper hand over the collective element, or vice versa. It all depends on the historical environment in which the commune is placed.

Let us discount for the time being all the miseries besetting the agricultural commune in Russia and consider only its capacity for further development. It occupies a unique position, without precedent in history. Alone in Europe, it is still the predominant organic form of rural life throughout an immense empire. The common ownership of land provides it with the natural basis for collective appropriation, and its historical setting, its contemporaneity with capitalist production, lends it—fully developed—the material conditions for cooperative labour organised on a vast scale. It can thus incorporate the positive acquisitions devised by the capitalist system without passing through its Caudine Forks. It can gradually replace parcel farming with combined agriculture assisted by machines, which the physical lie of the land in Russia invites. Having been first restored to a normal footing in its present form, it may become the *direct starting point* for the economic system towards which modern society tends and turn over a new leaf without beginning by committing suicide.[a]

The English themselves attempted some such thing in the East Indies; all they managed to do was to ruin native agriculture and double the number and severity of the famines.

But what about the anathema which affects the commune—its isolation, the lack of connexion between the life of one commune and that of the others, this *localised microcosm* which has hitherto prevented it from taking any historical initiative? It would vanish amidst a general turmoil in Russian society.

The familiarity of the Russian peasant with the *artel* would especially facilitate the transition from parcel labour to cooperative labour, which he already applies anyway, to a certain extent, in the tedding of the meadows and such communal undertakings as the land drainage, etc. A quite archaic peculiarity, the pet aversion of modern agronomists, still tends in this direction. If on arriving in any country you find that the arable land shows traces of a strange dismemberment, lending it the appearance of a chessboard composed of small fields, you need be in no doubt that it is the domain of an extinct agricultural commune! Its members, without having studied the theory of ground rent, perceived that the same amount of labour, expended on fields differing in natural fertility and location, will give differing yields. To spread the fortunes of labour more evenly, they therefore divided the land first into a certain number of areas, determined by the natural and economic divergences of the soil, and then broke up all these larger areas into as many parcels as there were labourers. Then each man was given a plot of land in each area. It goes without saying that this arrangement, perpetuated by the Russian commune into our own day, is at odds with the requirements of agronomy. Apart from other disadvantages, it entails a waste of energy and time. Nevertheless, it favours the transition to collective farming, with which it seems to be so much at odds at first glance. The parcel...[a]

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[a] The following passage is crossed out in the manuscript: "But opposing it is landed property, holding in its clutches almost half the land—and the best land, at that—not to mention the domains of the State. That is where the preservation of the agricultural commune by way of its further development merges with the general trend of Russian society, whose regeneration can only be achieved at this price. Even from the economic point of view alone, Russia would try in vain to escape from the impasse by turning to capitalist farming on the English model, to which all the social conditions of the country are inimical."—*Ed.*

Written in late February and early March 1881

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Printed according to *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* (*MEGA*), Erste Abteilung, Band 25, Berlin, 1985, collated with the manuscript

Translated from the French

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[a] The manuscript breaks off here.— *Ed.*

Karl Marx

[LETTER TO VERA ZASULICH][414]

London, March 8, 1881
41 Maitland Park Road, N.W.

Dear Citizen,

A nervous complaint which has assailed me periodically over the last ten years has prevented me from replying any sooner to your letter of February 16. I am sorry that I cannot provide you with a concise exposé, intended for publication, of the question you have done me the honour of putting to me. Months ago I promised the St. Petersburg Committee[415] to let them have a piece on the same subject. I hope, however, that a few lines will suffice to dispel any doubts you may harbour as to the misunderstanding in regard to my so-called theory.

In analysing the genesis of capitalist production I say:

"At the core of the capitalist system, therefore, lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production ... the basis of this whole development is the *expropriation of the agricultural producer.* To date this has not been accomplished in a radical fashion anywhere except in England... But *all the other countries of Western Europe* are undergoing the same process" (*Capital,* French ed., p. 315).

Hence the "historical inevitability" of this process is *expressly* limited to the *countries of Western Europe.* The cause of that limitation is indicated in the following passage from Chapter XXXII:

"*Private property, based on personal labour* ... will be supplanted by *capitalist private property,* based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour" (l.c., p. 341).

In this Western movement, therefore, what is taking place is the *transformation of one form of private property into another form of* *private property.* In the case of the Russian peasants, *their communal property* would, on the contrary, have to be *transformed into private property.*

Hence the analysis provided in *Capital* does not adduce reasons either for or against the viability of the rural commune, but the special study I have made of it, and the material for which I drew from original sources, has convinced me that this commune is the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia, but in order that it may function as such, it would first be necessary to eliminate the deleterious influences which are assailing it from all sides, and then ensure for it the normal conditions of spontaneous development.

I have the honour to be, dear Citizen,

Yours very faithfully,
Karl Marx

Written on March 8, 1881

First published in *Marx-Engels Archives,* Book I, Moscow, 1924

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SLAVONIC MEETING, MARCH 21st 1881, IN CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE[416]

Citizen,

With great regret we have to inform you that we are not able to attend your meeting.

When the Commune of Paris succumbed to the atrocious massacre organised by the defenders of "Order", the victors little thought that ten years would not elapse before an event would happen in distant Petersburg[417] which, maybe after long and violent struggle, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune;

that the King of Prussia[a] who had prepared the Commune by besieging Paris and thus compelling the ruling bourgeoisie to arm the people—that that same King of Prussia, ten years after, besieged in his own capital by Socialists, would only be able to maintain his throne, by declaring the state of siege in his capital Berlin.[418]

On the other hand, the Continental governments who after the fall of the Commune by their persecutions compelled the International Working Men's Association to give up its formal, external organisation—these governments who believed they could crush the great International Labour Movement by decrees and special laws—little did they think that ten years later that same International Labour Movement, more powerful than ever, would embrace the working classes not only of Europe but of America also; that the common struggle for common interests against a common enemy would bind them together into a new and greater spontaneous International, outgrowing more and more all external forms of association.

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

Thus the Commune which the powers of the old world believed to be exterminated lives stronger than ever, and thus we may join you in the cry: *Vive la Commune!*

Written on March 21, 1881

First published, in Russian, in *Pravda*, No. 308, November 7, 1933

Reproduced from the manuscript

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

TO THE EDITOR OF *THE DAILY NEWS*[419]

Sir,[a]

The Daily News of to-day, in an article entitled: "Prosecution of the *Freiheit* Journal",[b] states that the number of that paper, containing an article on the death of the Emperor of Russia,[c] "also contained some allusion to the perpetrator of the Mansion House mystery". As this statement is open to an interpretation altogether at variance with the contents of the article in question; as that article is entirely unconnected with the one on the St. Petersburg affair and as Mr. Most the editor is at present not in a position to defend himself in the press, we beg to ask you to insert the following literal translation of all that is said, in the number of the *Freiheit* alluded to, with regard to the "Mansion House mystery".

Freiheit, 19th March, 1881:

> "On Wednesday evening a parcel full of gunpowder, about 15 lb., was placed by an 'unknown' hand before the Mansion House in the City. It was burning at one end, but 'accidentally' a policeman at once observed this and was plucky enough to put it out. Now we do not see what purpose might possibly have been served by this powder explosion. Anyhow, the international police appear to have known how to make capital out of it. For on the following evening Government was to be asked in Parliament what measures they intended to take against the Socialist bands

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[a] W. K. Hales.— *Ed.*

[b] *The Daily News*, No. 10906, March 31, 1881.— *Ed.*

[c] Alexander II. See Most's article "Endlich!" in the *Freiheit*, No. 12, March 19, 1881.— *Ed.*

which had established themselves in London.[a] However, the Home Secretary[b] did not think proper to do anything besides shrugging his shoulders, and that was all the international police got for their pains."[c]

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

Karl Marx
Frederick Engels

London, March 31[d]

Written on March 31, 1881

First published in *The Daily News*, No. 10907, April 1, 1881

Reproduced from the manuscript, collated with the newspaper

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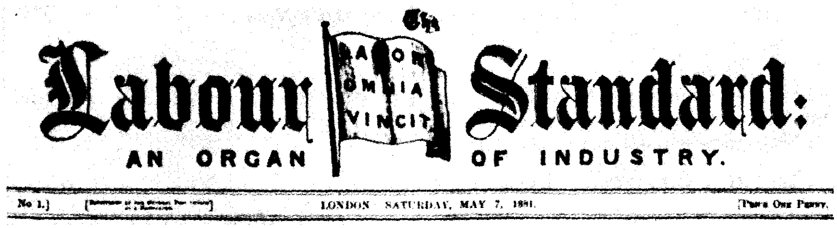
[a] See "Nihilists in London", *The Times*, No. 30145, March 18, 1881.— *Ed.*

[b] Sir William Harcourt.— *Ed.*

[c] [J. Most,] "England", *Freiheit*, No. 12, March 19, 1881.— *Ed.*

[d] Engels' manuscript has no date or signatures.— *Ed.*



The Labour Standard:
AN ORGAN OF INDUSTRY.

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

No 1.] [illegible] LONDON SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1881. [Price One Penny.

Frederick Engels

A FAIR DAY'S WAGES FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK[420]

This has now been the motto of the English working-class movement for the last fifty years. It did good service in the time of the rising Trades Unions after the repeal of the infamous Combination Laws in 1824[421]; it did still better service in the time of the glorious Chartist movement, when the English workmen marched at the head of the European working class. But times are moving on, and a good many things which were desirable and necessary fifty, and even thirty years ago, are now antiquated and would be completely out of place. Does the old, time-honoured watchword too belong to them?

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work? But what is a fair day's wages, and what is a fair day's work? How are they determined by the laws under which modern society exists and develops itself? For an answer to this we must not apply to the science of morals or of law and equity, nor to any sentimental feeling of humanity, justice, or even charity. What is morally fair, what is even fair in law, may be far from being socially fair. Social fairness or unfairness is decided by one science alone—the science which deals with the material facts of production and exchange, the science of political economy.

Now what does political economy call a fair day's wages and a fair day's work? Simply the rate of wages and the length and intensity of a day's work which are determined by competition of employer and employed in the open market. And what are they, when thus determined?

A fair day's wages, under normal conditions, is the sum required to procure to the labourer the means of existence necessary, according to the standard of life of his station and country, to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race. The actual rate of wages, with the fluctuations of trade, may be sometimes above, sometimes below this rate; but, under fair conditions, that rate ought to be the average of all oscillations.

A fair day's work is that length of working day and that intensity of actual work which expends one day's full working power of the workman without encroaching upon his capacity for the same amount of work for the next and following days.

The transaction, then, may be thus described—the workman gives to the Capitalist his full day's working power; that is, so much of it as he can give without rendering impossible the continuous repetition of the transaction. In exchange he receives just as much, and no more, of the necessaries of life as is required to keep up the repetition of the same bargain every day. The workman gives as much, the Capitalist gives as little, as the nature of the bargain will admit. This is a very peculiar sort of fairness.

But let us look a little deeper into the matter. As, according to political economists, wages and working days are fixed by competition, fairness seems to require that both sides should have the same fair start on equal terms. But that is not the case. The Capitalist, if he cannot agree with the Labourer, can afford to wait, and live upon his capital. The workman cannot. He has but wages to live upon, and must therefore take work when, where, and at what terms he can get it. The workman has no fair start. He is fearfully handicapped by hunger. Yet, according to the political economy of the Capitalist class, that is the very pink of fairness.

But this is a mere trifle. The application of mechanical power and machinery to new trades, and the extension and improvements of machinery in trades already subjected to it, keep turning out of work more and more "hands"; and they do so at a far quicker rate than that at which these superseded "hands" can be absorbed by, and find employment in, the manufactures of the country. These superseded "hands" form a real industrial army of reserve for the use of Capital. If trade is bad they may starve, beg, steal, or go to the workhouse[422]; if trade is good they are ready at hand to expand production; and until the very last man, woman, or child of this army of reserve shall have found work—which happens in times of frantic over-production alone—until then will its competition keep down wages, and by its existence alone strengthen the power of Capital in its struggle with Labour. In the race with Capital, Labour is not only handicapped, it has to drag a cannon-ball riveted to its foot. Yet that is fair according to Capitalist political economy.

But let us inquire out of what fund does Capital pay these very fair wages? Out of capital, of course. But capital produces no value. Labour is, besides the earth, the only source of wealth; capital itself is nothing but the stored-up produce of labour. So that the wages of Labour are paid out of labour, and the working man is paid out of his own produce. According to what we may call common fairness, the wages of the labourer ought to consist in the produce of his labour. But that would not be fair according to political economy. On the contrary, the produce of the workman's labour goes to the Capitalist, and the workman gets out of it no more than the bare necessaries of life. And thus the end of this uncommonly "fair" race of competition is that the produce of the labour of those who do work, gets unavoidably accumulated in the hands of those that do not work, and becomes in their hands the most powerful means to enslave the very men who produced it.

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work! A good deal might be said about the fair day's work too, the fairness of which is perfectly on a par with that of the wages. But that we must leave for another occasion. From what has been stated it is pretty clear that the old watchword has lived its day, and will hardly hold water nowadays. The fairness of political economy, such as it truly lays down the laws which rule actual society, that fairness is all on one side—on that of Capital. Let, then, the old motto be buried for ever and replaced by another:

POSSESSION OF THE MEANS OF WORK—
RAW MATERIAL, FACTORIES, MACHINERY—
BY THE WORKING PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

Written on May 1-2, 1881

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 1, May 7, 1881, as a leading article

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

THE WAGES SYSTEM

In a previous article[a] we examined the time-honoured motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work", and came to the conclusion that the fairest day's wages under present social conditions is necessarily tantamount to the very unfairest division of the workman's produce, the greater portion of that produce going into the capitalist's pocket, and the workman having to put up with just as much as will enable him to keep himself in working order and to propagate his race.

This is a law of political economy, or, in other words, a law of the present economical organisation of society, which is more powerful than all the Common and Statute Law of England put together, the Court of Chancery[423] included. While society is divided into two opposing classes—on the one hand, the capitalists, monopolisers of the whole of the means of production, land, raw materials, machinery; on the other hand, labourers, working people deprived of all property in the means of production, owners of nothing but their own working power; while this social organisation exists the law of wages will remain all-powerful, and will every day afresh rivet the chains by which the working man is made the slave of his own produce—monopolised by the capitalist.

The Trades Unions of this country have now for nearly sixty years fought against this law—with what result? Have they succeeded in freeing the working class from the bondage in which capital—the produce of its own hands—holds it? Have they enabled a single section of the working class to rise above the situation of wages-slaves, to become owners of their own means of production, of the raw materials, tools, machinery required in their trade, and thus to become the owners of the produce of their own labour? It is well known that not only they have not done so, but that they never tried.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 376-78.—*Ed.*

Far be it from us to say that Trades Unions are of no use because they have not done that. On the contrary, Trades Unions in England, as well as in every other manufacturing country, are a necessity for the working classes in their struggle against capital. The average rate of wages is equal to the sum of necessaries sufficient to keep up the race of workmen in a certain country according to the standard of life habitual in that country. That standard of life may be very different for different classes of workmen. The great merit of Trades Unions, in their struggle to keep up the rate of wages and to reduce working hours, is that they tend to keep up and to raise the standard of life. There are many trades in the East-end of London whose labour is not more skilled and quite as hard as that of bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, yet they hardly earn half the wages of these. Why? Simply because a powerful organisation enables the one set to maintain a comparatively high standard of life as the rule by which their wages are measured; while the other set, disorganised and powerless, have to submit not only to unavoidable but also to arbitrary encroachments of their employers: their standard of life is gradually reduced, they learn how to live on less and less wages, and their wages naturally fall to that level which they themselves have learnt to accept as sufficient.

The law of wages, then, is not one which draws a hard and fast line. It is not inexorable with certain limits. There is at every time (great depression excepted) for every trade a certain latitude within which the rate of wages may be modified by the results of the struggle between the two contending parties. Wages in every case are fixed by a bargain, and in a bargain he who resists longest and best has the greatest chance of getting more than his due. If the isolated workman tries to drive his bargain with the capitalist he is easily beaten and has to surrender at discretion; but if a whole trade of workmen form a powerful organisation, collect among themselves a fund to enable them to defy their employers if need be, and thus become enabled to treat with these employers as a power, then, and then only, have they a chance to get even that pittance which, according to the economical constitution of present society, may be called a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

The law of wages is not upset by the struggles of Trades Unions. On the contrary, it is enforced by them. Without the means of resistance of the Trades Unions the labourer does not receive even what is his due according to the rules of the wages system. It is only with the fear of the Trades Union before his eyes that the capitalist can be made to part with the full market value of his labourer's working power. Do you want a proof? Look at the wages paid to the members of the large Trades Unions, and at the wages paid to the numberless small trades in that pool of stagnant misery, the East-end of London.

Thus the Trades Unions do not attack the wages system. But it is not the highness or lowness of wages which constitutes the economical degradation of the working class: this degradation is comprised in the fact that, instead of receiving for its labour the full produce of this labour, the working class has to be satisfied with a portion of its own produce called wages. The capitalist pockets the whole produce (paying the labourer out of it) because he is the owner of the means of labour. And, therefore, there is no real redemption for the working class until it becomes owner of all the means of work—land, raw material, machinery, etc.—and thereby also the owner of THE WHOLE OF THE PRODUCE OF ITS OWN LABOUR.

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Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

TRADES UNIONS

I

In our last issue we considered the action of Trades Unions as far as they enforce the economical law of wages against employers.[a] We return to this subject, as it is of the highest importance that the working classes generally should thoroughly understand it.

We suppose no English working man of the present day needs to be taught that it is the interest of the individual capitalist, as well as of the capitalist class generally, to reduce wages as much as possible. The produce of labour, after deducting all expenses, is divided, as David Ricardo has irrefutably proved, into two shares: the one forms the labourer's wages, the other the capitalist's profits.[b] Now, this net produce of labour being, in every individual case, a given quantity, it is clear that the share called profits cannot increase without the share called wages decreasing. To deny that it is the interest of the capitalist to reduce wages, would be tantamount to say that it is not his interest to increase his profits.

We know very well that there are other means of temporarily increasing profits, but they do not alter the general law, and therefore need not trouble us here.

Now, how can the capitalists reduce wages when the rate of wages is governed by a distinct and well-defined law of social economy? The economical law of wages is there, and is irrefutable. But, as we have seen, it is elastic, and it is so in two ways. The rate of wages can be lowered, in a particular trade, either directly, by gradually accustoming the workpeople of that trade to a lower standard of life, or, indirectly, by increasing the number of working hours per day (or the intensity of work during the same working hours) without increasing the pay.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 379-81.—*Ed.*

[b] D. Ricardo, *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*, London, 1817, pp. 90-145.—*Ed.*

And the interest of every individual capitalist to increase his profits by reducing the wages of his workpeople receives a fresh stimulus from the competition of capitalists of the same trade amongst each other. Each one of them tries to undersell his competitors, and unless he is to sacrifice his profits he must try and reduce wages. Thus, the pressure upon the rate of wages brought about by the interest of every individual capitalist is increased tenfold by the competition amongst them. What was before a matter of more or less profit, now becomes a matter of necessity.

Against this constant, unceasing pressure unorganised labour has no effective means of resistance. Therefore, in trades without organisation of the workpeople, wages tend constantly to fall and the working hours tend constantly to increase. Slowly, but surely, this process goes on. Times of prosperity may now and then interrupt it, but times of bad trade hasten it on all the more afterwards. The workpeople gradually get accustomed to a lower and lower standard of life. While the length of working day more and more approaches the possible maximum, the wages come nearer and nearer to their absolute minimum—the sum below which it becomes absolutely impossible for the workman to live and to reproduce his race.

There was a temporary exception to this about the beginning of this century. The rapid extension of steam and machinery was not sufficient for the still faster increasing demand for their produce. Wages in these trades, except those of children sold from the workhouse[424] to the manufacturer, were as a rule high; those of such skilled manual labour as could not be done without were very high; what a dyer, a mechanic, a velvet-cutter, a hand-mule spinner, used to receive now sounds fabulous. At the same time the trades superseded by machinery were slowly starved to death. But newly-invented machinery by-and-by superseded these well-paid workmen; machinery was invented which made machinery, and that at such a rate that the supply of machine-made goods not only equalled, but exceeded, the demand. When the general peace, in 1815,[425] re-established regularity of trade, the decennial fluctuations between prosperity, over-production, and commercial panic began. Whatever advantages the workpeople had preserved from old prosperous times, and perhaps even increased during the period of frantic over-production, were now taken from them during the period of bad trade and panic; and soon the manufacturing population of England submitted to the general law that the wages of unorganised labour constantly tend towards the absolute minimum.

But in the meantime the Trades Unions, legalised in 1824,[a] had also stepped in, and high time it was. Capitalists are always organised. They need in most cases no formal union, no rules, officers, etc. Their small number, as compared with that of the workmen, the fact of their forming a separate class, their constant social and commercial intercourse stand them in lieu of that; it is only later on, when a branch of manufactures has taken possession of a district, such as the cotton trade has of Lancashire, that a formal capitalists' Trades Union becomes necessary. On the other hand, the workpeople from the very beginning cannot do without a strong organisation, well-defined by rules and delegating its authority to officers and committees. The Act of 1824 rendered these organisations legal. From that day Labour became a power in England. The formerly helpless mass, divided against itself, was no longer so. To the strength given by union and common action soon was added the force of a well-filled exchequer—"resistance money", as our French brethren expressively call it. The entire position of things now changed. For the capitalist it became a risky thing to indulge in a reduction of wages or an increase of working hours.

Hence the violent outbursts of the capitalist class of those times against Trades Unions. That class had always considered its long-established practice of grinding down the working class as a vested right and lawful privilege. That was now to be put a stop to. No wonder they cried out lustily and held themselves at least as much injured in their rights and property as Irish landlords do nowadays.[426]

Sixty years' experience of struggle have brought them round to some extent. Trades Unions have now become acknowledged institutions, and their action as one of the regulators of wages is recognised quite as much as the action of the Factories and Workshops Acts as regulators of the hours of work. Nay, the cotton masters in Lancashire have lately even taken a leaf out of the workpeople's book, and now know how to organise a strike, when it suits them, as well or better than any Trades Union.

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[a] "An Act to repeal the Laws relative to the Combination of Workmen; and for other Purposes therein mentioned [21st June, 1824]".—*Ed.*

Thus it is through the action of Trades Unions that the law of wages is enforced as against the employers, and that the workpeople of any well-organised trade are enabled to obtain, at least approximately, the full value of the working power which they hire to their employer; and that, with the help of State laws, the hours of labour are made at least not to exceed too much that maximum length beyond which the working power is prematurely exhausted. This, however, is the utmost Trades Unions, as at present organised, can hope to obtain, and that by constant struggle only, by an immense waste of strength and money; and then the fluctuations of trade, once every ten years at least, break down for the moment what has been conquered, and the fight has to be fought over again. It is a vicious circle from which there is no issue. The working class remains what it was, and what our Chartist forefathers were not afraid to call it, a class of wages slaves. Is this to be the final result of all this labour, self-sacrifice, and suffering? Is this to remain for ever the highest aim of British workmen? Or is the working class of this country at last to attempt breaking through this vicious circle, and to find an issue out of it in a movement for the ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM ALTOGETHER?

Next week we shall examine the part played by Trades Unions as organisers of the working class.

II

So far we have considered the functions of Trades Unions as far only as they contribute to the regulation of the rate of wages and ensure to the labourer, in his struggle against capital, at least some means of resistance. But that aspect does not exhaust our subject.

The struggle of the labourer against capital, we said. That struggle does exist, whatever the apologists of capital may say to the contrary. It will exist so long as a reduction of wages remains the safest and readiest means of raising profits; nay, so long as the wages system itself shall exist. The very existence of Trades Unions is proof sufficient of the fact; if they are not made to fight against the encroachments of capital what are they made for? There is no use in mincing matters. No milksop words can hide the ugly fact that present society is mainly divided into two great antagonistic classes—into capitalists, the owners of all the means for the employment of labour, on one side; and working men, the owners of nothing but their own working power, on the other.

The produce of the labour of the latter class has to be divided between both classes, and it is this division about which the struggle is constantly going on. Each class tries to get as large a share as possible; and it is the most curious aspect of this struggle that the working class, while fighting to obtain a share only of its own produce, is often enough accused of actually robbing the capitalist!

But a struggle between two great classes of society necessarily becomes a political struggle. So did the long battle between the middle or capitalist class and the landed aristocracy; so also does the fight between the working class and these same capitalists. In every struggle of class against class, the next end fought for is political power; the ruling class defends its political supremacy, that is to say its safe majority in the Legislature; the inferior class fights for, first a share, then the whole of that power, in order to become enabled to change existing laws in conformity with their own interests and requirements. Thus the working class of Great Britain for years fought ardently and even violently for the People's Charter,[427] which was to give it that political power; it was defeated, but the struggle had made such an impression upon the victorious middle class that this class, since then, was only too glad to buy a prolonged armistice at the price of ever-repeated concessions to the working people.

Now, in a political struggle of class against class, organisation is the most important weapon. And in the same measure as the merely political or Chartist Organisation fell to pieces, in the same measure the Trades Unions Organisation grew stronger and stronger, until at present it has reached a degree of strength unequalled by any working-class organisation abroad. A few large Trades Unions, comprising between one and two millions of working men, and backed by the smaller or local Unions, represent a power which has to be taken into account by any Government of the ruling class, be it Whig or Tory.

According to the traditions of their origin and development in this country, these powerful organisations have hitherto limited themselves almost strictly to their function of sharing in the regulation of wages and working hours, and of enforcing the repeal of laws openly hostile to the workmen. As stated before, they have done so with quite as much effect as they had a right to expect. But they have attained more than that—the ruling class, which knows their strength better than they themselves do, has volunteered to them concessions beyond that. Disraeli's Household Suffrage[428] gave the vote to at least the greater portion of the organised working class. Would he have proposed it unless he supposed that these new voters would show a will of their own—would cease to be led by middle-class Liberal politicians? Would he have been able to carry it if the working people, in the management of their colossal Trade Societies, had not proved themselves fit for administrative and political work?

That very measure opened out a new prospect to the working class. It gave them the majority in London and in all manufacturing towns, and thus enabled them to enter into the struggle against capital with new weapons, by sending men of their own class to Parliament. And here, we are sorry to say, the Trades Unions forgot their duty as the advanced guard of the working class. The new weapon has been in their hands for more than ten years, but they scarcely ever unsheathed it. They ought not to forget that they cannot continue to hold the position they now occupy unless they really march in the van of the working class. It is not in the nature of things that the working class of England should possess the power of sending forty or fifty working men to Parliament and yet be satisfied for ever to be represented by capitalists or their clerks, such as lawyers, editors, etc.

More than this, there are plenty of symptoms that the working class of this country is awakening to the consciousness that it has for some time been moving in the wrong groove[429]; that the present movements for higher wages and shorter hours exclusively, keep it in a vicious circle out of which there is no issue; that it is not the lowness of wages which forms the fundamental evil, but the wages system itself. This knowledge once generally spread amongst the working class, the position of Trades Unions must change considerably. They will no longer enjoy the privilege of being the only organisations of the working class. At the side of, or above, the Unions of special trades there must spring up a general Union, a political organisation of the working class as a whole.

Thus there are two points which the organised Trades would do well to consider, firstly, that the time is rapidly approaching when the working class of this country will claim, with a voice not to be mistaken, its full share of representation in Parliament. Secondly, that the time also is rapidly approaching when the working class will have understood that the struggle for high wages and short hours, and the whole action of Trades Unions as now carried on, is not an end in itself, but a means, a very necessary and effective means, but only one of several means towards a higher end: the abolition of the wages system altogether.

For the full representation of labour in Parliament, as well as for the preparation of the abolition of the wages system, organisations will become necessary, not of separate Trades, but of the working class as a body. And the sooner this is done the better. There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organised as a body.

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Frederick Engels

THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY

On Thursday, June 9, in the House of Commons, Mr. Monk (Gloucester) proposed a resolution to the effect that

> "no commercial treaty with France will be satisfactory which does not tend to the development of the commercial relations of the two countries by a further reduction of duties".[a]

A debate of some length ensued.[430] Sir C. Dilke, on behalf of the Government, offered the mild resistance required by diplomatic etiquette. Mr. A. J. Balfour (Tamworth)[431] would compel foreign nations, by retaliatory duties, to adopt lower tariffs. Mr. Slagg (Manchester) would leave the French to find out the value of our trade to them and of theirs to us, even without any treaty. Mr. Illingworth (Bradford) despaired of reaching free-trade through commercial treaties. Mr. Mac Iver (Birkenhead) declared the present system of free-trade to be only an imposture, inasmuch as it was made up of free imports and restricted exports. The resolution was carried by 77 to 49, a defeat which will hurt neither Mr. Gladstone's feelings nor his position.

This debate is a fair specimen of a long series of ever-recurring complaints about the stubbornness with which the stupid foreigner, and even the quite as stupid colonial subject, refuse to recognise the universal blessings of free-trade and its capability of remedying all economic evils. Never has a prophecy broken down so completely as that of the Manchester School[432]—free-trade, once established in England, would shower such blessings over the country that all other nations must follow the example and throw their ports open to English manufactures. The coaxing voice of the free-trade apostles remained the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Not only did the Continent and America, on the whole, increase their protective duties[433]; even the British Colonies, as soon as they had become endowed with self-government,[434] followed suit; and no sooner had India been placed under the Crown than a 5 per cent duty on cotton goods was introduced even there,[435] acting as an incentive to native manufactures.

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[a] See "The French Commercial Tariff", *The Times*, No. 30217, June 10, 1881.—*Ed.*

Why this should be so is an utter mystery to the Manchester School. Yet it is plain enough.

About the middle of last century England was the principal seat of the cotton manufacture, and therefore the natural place where, with a rapidly rising demand for cotton goods, the machinery was invented which, with the help of the steam engine, revolutionised first the cotton trade, and successively the other textile manufactures. The large and easily accessible coalfields of Great Britain, thanks to steam, became now the basis of the country's prosperity. The extensive deposits of iron ore in close proximity to the coal facilitated the development of the iron trade, which had received a new stimulus by the demand for engines and machinery. Then, in the midst of this revolution of the whole manufacturing system, came the anti-Jacobin and Napoleonic wars,[436] which for some twenty-five years drove the ships of almost all competing nations from the sea, and thus gave to English manufactured goods the practical monopoly of all Transatlantic and some European markets. When in 1815 peace was restored, England stood there with her steam manufactures ready to supply the world, while steam engines were as yet scarcely known in other countries. In manufacturing industry, England was an immense distance in advance of them.

But the restoration of peace soon induced other nations to follow in the track of England. Sheltered by the Chinese Wall of her prohibitive tariff,[437] France introduced production by steam. So also did Germany, although her tariff was at that time far more liberal[438] than any other, that of England not excepted. So did other countries. At the same time the British landed aristocracy, to raise their rents, introduced the Corn Laws,[439] thereby raising the price of bread and with it the money rate of wages. Nevertheless the progress of English manufactures went on at a stupendous rate. By 1830 she had laid herself out to become "the workshop of the world". To make her the workshop of the world in reality was the task undertaken by the Anti-Corn Law League.[440]

There was no secret made, in those times, of what was aimed at by the repeal of the Corn Laws. To reduce the price of bread, and thereby the money rate of wages, would enable British manufacturers to defy all and every competition with which wicked or ignorant foreigners threatened them. What was more natural than that England, with her great advance in machinery, with her immense merchant navy, her coal and iron, should supply all the world with manufactured articles, and that in return the outer world should supply her with agricultural produce, corn, wine, flax, cotton, coffee, tea, etc.? It was a decree of Providence that it should be so, it was sheer rebellion against God's ordinance to set your face against it. At most France might be allowed to supply England and the rest of the world with such articles of taste and fashion as could not be made by machinery, and were altogether beneath the notice of an enlightened millowner. Then, and then alone, would there be peace on earth and goodwill towards men; then all nations would be bound together by the endearing ties of commerce and mutual profit; then the reign of peace and plenty would be for ever established, and to the working class, to their "hands", they said: "There's a good time coming, boys—wait a little longer." Of course the "hands" are waiting still.

But while the "hands" waited the wicked and ignorant foreigners did not. They did not see the beauty of a system by which the momentary industrial advantages possessed by England should be turned into means to secure to her the monopoly of manufactures all the world over and for ever, and to reduce all other nations to mere agricultural dependencies of England—in other words, to the very enviable condition of Ireland. They knew that no nation can keep up with others in civilisation if deprived of manufactures, and thereby brought down to be a mere agglomeration of clodhoppers. And therefore, subordinating private commercial profit to national exigency, they protected their nascent manufactures by high tariffs, which seemed to them the only means to protect themselves from being brought down to the economical condition enjoyed by Ireland.

We do not mean to say that this was the right thing to do in every case. On the contrary, France would reap immense advantages from a considerable approach towards Free Trade. German manufactures, such as they are, have become what they are under Free Trade, and Bismarck's new Protection tariff[a] [441] will do harm to nobody but the German manufacturers themselves. But there is one country where a short period of Protection is not only justifiable but a matter of absolute necessity—America.

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[a] *Gesetz, betreffend den Zolltarif des Deutschen Zollgebiets und den Ertrag der Zölle und der Tabacksteuer. Vom 15. Juli 1879. (Nr. 1320).—Ed.*

America is at that point of her development where the introduction of manufactures has become a national necessity. This is best proved by the fact that in the invention of labour-saving machinery it is no longer England which leads, but America. American inventions every day supersede English patents and English machinery. American machines are brought over to England; and this in almost all branches of manufactures. Then America possesses a population the most energetic in the world, coalfields against which those of England appear almost as a vanishing quantity, iron and all other metals in plenty. And is it to be supposed that such a country will expose its young and rising manufactures to a long, protracted, competitive struggle with the old-established industry of England, when, by a short term of some twenty years of protection, she can place them at once on a level with any competitor? But, says the Manchester School, America is but robbing herself by her protective system. So is a man robbing himself who pays extra for the express train instead of taking the old Parliamentary train—fifty miles an hour instead of twelve.

There is no mistake about it, the present generation will see American cotton goods compete with English ones in India and China, and gradually gain ground in those two leading markets; American machinery and hardware compete with the English makes in all parts of the world, England included; and the same implacable necessity which removed Flemish manufactures to Holland, Dutch ones to England, will ere long remove the centre of the world's industry from this country to the United States. And in the restricted field which will then remain to England she will find formidable competitors in several Continental nations.

The fact cannot be longer shirked that England's industrial monopoly is fast on the wane. If the "enlightened" middle class think it their interest to hush it up, let the working class boldly look it in the face, for it interests them more than even their "betters". These may for a long time yet remain the bankers and money-lenders of the world, as the Venetians and the Dutch in their decay have done before them. But what is to become of the "hands" when England's immense export trade begins to shrink down every year instead of expanding? If the removal of the iron shipbuilding trade from the Thames to the Clyde was sufficient to reduce the whole East-end of London to chronic pauperism, what will the virtual removal of all the staple trades of England across the Atlantic do for England?

It will do one great thing: it will break the last link which still binds the English working class to the English middle class. This link was their common working of a national monopoly. That monopoly once destroyed, the British working class will be compelled to take in hand its own interests, its own salvation, and to make an end of the wages system. Let us hope it will not wait until then.

Written in mid-June 1881

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Frederick Engels

TWO MODEL TOWN COUNCILS

We have promised our readers to keep them informed of the working men's movements abroad as well as at home. We have now and then been enabled to give some news from America, and today we are in a position to communicate some facts from France—facts of such importance that they well deserve being discussed in our leading columns.

In France they do not know the numerous systems of public voting which are still in use in this country. Instead of having one kind of suffrage and mode of voting for Parliamentary elections, another for municipal, a third for vestry elections and so forth, plain Universal Suffrage and vote by ballot are the rule everywhere. When the Socialist Working Men's Party was formed in France,[442] it was resolved to nominate working men's candidates not only for Parliament, but also for all municipal elections; and, indeed, at the last renewal of Town Councils for France, which took place on January 9 last, the young party was victorious in a great number of manufacturing towns and rural, especially mining, communes. They not only carried individual candidates, they managed in some places to obtain the majority in the councils, and one council, at least, as we shall see, was composed of none but working men.[443]

Shortly before the establishment of the *Labour Standard*, there was a strike of factory operatives in the town of Roubaix, close on the Belgian frontier. The Government at once sent troops to occupy the town, and thereby, under the pretext of maintaining order (which was never menaced), tried to provoke the people on strike to such acts as might serve as a pretext for the interference of the troops. But the people remained quiet, and one of the principal causes which made them resist all provocations was the action of the Town Council. This was composed, in its majority, of working men. The subject of the strike was brought before it, and amply discussed. The result was that the Council not only declared the men on strike to be in the right, but also actually *voted the sum of 50,000 francs, or £2,000, in support of the strikers.* That subsidy could not be paid, as according to French law the prefect of the department has the right to annul any resolutions of Town Councils which he may consider as exceeding their powers. But nevertheless the strong moral support thus given to the strike by the official representation of the township was of the greatest value to the workmen.

On June 8 the Mining Company of Commentry, in the centre of France (Department Allier), discharged 152 men who refused to submit to new and more unfavourable terms. This being part of a system employed for some time for the gradual introduction of worse terms of work, the whole of the miners, about 1,600, struck. The Government at once sent the usual troops to overawe or provoke the strikers. But the Town Council here, too, at once took up the cause of the men. In their meeting of June 12 (a Sunday to boot) they passed resolutions to the following effect:—

> 1. Whereas it is the duty of society to ensure the existence of those who, by their work, permit the existence of all; and whereas if the State refuses to fulfil this duty the communes are bound to fulfil it, this Council resolves to take up a loan of 25,000 francs (£1,000) with the consent of the highest rated inhabitants, which sum is to be devoted for the benefit of the miners whom the unjustifiable discharge of 152 of their body has compelled to strike work.

Carried unanimously, against the veto of the Mayor alone.

> 2. Whereas the State, in selling the valuable national property of the mines of Commentry to a joint-stock company, has thereby handed over the workmen there employed to the tender mercies of the said company; and whereas, consequently, the State is bound to see that the oppression exercised by the company upon the miners is not carried to a degree threatening their very existence; whereas, however, the State, by placing troops at the disposal of the company during the present strike, has not even preserved its neutrality, but taken sides with the company,
>
> This Council, in the name of the working-class interests which it is its duty to protect, calls upon the sub-prefect of the district.
>
> 1. To recall at once the troops whose presence, entirely uncalled for, is a mere provocation; and
>
> 2. To intervene with the manager of the company and induce him to revoke the measure which has caused the strike.

Carried unanimously.

In a third resolution, also carried unanimously, the Council, fearing that the poverty of the commune will frustrate the loan voted above, opens a public subscription in aid of the strikers, and appeals to all the other municipal councils of France to send subsidies for the same object.

Here, then, we have a striking proof of the presence of working men, not only in Parliament, but also in municipal and all other local bodies. How differently would many a strike in England terminate if the men had the Town Council of the locality to back them! The English Town Councils and Local Boards, elected to a great extent by working men, consist at present almost exclusively of employers, their direct and indirect agents (lawyers, etc.), and at the best, of shopkeepers. No sooner does a strike or lock-out occur than all the moral and material power of the local authorities is employed in favour of the masters and against the men; even the police, paid out of the pockets of the men, are employed exactly as in France the troops are used, to provoke them into illegal acts and hunt them down. The Poor Law authorities in most cases refuse relief to men who, in their opinion, might work if they liked. And naturally so. In the eyes of this class of men, whom the working people suffer to form the local authorities, a strike is an open rebellion against social order, an outrage against the sacred rights of property. And therefore, in every strike or lock-out all the enormous moral and physical weight of the local authorities is placed in the masters' scale so long as the working class consent to elect masters and masters' representatives to local elective bodies.

We hope that the action of the two French Town Councils will open the eyes of many. Shall it be for ever said, and of the English working men too, that "they manage these things better in France"? The English working class, with its old and powerful organisation, its immemorial political liberties, its long experience of political action, has immense advantages over those of any continental country. Yet the Germans could carry twelve working-class representatives for Parliament,[444] and they as well as the French have the majority in numerous Town Councils. True, the suffrage in England is restricted; but even now the working class has a majority in all large towns and manufacturing districts. They have only to will it, and that potential majority becomes at once an effective one, a power in the State, a power in all localities where working people are concentrated. And if you once have working men in Parliament, in the Town Councils and Local Boards of Guardians,[445] etc., how long will it be ere you will have also working men magistrates, capable of putting a spoke in the wheels of those Dogberries who now so often ride roughshod over the people?

Written in the latter half of June 1881

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 8, June 25, 1881, as a leading article

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

AMERICAN FOOD AND THE LAND QUESTION

Since autumn 1837 we have been quite accustomed to see money panics and commercial crises imported from New York into England. At least one out of every two of the decennial revulsions of industry broke out in America. But that America should also upset the time-honoured relations of British agriculture, revolutionise the immemorial feudal relations between landlord and tenant at will, smash up English rents, and lay waste English farms, was a sight reserved for the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

And yet so it is. The virgin soil of the Western prairie—which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles—is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a Tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labour. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear twenty to thirty crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale, and on the grandest scale it is worked. The British agriculturist used to pride himself of his large farms as opposed to the small farms of Continental peasant proprietors; but what are the largest farms in the United Kingdom compared to the farms of the American prairie, farms of 40,000 acres and more, worked by regular armies of men, horses, and implements, drilled, commanded, and organised like soldiers?

This American revolution in farming, together with the revolutionised means of transport as invented by the Americans, sends over to Europe wheat at such low prices that no European farmer can compete with it—at least not while he is expected to pay rent. Look at the year 1879, when this was first felt. The crop was bad in all Western Europe; it was a failure in England. Yet, thanks to American corn, prices remained almost stationary. For the first time the British farmer had a bad crop and low prices of wheat at the same time. Then the farmers began to stir, the landlords felt alarmed. Next year, with a better crop, prices went lower still. The price of corn is now determined by the cost of production in America, plus the cost of transport. And this will be the case more and more every year, in proportion as new prairie-land is put under the plough. The agricultural armies required for that operation—we find them ourselves in Europe by sending over emigrants.

Now, formerly there was this consolation for the farmer and the landlord, that if corn did not pay meat would. The plough-land was turned into grass-land, and everything was pleasant again. But now that resource is cut off too. American meat and American cattle are sent over in ever-increasing quantities. And not only that. There are at least two great cattle-producing countries which are on the alert for methods permitting them to send over to Europe, and especially to England, their immense excess of meat, now wasted. With the present state of science and the rapid progress made in its application, we may be sure that in a very few years—at the very latest—Australian and South American beef and mutton will be brought over in a perfect state of preservation and in enormous quantities. What is then to become of the prosperity of the British farmer, of the long rent-roll of the British landlord? It is all very well to grow gooseberries, strawberries, and so forth—that market is well enough supplied as it is. No doubt the British workman could consume a deal more of these delicacies—but then first raise his wages.

It is scarcely needful to say that the effect of this new American agricultural competition is felt on the Continent too. The small peasant proprietor mostly mortgaged over head and ears and paying interest and law expenses where the English and Irish farmer pays rent, he feels it quite as much. It is a peculiar effect of this American competition that it renders not only large landed property, but also small landed property useless, by rendering both unprofitable.

It may be said that this system of land exhaustion, as now practised in the Far West, cannot go on for ever, and things must come right again. Of course, it cannot last for ever; but there is plenty of unexhausted land yet to carry on the process for another century. Moreover, there are other countries offering similar advantages. There is the whole South Russian steppe, where, indeed, commercial men have bought land and done the same thing. There are the vast pampas of the Argentine Republic, there are others still; all lands equally fit for this modern system of giant farming and cheap production. So that before this thing is exhausted it will have lived long enough to kill all the landlords of Europe, great and small, at least twice over.

Well, and the upshot of all this? The upshot will and must be that it will force upon us the nationalisation of the land and its cultivation by co-operative societies under national control. Then, and then alone, it will again pay both the cultivators and the nation to work it, whatever the price of American or any other corn and meat may be. And if the landlords in the meantime, as they seem to be half inclined to do, actually do go to America, we wish them a pleasant journey.

Written in late June 1881

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 9, July 2, 1881, as a leading article

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

THE WAGES THEORY OF THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE

In another column we publish a letter from Mr. J. Noble[a] finding fault with some of our remarks in a leading article of the *Labour Standard* of June 18.[b] Although we cannot, of course, make our leading columns the vehicle of polemics on the subject of historical facts or economic theories, we will yet, for once, reply to a man who, though in an official party position, is evidently sincere.

To our assertion that what was aimed at by the repeal of the Corn Laws was to "reduce the price of bread and thereby the money rate of wages", Mr. Noble replies that this was a "Protectionist fallacy" persistently combated by the League, and gives some quotations from Richard Cobden's speeches and an address of the Council of the League to prove it.[446]

The writer of the article in question was living at the time in Manchester—a manufacturer amongst manufacturers.[447] He is, of course, perfectly well aware of what the official doctrine of the League was. To reduce it to its shortest and most generally-recognised expression (for there are many varieties) it ran thus:—The repeal of the duty on corn will increase our trade with foreign countries, will directly increase our imports, in exchange for which foreign customers will buy our manufactures, thus increasing the demand for our manufactured goods; thus the demand for the labour of our industrial working population will increase, and therefore wages must rise. And by dint of repeating this theory day after day and year after year the official representatives of the League, shallow economists as they were, could at last come out with the astounding assertion that wages rose and fell in inverse ratio, not with profits, but with the price of food; that dear bread meant low wages and cheap bread high wages. Thus, the decennial revulsions of trade which have existed before and after the repeal of the Corn duties were, by the mouthpieces of the League, declared to be the simple effects of the Corn Laws, bound to disappear as soon as those hateful laws were removed; that the Corn Laws were the only great obstacle standing between the British manufacturer and the poor foreigners longing for that manufacturer's produce, unclad and shivering for want of British cloth. And thus Cobden could actually advance, in the passage quoted by Mr. Noble, that the depression of trade and the fall in wages from 1839 to 1842 was the consequence of the very high price of corn during these years, when it was nothing else but one of the regular phases of depression of trade, recurring with the greatest regularity, up to now, every ten years; a phase certainly prolonged and aggravated by bad crops and the stupid interference of greedy landlord legislation.

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[a] J. Noble, "The Anti-Corn Law League and Wages", *The Labour Standard*, No. 10, July 9, 1881.—*Ed.*

[b] See this volume, pp. 389-93.—*Ed.*

Well, this was the official theory of Cobden, who with all his cleverness as an agitator was a poor business man and a shallow economist; he no doubt believed it as faithfully as Mr. Noble believes it to this day. But the bulk of the League was formed of practical men of business, more attentive to business and generally more successful in it than Cobden. And with these matters were quite different. Of course, before strangers and in public meetings, especially before their "hands", the official theory was generally considered "the thing". But business men, when intent upon business, do not generally speak their mind to their customers, and if Mr. Noble should be of a different opinion, he had better keep off the Manchester Exchange. A very little pressing as to what was meant by the way in which wages must rise in consequence of free trade in corn, was sufficient to bring it out that this rise was supposed to affect wages as expressed in commodities, and that it might be quite possible that the money rate of wages would not rise—but was not that substantially a rise of wages? And when you pressed the subject further it usually came out that the money rate of wages might even fall while the comforts supplied for this reduced sum of money to the working man would still be superior to what he enjoyed at the time. And if you asked a few more close questions as to the way, how the expected immense extension of trade was to be brought about, you would very soon hear that it was this last contingency upon which they mainly relied: a reduction in the money rate of wages combined with a fall in the price of bread, etc., more than compensating for this fall. Moreover, there were plenty to be met who did not even try to disguise their opinion that cheap bread was wanted simply to bring down the money rate of wages, and thus knock foreign competition on the head. And that this, in reality, was the end and aim of the bulk of the manufacturers and merchants forming the great body of the League, it was not so very difficult to make out for any one in the habit of dealing with commercial men, and therefore in the habit of not always taking their word for gospel. This is what we said and we repeat it. Of the official doctrine of the League we did not say a word. It was economically a "fallacy", and practically a mere cloak for interested purposes, though some of the leaders may have repeated it often enough to believe it finally themselves.

Very amusing is Mr. Noble's quotation of Cobden's words about the working classes "rubbing their hands with satisfaction" at the prospect of corn at 25s. a quarter. The working classes at that time did not disdain cheap bread; but they were so full of "satisfaction" at the proceedings of Cobden and Co. that for several years past they had made it impossible for the League in the whole of the North to hold a single really public meeting. The writer had the "satisfaction" of being present, in 1843, at the last attempt of the League to hold such a meeting in Salford Town Hall, and of seeing it very nearly broken up by the mere putting of an amendment in favour of the People's Charter.[448] Since then the rule at all League meetings was "admission by ticket", which was far from being accessible to everyone. From that moment "Chartist obstruction" ceased. The working masses had attained their end—to prove that the League did *not*, as it pretended, represent them.

In conclusion, a few words about the wages theory of the League. The average price of a commodity is equal to its cost of production; the action of supply and demand consists in bringing it back to that standard around which it oscillates. If this be true of all commodities, it is true also of the commodity Labour (or more strictly speaking, Labour-force). Then the rate of wages is determined by the price of those commodities which enter into the habitual and necessary consumption of the labourer. In other words, all other things remaining unchanged, wages rise and fall with the price of the necessaries of life. This is a law of political economy against which all the Perronet Thompsons, Cobdens, and Brights will ever be impotent. But all other things do not always remain unchanged, and therefore the action of this law in practice becomes modified by the concurrent action of other economical laws; it appears darkened, and sometimes to such a degree that you must take some trouble to trace it. This served as a pretext to the vulgarising and vulgar economists dating from the Anti-Corn Law League to pretend, first, that Labour, and then all other commodities, had no real determinable value, but only a fluctuating price, regulated by supply and demand more or less without regard to cost of production, and that to raise prices, and therefore wages, you had nothing to do but increase the demand. And thus you got rid of the unpleasant connection of the rate of wages with the price of food, and could boldly proclaim that in this crude, ridiculous doctrine that dear bread meant low wages and cheap bread high wages.

Perhaps Mr. Noble will ask whether wages are not generally as high, or even higher, with to-day's cheap bread than with the dear taxed bread before 1847? That would take a long inquiry to answer. But so much is certain: where a branch of industry has prospered and at the same time the workmen have been strongly organised for defence, their wages have generally not fallen, and sometimes perhaps risen. This merely proves that the people were underpaid before. Where a branch of industry has decayed, or where the workpeople have not been strongly organised in Trades Unions, these wages have invariably fallen, and often to starvation level. Go to the East-end of London and see for yourselves!

Written at the beginning of July 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

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Frederick Engels

A WORKING MEN'S PARTY

How often have we not been warned by friends and sympathisers, "Keep aloof from party politics!" And they were perfectly right, as far as present English party politics are concerned. A labour organ must be neither Whig nor Tory, neither Conservative nor Liberal, or even Radical, in the actual party sense of that word. Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, all of them represent but the interests of the ruling classes, and various shades of opinion predominating amongst landlords, capitalists, and retail tradesmen. If they do represent the working class, they most decidedly misrepresent it. The working class has interests of its own, political as well as social. How it has stood up for what it considers its social interests, the history of the Trades Unions and the Short Time movement shows. But its political interests it leaves almost entirely in the hands of Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, men of the upper class, and for nearly a quarter of a century the working class of England has contented itself with forming, as it were, the tail of the "Great Liberal Party".

This is a political position unworthy of the best organised working class of Europe. In other countries the working men have been far more active. Germany has had for more than ten years a Working Men's party (the Social-Democrats), which owns ten seats in Parliament, and whose growth has frightened Bismarck into those infamous measures of repression of which we give an account in another column.[a] Yet in spite of Bismarck, the Working Men's party progresses steadily; only last week it carried sixteen elections for the Mannheim Town Council and one for the Saxon

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[a] See this volume, pp. 407-09.—*Ed.*

Parliament. In Belgium, Holland, and Italy the example of the Germans has been imitated; in every one of these countries a Working Men's party exists,[449] though the voter's qualification there is too high to give them a chance of sending members to the Legislature at present. In France the Working Men's party is just now in full process of organisation; it has obtained the majority in several Municipal Councils at the last elections,[a] and will undoubtedly carry several seats at the general election for the Chamber next October. Even in America where the passage of the working class to that of farmer, trader, or capitalist, is still comparatively easy, the working men find it necessary to organise themselves as an independent party.[450] Everywhere the labourer struggles for political power, for direct representation of his class in the Legislature—everywhere but in Great Britain.

And yet there never was a more widespread feeling in England than now, that the old parties are doomed, that the old shibboleths have become meaningless, that the old watchwords are exploded, that the old panaceas will not act any longer. Thinking men of all classes begin to see that a new line must be struck out, and that this line can only be in the direction of democracy. But in England, where the industrial and agricultural working class forms the immense majority of the people, democracy means the dominion of the working class, neither more nor less. Let, then, that working class prepare itself for the task in store for it,—the ruling of this great empire; let them understand the responsibilities which inevitably will fall to their share. And the best way to do this is to use the power already in their hands, the actual majority they possess in every large town in the kingdom, to send to Parliament men of their own order. With the present household suffrage,[451] forty or fifty working men might easily be sent to St. Stephen's,[452] where such an infusion of entirely new blood is very much wanted indeed. With only that number of working men in Parliament, it would be impossible to let the Irish Land Bill[453] become, as is the case at present, more and more an Irish Land Bull, namely, an Irish Landlords' Compensation Act; it would be impossible to resist the demand for a redistribution of seats, for making bribery really punishable, for throwing election expenses, as is the case everywhere but in England, on the public purse, etc.

Moreover, in England a real democratic party is impossible unless it be a working men's party. Enlightened men of other classes (where they are not so plentiful as people would make us believe) might join that party and even represent it in Parliament after having given pledges of their sincerity. Such is the case everywhere. In Germany, for instance, the working-men representatives are not in every case actual working men. But no democratic party in England, as well as elsewhere, will be effectively successful unless it has a distinct working-class character. Abandon that, and you have nothing but sects and shams.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 394-96.—*Ed.*

And this is even truer in England than abroad. Of Radical shams there has been unfortunately enough since the break-up of the first working men's party which the world ever produced—the Chartist party. Yes, but the Chartists were broken up and attained nothing. Did they, indeed? Of the six points of the People's Charter,[454] two, vote by ballot and no property qualification, are now the law of the land. A third, universal suffrage, is at least approximately carried in the shape of household suffrage; a fourth, equal electoral districts, is distinctly in sight, a promised reform of the present Government. So that the break-down of the Chartist movement has resulted in the realisation of fully one-half of the Chartist programme. And if the mere recollection of a past political organisation of the working class could effect these political reforms, and a series of social reforms besides, what will the actual presence of a working men's political party do, backed by forty or fifty representatives in Parliament? We live in a world where everybody is bound to take care of himself. Yet the English working class allows the landlord, capitalist, and retail trading classes, with their tail of lawyers, newspaper writers, etc., to take care of its interests. No wonder reforms in the interest of the workman come so slow and in such miserable dribbles. The workpeople of England have but to will, and they are the masters to carry every reform, social and political, which their situation requires. Then why not make that effort?

Written in mid-July 1881

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Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN WORKING MEN'S PARTY

The English middle-class Press has lately been very silent about the atrocities committed by Bismarck and his understrappers against the members of the Social-Democratic Working Men's Party in Germany. The only exception, to some extent, has been the *Daily News*.[a] Formerly, when despotic Governments abroad indulged in such vagaries at the expense of their subjects, the outcry was great indeed in the English dailies and weeklies. But here the oppressed parties are working men, and proud of the name, and the Press representatives of "Society", of the "Upper Ten", suppress the facts and almost seem, by the obstinacy of their silence, to approve of them. What business, indeed, have working men with politics? Leave that to their "betters"! And then there is this other reason for the silence of the English Press: It is very hard to attack Bismarck's Coercion Act[455] and the way he carries it out, and in the same breath to defend Mr. Forster's coercion proceedings in Ireland.[456] This is a very sore point, and must not be touched. The middle-class Press can scarcely be expected to point out itself how much the moral position of England in Europe and America has been lowered by the present Government's action in Ireland.

At every general election the German Working Men's party turned up with rapidly-increasing numbers; at the last but one above 500,000; at the last one more than 600,000 votes fell to their candidates.[457] Berlin elected two, Elberfeld-Barmen, one; Breslau, Dresden, one each; ten seats were conquered in the face of the coalition of the Government with the whole of the Liberal, Conservative, and Catholic parties, in the face of the outcry created by the two attempts at shooting the Emperor,[458] which all other parties agreed to make the Working Men's party responsible for. Then Bismarck succeeded in passing an Act by which Social-Democracy was outlawed. The Working Men's newspapers, more than fifty, were suppressed, their societies and clubs broken up, their funds seized, their meetings dissolved by the police, and, to crown all, it was enacted that whole towns and districts might be "proclaimed", just as in Ireland. But what even English Coercion Bills[459] have never ventured upon in Ireland Bismarck did in Germany. In every "proclaimed" district the police received the right to expel any man whom it might "reasonably suspect" of Socialistic propaganda. Berlin was, of course, at once proclaimed, and hundreds (with their families, thousands) of people were expelled. For the Prussian police always expel men with families; the young unmarried men are generally let alone; to them expulsion would be no great punishment, but to the heads of families it means, in most cases, a long career of misery if not absolute ruin. Then Hamburg elected a working man member of Parliament,[460] and was immediately proclaimed. The first batch of men expelled from Hamburg was about a hundred, with families amounting, besides, to more than three hundred. The Working Men's party, within two days, found the means to provide for their travelling expenses and other immediate wants. Now Leipzig has also been proclaimed,[461] and without any other pretext but that otherwise the Government cannot break up the organisation of the party. The expulsions of the very first day number thirty-three, mostly married men with families. Three members of the German Parliament head the list[a]; perhaps Mr. Dillon will send them a letter of congratulation, considering that they are not yet quite so badly off as himself.[462]

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[a] See the following telegraphic reports: "News from Berlin", "Socialism in Saxony", "The Social Democrats in Germany", "News from Berlin", *The Daily News*, Nos. 10981, 10983, 10994, 10997, June 27 and 29, and July 12 and 15, 1881.— *Ed.*

But this is not all. The Working Men's party once being outlawed in due form, and deprived of all those political rights which other Germans are supposed to enjoy, the police can do with the individual members of that party just as they like. Under the pretext of searching for forbidden publications, their wives and daughters are subjected to the most indecent and brutal treatment. They themselves are arrested whenever it pleases the police, are remanded from week to week, and discharged only after having passed some months in prison. New offences, unknown to the criminal code, are invented by the police, and that code stretched beyond all possibility. And often enough the police finds magistrates and judges corrupt or fanatical enough to aid and abet them; promotion is at this price! What this all comes to the following astounding figures will show. In the year from October, 1879, to October, 1880, there were in Prussia alone imprisoned for high treason, treason felony, insulting the Emperor, etc., not less than 1,108 persons; and for political libels, insulting Bismarck, or defiling the Government, etc., not less than 10,094 persons. Eleven thousand two hundred and two political prisoners, that beats even Mr. Forster's Irish exploits!

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[a] Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and Wilhelm Hasenclever.— *Ed.*

And what has Bismarck attained with all his coercion? Just as much as Mr. Forster in Ireland. The Social-Democratic party is in as blooming a condition, and possesses as firm an organisation, as the Irish Land League.[463] A few days ago there were elections for the Town Council of Mannheim. The working-class party nominated sixteen candidates, and carried them all by a majority of nearly three to one. Again, Bebel, member of the German Parliament for Dresden, stood for the representation of the Leipzig district in the Saxon Parliament. Bebel is himself a working man (a turner), and one of the best, if not the best speaker in Germany. To frustrate his being elected, the Government expelled all his committee. What was the result? That even with a limited suffrage, Bebel was carried by a strong majority. Thus, Bismarck's coercion avails him nothing; on the contrary, it exasperates the people. Those to whom all legal means of asserting themselves are cut off, will one fine morning take to illegal ones, and no one can blame them. How often have Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster proclaimed that doctrine? And how do they act now in Ireland?

Written in mid-July 1881

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Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE *FREIHEIT*][464]

[London,] July 22, 1881

To the Editor of the "Freiheit"

Mr. Norris A. Clowes, the *New York Star*'s correspondent in Ireland, who has been recommended to me from America,[465] has written as follows:

> *"If Herr Most would like to make any statement to the *New York Star* public, I should be glad to give him the opportunity."*

To which I replied:

*"If you wish to enter into communication with Mr. Most, you had better write to the Editor[a] of the *Freiheit*, 252 Tottenham Court Road, W. London, who will be able to tell you whether such communication will be possible under present circumstances."*[466]

I hasten to bring this to your attention.

Yours faithfully,
F. E.

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[a] Karl Schneidt.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

COTTON AND IRON

Cotton and iron are the two most important raw materials of our time. Whichever nation is the leading one in the manufacture of cotton and iron articles, that nation heads the list of manufacturing nations generally. And because and as long as this is the case with England, therefore and so long will England be the first manufacturing nation of the world.

It might, then, be expected that the workers in cotton and iron should be remarkably well off in England; that, as England commands in the market, trade in these articles should be always good, and that at least in these two branches of industry the millennium of plenty, promised at the time of the Free Trade agitation,[467] should be realised. Alas! we all know that this is far from being the case, and that here, as in other trades, if the condition of the workpeople has not become worse, and in some instances even better, it is due exclusively to their own efforts—to strong organisation and hard-fought strikes. We know that after a few short years of prosperity about and after 1874 there was a complete collapse of the cotton and iron trades[468]; factories were closed, furnaces blown out, and where production was continued short time was the rule. Such periods of collapse had been known before; they recur, on an average, once in every ten years; they last their time, to be relieved by a new period of prosperity, and so on.

But what distinguishes the present period of depression especially in cotton and iron is this, that it has now for some years outlasted its usual duration. There have been several attempts at a revival, several spurts; but in vain. If the epoch of actual collapse has been overcome, trade remains in a languid state, and the markets continue incapable to absorb the whole production.

The cause of this is that with our present system of using machinery to produce not only manufactured goods, but machines themselves, production can be increased with incredible rapidity. There would be no difficulty, if manufacturers were so minded, during the single period of prosperity to increase the plant for spinning and weaving, bleaching and printing cotton, so as to be able to produce fifty per cent more goods, and to double the whole production of pig-iron and iron articles of every description. The actual increase has not come up to that. But still it has been out of all proportion to what it was in former periods of expansion, and the consequence is—chronic over-production, chronic depression of trade. The masters can afford to look on, at least for a considerable time, but the workpeople have to suffer, for to them it means chronic misery and a constant prospect of the workhouse.[469]

This, then, is the outcome of the glorious system of unlimited competition, this the realisation of the millennium promised by the Cobdens, Brights, and Co.! This is what the workpeople have to go through if, as they have done for the last twenty-five years, they leave the management of the economical policy of the empire to their "natural leaders", to those "captains of industry" who, according to Thomas Carlyle, were called upon to command the industrial army of the country.[a] Captains of industry indeed! Louis Napoleon's generals in 1870 were geniuses compared to them. Everyone of these pretended captains of industry fights against every other, acts entirely on his own account, increases his plant irrespective of what his neighbours do, and then at the end they all find, to their great surprise, that overtrading has been the result. They cannot unite to regulate production; they can unite for one purpose only: *to keep down the wages of their workpeople.* And thus, by recklessly expanding the productive power of the country far beyond the power of absorption of the markets, they rob their workpeople of the comparative ease which a period of moderate prosperity would give them, and which they are entitled to after the long period of collapse, in order to bring up their incomes to the average standard. Will it not yet be understood that the manufacturers, as a class, have become incapable any longer to direct the great economical interests of the country, nay, even the process of production itself? And is it not an absurdity—though a fact—that the greatest enemy to the working people of England is the ever-increasing productivity of their own hands?

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[a] Th. Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets,* No. I: *The Present Time,* London, 1850, pp. 30-31, 42; *Past and Present,* London, 1843, pp. 361-69.—*Ed.*

But there is another fact to be taken into consideration. It is not the English manufacturers alone who increase their productive powers. The same takes place in other countries. Statistics will not allow us to compare separately the cotton and iron industries of the various leading countries. But, taking the whole of the textile, mining, and metal-working industries, we can draw up a comparative table with the materials furnished by the chief of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, Dr. Engel, in his book, "Das Zeitalter des Dampfs" (The Age of Steam, Berlin, 1881).[a] According to his computation, there are employed in the above industries in the countries stated below steam-engines of the following total horse-power (one horse-power equal to a force lifting 75 kilogrammes to the height of one metre in one second), viz:

	Textile Industries	Mining and Metal Works
England, 1871	515,800	1,077,000 h. p.
Germany, 1875	128,125	456,436 "
France	about 100,000	185,000 "
United States	about 93,000	370,000 "

Thus we see that the total steam power employed by the three nations who are England's chief competitors amounts to three-fifths of the English steam power in the textile manufactures, and nearly equals it in mines and metal works. And as their manufactures progress at a far more rapid rate than those of this country, there can be scarcely a doubt that the combined produce of the former will soon surpass that of the latter.

Look, again, at this table, giving the steam horse-power employed in production, exclusive of locomotives and ships' engines:—

	Horsepower	
Great Britain	About	2,000,000
United States	"	1,987,000
Germany	"	1,321,000
France	"	492,000

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[a] The tables given below were compiled by Frederick Engels on the basis of the statistical data on pp. 178, 180 and 182-84 of Ernst Engel's book.—*Ed.*

This still more clearly shows how little there is left of the monopoly of England in steam manufactures, and how little Free Trade has succeeded in securing England's industrial superiority. And let it not be said that this progress of foreign industry is artificial, is due to protection. The whole of the immense expansion of the German manufactures has been accomplished under a most liberal Free Trade *régime*, and if America, owing to an absurd system of internal excise[470] more than anything else, is compelled to have recourse to a protection more apparent than real, the repeal of these excise laws would be sufficient to allow her to compete in the open market.

This, then, is the position in which twenty-five years of an almost absolute reign of Manchester School[471] doctrines have left the country. We think these results are such as to call for a speedy abdication of the Manchester and Birmingham gentlemen, so as to give the working classes a turn for the next twenty-five years. Surely they could not manage worse.

Written at the end of July 1881

First published in *The Labour Standard* (London), No. 13, July 30, 1881, as a leading article

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

SOCIAL CLASSES—NECESSARY AND SUPERFLUOUS

The question has often been asked, in what degree are the different classes of society useful or even necessary? And the answer was naturally a different one for every different epoch of history considered. There was undoubtedly a time when a territorial aristocracy was an unavoidable and necessary element of society. That, however, is very, very long ago. Then there was a time when a capitalist middle class, a *bourgeoisie* as the French call it, arose with equally unavoidable necessity, struggled against the territorial aristocracy, broke its political power, and in its turn became economically and politically predominant. But, since classes arose, there never was a time when society could do without a working class. The name, the social status of that class has changed; the serf took the place of the slave, to be in his turn relieved by the free working man—free from servitude but also free from any earthly possessions save his own labour force. But it is plain: whatever changes took place in the upper, non-producing ranks of society, society could not live without a class of producers. This class, then, is necessary under all circumstances—though the time must come, when it will no longer be a class, when it will comprise all society.

Now, what necessity is there at present for the existence of each of these three classes?

The landed aristocracy is, to say the least, economically useless in England, while in Ireland and Scotland it has become a positive nuisance by its depopulating tendencies. To send the people across the ocean or into starvation, and to replace them by sheep or deer—that is all the merit that the Irish and Scotch landlords can lay claim to. Let the competition of American vegetable and animal food develop a little further, and the English landed aristocracy will do the same, at least those that can afford it, having large town estates to fall back upon. Of the rest, American food competition will soon free us. And good riddance—for their political action, both in the Lords and Commons, is a perfect national nuisance.

But how about the capitalist middle class, that enlightened and liberal class which founded the British colonial empire and which established British liberty? The class that reformed Parliament in 1831,[472] repealed the Corn Laws,[473] and reduced tax after tax? The class that created and still directs the giant manufactures, and the immense merchant navy, the ever spreading railway system of England? Surely that class must be at least as necessary as the working class which it directs and leads on from progress to progress.

Now the economical function of the capitalist middle class has been, indeed, to create the modern system of steam manufactures and steam communications, and to crush every economical and political obstacle which delayed or hindered the development of that system. No doubt, as long as the capitalist middle class performed this function it was, under the circumstances, a necessary class. But is it still so? Does it continue to fulfil its essential function as the manager and expander of social production for the benefit of society at large? Let us see.

To begin with the means of communication, we find the telegraphs in the hands of the Government. The railways and a large part of the sea-going steamships are owned, not by individual capitalists who manage their own business, but by joint-stock companies whose business is managed for them by *paid employees*, by servants whose position is to all intents and purposes that of superior, better paid workpeople. As to the directors and shareholders, they both know that the less the former interfere with the management, and the latter with the supervision, the better for the concern. A lax and mostly perfunctory supervision is, indeed, the only function left to the owners of the business. Thus we see that in reality the capitalist owners of these immense establishments have no other action left with regard to them, but to cash the half-yearly dividend warrants. The social function of the capitalist here has been transferred to servants paid by wages; but he continues to pocket, in his dividends, the pay for those functions though he has ceased to perform them.

But another function is still left to the capitalist, whom the extent of the large undertakings in question has compelled to "retire" from their management. And this function is to speculate with his shares on the Stock Exchange. For want of something better to do, our "retired" or in reality superseded capitalists, gamble to their hearts' content in this temple of mammon. They go there with the deliberate intention to pocket money which they were pretending to earn; though they say, the origin of all property is labour and saving—the origin perhaps, but certainly not the end. What hypocrisy to forcibly close petty gambling houses, when our capitalist society cannot do without an immense gambling house, where millions after millions are lost and won, for its very centre! Here, indeed, the existence of the "retired" shareholding capitalist becomes not only superfluous, but a perfect nuisance.

What is true for railways and steam shipping is becoming more and more true every day for all large manufacturing and trading establishments. "Floating"—transforming large private concerns into limited companies—has been the order of the day for the last ten years and more. From the large Manchester warehouses of the City to the ironworks and coalpits of Wales and the North and the factories of Lancashire, everything has been, or is being, floated. In all Oldham there is scarcely a cotton mill left in private hands; nay, even the retail tradesman is more and more superseded by "co-operative stores", the great majority of which are co-operative in name only—but of that another time. Thus we see that by the very development of the system of capitalists' production the capitalist is superseded quite as much as the handloom-weaver. With this difference, though, that the handloom-weaver is doomed to slow starvation, and the superseded capitalist to slow death from overfeeding. In this they generally are both alike, that neither knows what to do with himself.

This, then, is the result: the economical development of our actual society tends more and more to concentrate, to socialise production into immense establishments which cannot any longer be managed by single capitalists. All the trash of "the eye of the master", and the wonders it does, turns into sheer nonsense as soon as an undertaking reaches a certain size. Imagine "the eye of the master" of the London and North Western Railway! But what the master cannot do the workman, the wages-paid servants of the Company, *can* do, and do it successfully.

Thus the capitalist can no longer lay claim to his profits as "wages of supervision", as he supervises nothing. Let us remember that when the defenders of capital drum that hollow phrase into our ears.

But we have attempted to show, in our last week's issue,[a] that the capitalist class had also become unable to manage the immense productive system of this country; that they on the one hand expanded production so as to periodically flood all the markets with produce, and on the other became more and more incapable of holding their own against foreign competition. Thus we find that, not only can we manage very well without the interference of the capitalist class in the great industries of the country, but that their interference is becoming more and more a nuisance.

Again we say to them, "Stand back! Give the working class the chance of a turn."

Written in early August 1881

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Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] See this volume, pp. 411-14.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

DRAFT FOR THE SPEECH OVER THE GRAVE OF JENNY MARX[474]

The noble-hearted woman at whose grave we stand was born in Salzwedel in 1814. Her father, Baron W[estphalen], was soon afterwards appointed Regierungsrat in Trier where he became intimately acquainted with the Marx family. The children of both families grew up together. By the time M[arx] went to the university, he and his future wife knew that their fates would henceforth be inseparable.

In 1843, after Marx had first publicly distinguished himself as editor of the first *Rheinische Zeitung*, and after the suppression of that Paper by the Prussian government,[475] the marriage took place.[a] From that day she not only followed the fortunes, the labours, the struggles of her husband; she took an active part in them with the highest intelligence and the deepest passion.

The young couple went to Paris, into an exile, first voluntary, soon compulsory. Even in Paris the Prussian government persecuted him. With regret I have to state, that a man like A. v. Humboldt so far demeaned himself as to cooperate in inducing the Government of Louis Philippe to expel M[arx] from France. The family moved to Brussels. The revolution of February ensued. During the troubles caused by this event in Brussels, the Belgian police not only arrested Marx, they must needs throw into prison his wife too, and that without the pretence of a pretext.

The revolutionary effort of 1848 collapsed in the following year. New exile followed, first again in Paris, then, owing to fresh government interference, in London. And this time it was real exile with all its bitterness. The ordinary sufferings of exiles she might have overcome—though in consequence of them she had to lose three children,[a] amongst them both her boys. But that all parties—governmental as well as oppositional, feudalist, liberal and so-called democratic, combined into one vast conspiracy against her husband, heaped upon him the vilest and most baseless calumnies; that the whole press without exception shut him out, that he stood helpless and defenceless before antagonists whom he and she must utterly despise—that hurt her to the life. And that lasted for years.

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[a] On June 19, 1843.—*Ed.*

But not for ever. By and bye the working class of Europe found itself placed in political conditions which gave it at least *some* elbow-room. The International Working Men's Association was formed; it drew into the struggle one civilized country after the other, and in that struggle, foremost amongst the foremost, fought her husband. Then a time began for her which made up for many past sufferings. She lived to see the base slanders, heaped up around her husband, fly away as chaff before the wind; she lived to hear the doctrines of her husband, to stifle which the reactionists of all countries, feudalists as well as so-called democrats,[b] had spent all their efforts—to hear them proclaimed openly and victoriously in all civilized countries and in all civilized languages. She lived to see the revolutionary movement of the Proletariat seize one country after another, and raise its head, conscious of victory, from Russia to America. And one of her last joys, on her deathbed, was the splendid proof of irrepressible life, in spite of all repressive laws, which the German working class gave at the late elections.[476]

What such a woman, with such clear and critical intellect, with such political tact, with such passionate energy of character, with such capacity for self-sacrifice, has done in the revolutionary movement, that has not been pushed forward into publicity, that is not registered in the columns of the periodical press. That is only known to those who lived near her. But that I know, we shall often miss her bold and prudent counsels, bold without brag, prudent without sacrifice of honor.

Of her personal qualities I need not speak. Her friends know them and will never forget them. If ever woman found her highest happiness in rendering others happy, that woman was she.

The place where we stand is the best proof that she lived and died in the full conviction of atheist Materialism. Death had no terrors for her. She knew that one day she would have to return, body and mind, to the bosom of that nature from which she had sprung. And we, who now have laid her in her last resting-place, let us cherish her memory and try to be like her.[a]

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[a] Edgar, Guido and Franziska.— *Ed.*

[b] The words "feudalists as well as so-called democrats" are omitted in *L'Égalité.—Ed.*

Written on December 2 or 3, 1881

First published in *L'Égalité*, No. 1, December 11, 1881

Reproduced from the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

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[a] The last paragraph is omitted in *L'Égalité*.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

JENNY MARX, NÉE VON WESTPHALEN[477]

Once again death has claimed a victim from among the ranks of the old guard of proletarian, revolutionary socialism.

On December 2 this year, the wife of Karl Marx died in London after a long, painful illness.

She was born in Salzwedel. Her father,[a] a state counsellor, was soon afterwards posted to Trier, where he became a close friend of the Marx family. The children grew up together. These two highly talented natures found each other. When Marx entered university, it was already decided that their future destinies were to be inseparable.

The wedding took place in 1843,[b] after the suppression of the first *Rheinische Zeitung*,[478] which had, for a while, been edited by Marx. From then on, Jenny not only shared her husband's destiny, work, and struggles; she took part in them with the deepest understanding, with the most fervent passion.

The young couple moved to Paris, into a voluntary exile that all too soon became an actual one. The Prussian government persecuted Marx there, too. Alexander von Humboldt allowed himself to become a party to procuring a deportation order against Marx. The family was forced to leave for Brussels.

Then came the February Revolution. During the disturbances it engendered in Brussels, too, not only Marx was arrested. The Belgian police insisted on throwing his wife into prison as well, without any reason.

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[a] Ludwig von Westphalen.— *Ed.*

[b] On June 19.— *Ed.*

The revolutionary upsurge of 1848 collapsed as early as the following year. Renewed exile, first in Paris, then, as a result of further intervention by the French government, in London. And this time it was indeed, for Jenny Marx, exile with all its terrors. She would, nevertheless, have got over the material pressures beneath which she saw her two boys and a little daughter[a] sink into the grave. But the fact that government and bourgeois opposition, from the vulgar-liberal to the democratic, combined in a great conspiracy against her husband; that they heaped the vilest, most despicable slanders on him; that the entire press closed its columns to him, depriving him of any means of defence, so that he was left momentarily helpless against opponents whom he and she must despise—this hurt her to the life. And so it remained for a very long time.

But not forever. The European proletariat regained such conditions of existence as allowed it, to a certain extent, to move independently. The International was founded. The class struggle of the proletariat pressed on from one country to another, and Jenny's husband was among the foremost, in fact he was *the* foremost. Then there began for her a period that made up for many harsh sufferings. She lived to see the slanders that had rained down in torrents on Marx dispersed like chaff in the wind; she lived to hear his doctrines, which all reactionary parties, both feudal and democratic, had taken such tremendous pains to suppress, now preached from the rooftops in all civilised countries and in all cultured tongues. She lived to see the proletarian movement, to which her entire being was wedded, shake the foundations of the old world from Russia to America and press onwards, increasingly certain of victory and defying all resistance. *And one of her last joys was the striking evidence of indestructible vitality that our German workers provided in the last elections to the Reichstag.*[479]

The contribution made by this woman, with such a sharp critical intelligence, with such political tact, a character of such energy and passion, with such dedication to her comrades-in-struggle—her contribution to the movement over almost forty years has not become public knowledge; it is not inscribed in the annals of the contemporary press. It is something one must have experienced at first hand. But of one thing I am sure: just as the wives of the Commune refugees will often remember her—so, too, will the rest of us have occasion enough to miss her bold and wise advice, bold without ostentation, wise without ever compromising her honour to even the smallest degree.[a]

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[a] Edgar, Guido and Franziska.—*Ed.*

Written on December 4, 1881

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 50, December 8, 1881

Signed: *Frederick Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] The *Sozialdemokrat* further has: London, December 4, 1881.— *Ed.*

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

PREFACE TO THE SECOND RUSSIAN EDITION OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*[480]

The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* translated by Bakunin, was published early in the sixties by the printing office of the *Kolokol.*[481] At that time the West could see in it (the *Russian* edition of the *Manifesto*) only a literary curiosity. Such a view would be impossible today.

What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (December 1847) is most clearly shown by the last section of the *Manifesto*: the position of the Communists in relation to the different opposition parties in the various countries.[a] Russia and the United States of all places are missing here. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of all European reaction, when the United States absorbed the surplus proletarian forces of Europe through emigration. Both countries supplied Europe with raw materials and were at the same time markets for its industrial products. At that time both were, therefore, in one way or another, pillars of the existing European order.

How very different today! It was precisely European immigration that enabled North America to attain gigantic agricultural production, competition from which is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. Moreover, it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the prevailing industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England. Both circumstances react in revolutionary manner upon America itself. Step by step the smaller and middle landownership of the farmers, the basis of the whole political constitution, is succumbing to the competition of giant farms; simultaneously, a numerous proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capital are developing for the first time in the industrial regions.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 518-19.— *Ed.*

And now Russia! During the Revolution of 1848-49, not only the European princes, but the European bourgeois as well, found their only salvation from the proletariat, which was just beginning to awaken, in Russian intervention. The Tsar[a] was proclaimed the chief of European reaction. Today he[b] is a prisoner of war of the revolution, in Gatchina,[482] and Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe.

The *Communist Manifesto* had as its object the proclamation of the inevitably impending dissolution of modern bourgeois property. But in Russia we find, face to face with the rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property, which is just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian *obshchina*,[c] a form of primeval common ownership of land, even if greatly undermined, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or must it, conversely, first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical development of the West?

The only answer possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for communist development.

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels

London, January 21, 1882

Published, in Russian, in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Geneva, 1882

Printed according to the manuscript

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[a] Nicholas I.— *Ed.*

[b] Alexander III.— *Ed.*

[c] *Obshchina*: village community.— *Ed.*

Frederick Engels

BRUNO BAUER AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY[483]

On April 13 in Berlin a man died who once played a role as a philosopher and a theologian but was hardly heard of for years, only attracting the attention of the public from time to time as a "literary eccentric". Official theologians, including Renan, plagiarised him and therefore maintained a silence of death about him. And yet he was worth more than them all and achieved more than any of them on an issue which interests us socialists too: on the issue of the historical origin of Christianity.

Let us take his death as an occasion to give a brief account of the present position on this question and Bauer's contribution to its solution.

The view that dominated from the free-thinkers of the Middle Ages to the Enlighteners of the eighteenth century, the latter included, that all religions, and therefore Christianity too, were the work of deceivers, was no longer sufficient once Hegel had set philosophy the task of showing a rational development in world history.[a]

It is obvious that if naturally arising religions, like the fetish worship of the Negroes or the common primitive religion of the Aryans,[484] come into being without deception playing any part, deceit by the priests very soon becomes inevitable in their further development. But in spite of all the sincere fanaticism, artificial religions cannot even at their foundation do without deception and the falsification of history. Christianity, too, has pretty achievements to boast of in this respect from the very beginning, as Bauer showed in his criticism of the New Testament.[a] But that only affirms a general phenomenon and does not explain the particular case in question.

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[a] G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte.* See G. W. F. Hegel, *Werke,* Bd. IX, 2. Aufl., Berlin, 1840, S. 11-15.—*Ed.*

A religion that brought the Roman world empire into subjection and dominated by far the larger part of civilised humanity for 1,800 years cannot be disposed of merely by declaring it to be nonsense gleaned together by deceivers. One cannot dispose of it before one succeeds in explaining its origin and its development from the historical conditions under which it arose and reached its dominating position. This applies especially to Christianity. The question to be solved, then, is how it came about that the masses in the Roman Empire preferred this nonsense—which was preached, into the bargain, by slaves and oppressed—to all other religions so that the ambitious Constantine finally saw in the adoption of this religion of nonsense the best means of exalting himself to the position of autocrat of the Roman world.[485]

Bruno Bauer contributed far more to answering this question than anybody else. No matter how much even the half-believing theologians of the period of reaction may have resisted it since 1849, he irrefutably proved the chronological order of the Gospels and their mutual interdependence, shown by Wilke from the purely linguistic standpoint,[b] by the very contents of the Gospels themselves. He exposed the utter lack of scientific spirit of Strauss' vague myth theory[c] according to which anybody can consider historical as much as he likes in the Gospel narrations. And if almost nothing from the whole content of the Gospels turns out to be historically provable—so that even the historical existence of a Jesus Christ can be questioned—Bauer has thereby only cleared the ground for the solution of the question: what is the origin of the ideas and thoughts that have been woven together into a sort of system in Christianity, and how did they come to dominate the world?

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[a] See the following books by Bruno Bauer: *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte des Johannes* (Bremen, 1840); *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker* (Vols. 1 and 2, Leipzig, 1841) and the third volume of this book entitled *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker und des Johannes* (Brunswick, 1842); *Kritik der Evangelien und Geschichte ihres Ursprungs* (Vols. 1-4, Berlin, 1850-52); *Die Apostelgeschichte. Eine Ausgleichung des Paulinismus und des Judenthums innerhalb der christlichen Kirche* (Berlin, 1850); *Kritik der paulinischen Briefe* (Abt. 1-3, Berlin, 1850-52).—*Ed.*

[b] Ch. G. Wilke, *Der Urevangelist oder exegetisch kritische Untersuchung über das Verwandtschaftsverhältniß der drei ersten Evangelien* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1838).—*Ed.*

[c] D. Fr. Strauß, *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (Vols. 1-2, Tübingen, 1835-36); B. Bauer, *Philo, Strauß und Renan und das Urchristenthum* (Berlin, 1874).—*Ed.*

Bauer studied this question until his death. His research reached its culminating point in the conclusion that the Alexandrian Jew Philo, who was still living about A.D. 40 but was already very old, was the real father of Christianity, and that the Roman stoic Seneca was, so to speak, its uncle.[a] The numerous writings attributed to Philo[b] which have been passed down to us do indeed originate in a fusion of allegorically and rationalistically conceived Jewish traditions with Greek, particularly stoic, philosophy.[486] This conciliation of Occidental and Oriental outlooks already contains all the essentially Christian ideas: the innate sinfulness of man, the *Logos*, the Word, which is with God and is God and which becomes the mediator between God and Man; atonement, not by sacrifices of animals, but by bringing one's own heart to God, and finally the essential feature that the new religious philosophy reverses the previous world order, seeks its disciples among the poor, the miserable, the slaves and the rejected and despises the rich, the powerful and the privileged, whence the precept to despise all worldly pleasures and to mortify the flesh.

On the other hand, Augustus saw to it in his time that not only the God-man, but also the so-called immaculate conception became formulas imposed by the empire. He not only had Caesar and himself worshipped as gods, he also had it spread that he, Augustus Caesar Divus, the Divine, was not the son of a human father but that his mother had conceived him of the god Apollo. But was not that god Apollo perhaps a relation of the one sung by Heinrich Heine?[487]

As we see, we need only the keystone and we have the whole of Christianity in its basic features: the incarnation of the *Logos* become man in a definite person and his sacrifice on the cross for the redemption of sinful mankind.

Truly reliable sources leave us uncertain as to how this keystone was historically introduced into the Stoic-Philonic doctrines. But this much is certain: it was not introduced by philosophers, either Philo's disciples or stoics. Religions are founded by people who feel a need for religion themselves and have a feeling for the religious needs of the masses, and as a rule this is not the case with philosophical schools. On the contrary we find that in times of general decay—now, for instance—philosophy and religious dogmatism are shallowly and universally spread in a vulgarised form. While classical Greek philosophy in its last forms—particularly in the Epicurean school[488]—led to atheistic materialism, Greek vulgar philosophy led to the doctrine of a one and only God and of the immortality of the human soul. Likewise Judaism, rationally vulgarised in mixture and intercourse with aliens and half-Jews, came to neglect the ritual and transform the formerly exclusively Jewish national god, Jahveh,* into the one true God, the creator of heaven and earth, and adopt the idea of the immortality of the soul which was alien to early Judaism. Thus monotheistic vulgar philosophy came into contact with vulgar religion, which presented it with the ready-made one and only God. And so the ground was prepared on which the elaboration among the Jews of the likewise vulgarised Philonic notions could produce Christianity which, once produced, could find acceptance among the Greeks and Romans. The fact that it was popularised Philonic notions and not Philo's own works that gave birth to Christianity is proved by the New Testament's almost complete disregard of most of these works, particularly the allegorical and philosophical interpretation of the narrations of the Old Testament. This is an aspect to which Bauer did not devote enough attention.

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[a] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren. Der Ursprung des Christenthums aus dem römischen Griechenthum*, Berlin, 1877.—*Ed.*

[b] Philo, *Legum allegoriae*; *Quaestiones in Exodum*; *Quaestiones in Genesin.*—*Ed.*

One can get an idea of what Christianity looked like in its early form by reading the so-called Revelation of John. Wild, confused fanaticism, only the beginnings of dogmas, of the so-called Christian morals, only the mortification of the flesh, but on the other hand a multitude of visions and prophecies. The emergence of the dogmas and moral doctrine belongs to a later period in which the Gospels and the so-called Epistles of the Apostles were written. In this—at least as regards morality—unceremonious use was made of the philosophy of the stoics, of Seneca in particular. Bauer proved that the Epistles often copy the latter word for word[b], in fact, even the faithful noticed this, but they maintained that Seneca had copied from the New Testament, though it had not yet been written in his

* As Ewald has already proved,[a] the Jews used dotted script (containing vowels and reading signs) to write under the consonants in the name of Jahveh, which it was forbidden to pronounce, the vowels of the word *Adonai*, which they read in its place. This was subsequently read as Jehovah. This word is therefore not the name of a god but only a vulgar mistake in grammar: in Hebrew it is simply impossible.

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[a] H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, Second ed., Vol. 4, Göttingen, 1852, pp. 222-24.—*Ed.*

[b] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren...*, pp. 47-61 ("Seneca im Neuen Testament").—*Ed.*

time. Dogma developed, on the one hand, in connection with the evangelical legend of Jesus which was then taking shape and, on the other hand, in the struggle between Jewish Christians and those of pagan origin.

Bauer also gives very valuable data on the causes which helped Christianity to triumph and attain world domination.[a] But here the German philosopher is prevented by his idealism from seeing clearly and formulating precisely. Phrases often replace substance at decisive points. Instead, therefore, of going into details on Bauer's views, we shall better give our own conception of this point, based on Bauer's works and also on our personal study.

The Roman conquest first directly dissolved in all subjugated countries the previous political systems and then indirectly also the old social conditions of life. Firstly, by substituting the simple distinction between Roman citizens and non-citizens or subjects of the state for the former organisation according to social estates (slavery apart). Secondly, and mainly, by exacting tribute in the name of the Roman state. If under the empire a limit was set as far as possible in the interest of the State to the governors' thirst for wealth, that thirst was replaced by ever more effective and oppressive taxation for the benefit of the state treasury, an exaction which was terribly destructive. Thirdly, and finally, Roman law was administered everywhere by Roman judges while the native social systems were declared invalid insofar as they did not tally with the provisions of Roman law. These three levers were bound to develop a tremendous levelling power, particularly when they were applied for a century or two to populations the most vigorous part of which had been either suppressed or taken away into slavery in the battles preceding, accompanying and often even following the conquest. Social relations in the provinces came nearer and nearer to those obtaining in the capital and in Italy. The population became more and more sharply divided into three classes thrown together out of the most varied elements and nationalities: rich people, including not a few emancipated slaves (cf. Petronius[b]), big landowners or usurers or both at once, like Seneca, the uncle of Christianity; propertyless free people, who in Rome were fed and amused by the state—in the provinces they got on as they could by themselves—and finally the great mass, the slaves. In relation to the state, i.e., the emperor, the first two classes had almost as few rights as the slaves in relation to their masters. From the time of Tiberius to that of Nero in particular, it was a practice to sentence rich Romans to death in order to confiscate their property. The support of the government was, materially, the army, which was more like an army of hired mercenaries than the old Roman peasant army, and morally, the general view that there was no way out of this situation; that not, indeed, this or that emperor, but an empire based on military domination was an inevitable necessity. Here is not the place to examine what eminently material facts this view was based on.

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[a] B. Bauer, *Christus und die Caesaren...*; *Philo, Strauß und Renan...*—*Ed.*

[b] Engels is referring to Petronius' *Satyricon* where he describes a feast in the house of an emancipated slave, Trimalchionis, who became rich.—*Ed.*

General slackening and demoralisation were consonant with the general lawlessness and despair as to the possibility of better conditions. The few surviving old Romans of the patrician type and views were either removed or died out; Tacitus was the last of them. The others were glad if they were able to keep away from public life; all they existed for was to collect and enjoy riches, and to indulge in private gossip and private intrigue. The propertyless free citizens were state pensioners in Rome, but in the provinces their condition was an unhappy one. They had to work, and to compete with slave labour into the bargain. But they were confined to the towns. Besides them, there were in the provinces peasants, free landowners (here and there probably still in communal-ownership) and, as in Gaul, bondsmen for debts to big landowners. This class was the least affected by the social upheaval; it was also the one to resist the religious upheaval longest.* Finally, there were the slaves, deprived of rights and of their own will and the possibility to free themselves, as the defeat of Spartacus had already proved[489]; most of them, however, were former free citizens or sons of freed citizens. It must therefore have been among them that hatred of their condition of life was still generally vigorous, though externally powerless.

We shall find that the type of ideologists at the time corresponded to this state of affairs. The philosophers were either mere money-earning schoolmasters or buffoons in the pay of wealthy revellers. Some were even slaves. What became of them if they were fortunate is shown by Mr. Seneca. This stoic and preacher of virtue and abstinence was Nero's first court intriguer, which would not have been possible without servility; he secured

* According to Fallmerayer[a] the peasants in Maina, Peloponnesus, still offered sacrifices to Zeus in the ninth century.

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[a] J. Ph. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters.* Ein historischer Versuch, Part 1, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1830, p. 227.—*Ed.*

from Nero presents in money, estates, gardens and palaces, and, while he preached the poor man Lazarus of the Gospel, he was in reality the rich man in the same parable. Not until Nero wanted to get at him did he request the Emperor to take back all his presents, his philosophy being enough for him. Only a very few isolated philosophers like Persius had the courage to brandish the lash of satire over their degenerated contemporaries. But as for the second type of ideologists, the jurists, they enthused at the new system because the abolition of all differences between social estates allowed them broad scope in elaborating their favourite private law, in return for which they prepared for the emperors the vilest system of state law that ever existed.

With the political and social peculiarities of the peoples, the Roman Empire also doomed to ruin their particular religions. All religions of antiquity were naturally arising tribal and later national religions which sprang from and grew together with the social and political conditions of the respective peoples. Once these, their foundations, were destroyed and their traditional forms of society, their inherited political institutions and their national independence shattered, the religion corresponding to these naturally also collapsed. The national gods could suffer other national gods, in other nations beside them, as was the general rule in antiquity, but not above them. The transplantation of Oriental divinities to Rome was harmful only to the Roman religion, but could not check the decay of the Oriental religions. As soon as the national gods are unable to protect the independence and sovereignty of their nation, they engineer their own destruction. This was the case everywhere (except with peasants, especially in the mountains). What vulgar philosophical enlightenment—I almost said Voltairianism—did in Rome and Greece, was done in the provinces by Roman subjugation and the replacement of men proud of their freedom by desperate subjects and self-seeking ragamuffins.

Such was the material and moral situation. The present was unbearable, the future perhaps still more menacing. There was no way out. Only despair or refuge in the commonest sensuous pleasure, for *those* at least who could afford it, and they were a tiny minority. Otherwise, nothing but languid surrender to the inevitable.

But in all classes there were necessarily a number of people who, despairing of material salvation, sought in its stead a spiritual salvation, a consolation in their consciousness to save them from utter despair. This consolation could not be provided by the stoics, any more than by the Epicurean school, for the very reason that they are philosophies and therefore not intended for the common consciousness and, secondly, because the conduct of their disciples brought the doctrines of the schools into disrepute. The consolation was to be a substitute not for the lost philosophy, but for the lost religion; it had to take on a religious form, just as anything which was to grip the masses then and even as late as the seventeenth century.

We hardly need to note that of those who were pining for such consolation of their consciousness, for this flight from the external world into the internal, the majority were among the *slaves*.

It was in the midst of this general economic, political, intellectual and moral decay that Christianity appeared. It was decisively at odds with all previous religions.

In all previous religions ritual had been the main thing. Only by taking part in the sacrifices and processions, and in the Orient by observing the most cumbersome diet and cleanliness regulations, could one show to what religion one belonged. While Rome and Greece were tolerant in the latter respect, there was in the Orient an obsession with religious prohibitions that contributed no little to the final collapse. People of two different religions (Egyptians, Persians, Jews, Chaldeans) could not eat or drink together, perform any everyday act together, or hardly speak to each other. It was largely due to this segregation of man from man that the Orient met its demise. Christianity knows no distinctive rituals, not even the sacrifices and processions of the classical world. By thus rejecting all national religions and their common ritual and addressing itself to all peoples without distinction, it becomes the *first potential world religion*. Judaism, too, with its new universal god, had made a start towards becoming a world religion; but the children of Israel always remained an aristocracy among the believers and the circumcised, and Christianity itself had to get rid of the notion of the superiority of the Jewish Christians (still dominant in the so-called Revelation of John) before it could really become a world religion. Islam itself, on the other hand, by preserving its specifically Oriental ritual, limited the area of its propagation to the Orient and the North Africa conquered and populated anew by Arab Bedouins; here it could become the dominant religion, but not in the West.

Secondly, Christianity struck a chord that was bound to echo in countless hearts. To all complaints about the wickedness of the times and the general material and moral misery, Christian consciousness of sin answered: It is so and it cannot be otherwise;

thou art to blame, ye are all to blame for the corruption of the world, thine and your own internal corruption! And where was the man who could deny it? *Mea culpa!*[a] The admission of each one's share in the responsibility for the general misfortune was irrefutable and was made now the precondition for the spiritual salvation which Christianity at the same time announced. And this spiritual salvation was so instituted that it could be easily understood by members of every old religious community. The idea of atonement to placate the offended deity was current in all the old religions; how could the idea of the self-sacrifice of the mediator atoning once and for all for the sins of humanity not easily find ground there? Christianity, therefore, clearly expressed the universal feeling that men themselves are guilty of the general decay as the consciousness of sin of each one; at the same time it provided, in the sacrificial death of its founder, a form easily understood everywhere of the universally longed-for internal salvation from the decadent world, the consolation of consciousness; it thus again proved its capacity to become a world religion and, indeed, a religion which suited the world as it then was.

So it happened that among the thousands of prophets and preachers in the desert that filled that period with their countless religious renovations the founders of Christianity alone met with success. Not only Palestine, but the entire Orient, swarmed with such founders of religions, and between them there raged what can be called a Darwinist struggle for ideological existence.[490] Thanks mainly to the elements mentioned above, Christianity won the day. How it gradually developed its character of a world religion by natural selection in the struggle of sects amongst themselves and against the pagan world is taught in detail by the history of the Church in the first three centuries.

Written in the latter half of April 1882

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, Nos. 19 and 20, May 4 and 11, 1882

Signed: *F. Engels*

Printed according to the manuscript, checked with the text of the newspaper

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[a] My fault.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

THE VICAR OF BRAY[491]

In good King Charles's golden days
When loyalty no harm meant,
A zealous high-church man I was,
And so I got preferment:
To teach my flock I never miss'd,
Kings are by God appointed,
And damn'd are those that do resist.
Or touch The Lord's Anointed,
And this is law I will maintain,
Until my dying day, Sir,
That whatsoever king shall reign,
I'll be the vicar of Bray, Sir.

When royal James obtain'd the crown,
And popery came in fashion,
The penal laws I hooted down,
And read the Declaration:
The church of Rome I found would fit
Full well my constitution;
And had become a Jesuit,
But for the Revolution.
And this is law, &c.

When William was our King declar'd,
To ease the nation's grievance;
With this new wind about I steer'd,
And swore to him allegiance:
Old principles I did revoke,
Set conscience at a distance;
Passive obedience was a joke,
A jest was non-resistance.
And this is law, &c.

When gracious Ann became our queen,
The Church of England's glory,
Another face of things was seen,
And I became a Tory:
Occasional conformists base,
I damn'd their moderation;
And thought the church in danger was,
By such prevarication.
And this is law, &c.

When George in pudding-time came o'er,
And moderate men look'd big, Sir,
I turn'd a cat-in-pan once more,
And so became a Whig, Sir;
And thus preferment I procur'd
From our new faith's-defender;
And almost ev'ry day abjur'd
The Pope and the Pretender.
And this is law, &c.

Th'illustrious house of Hanover,
And Protestant succession;
To these I do allegiance swear—
While they can keep possession:
For in my faith and loyalty,
I never more will falter,
And George my lawful king shall be—
Until the times do alter.
And this is law I will maintain,
Until my dying day, Sir,
That whatsoever king shall reign,
I'll be the vicar of Bray, Sir![a]

The above song is probably the only political folk song to have remained in favour in England for more than 160 years. This is largely attributable to its fine tune, which is still sung everywhere today. Moreover, the song is far from outdated, even with regard to present-day conditions in Germany. Though, in the meantime, as is only fit and proper, we have made some progress. The good vicar of the original had only to turn his coat at every change of monarch. But we Germans have, above our many political vicars of Bray, a true Pope of Bray,[a] who demonstrates his infallibility by himself radically overturning the entire political doctrine at ever decreasing intervals. Yesterday free trade, today protective tariffs[492]; yesterday freedom of craft, today compulsory guilds; yesterday *Kulturkampf*,[493] today off to Canossa[494] with flying colours—and why not? *Omnia in majorem Dei gloriam* (All for the greater glory of God), which in German means: everything in order to extract more taxes and more soldiers. And the poor little vicars have to go along with it; they have to "jump through the hoops", as they themselves put it again and again, and often, at that, without compensation. With what scorn our stern old vicar would look down on these puny successors of his—he, who was genuinely proud of the courage with which he maintained his position through every storm!

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[a] The English poem is cited from Joseph Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, in three volumes, 2nd ed., Vol. II, London, 1813, pp. 141-43. For Engels' German translation of this poem see Note 491.—*Ed.*

Fr. Engels[b]

Written at the end of August and the beginning of September 1882

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Published in English in full for the first time

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[a] A reference to Bismarck.—*Ed.*

[b] There is no signature in the manuscript.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

THE MARK[495]

Written in the middle of September-the first half of December 1882

First published as an appendix to F. Engels' book *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft,* Hottingen-Zurich, 1882

Printed according to the authorised English edition of Engels' pamphlet, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* 1892, checked with the fourth German edition (1891) of the book

In a country like Germany, in which quite half the population live by agriculture, it is necessary that the socialist working-men, and through them the peasants, should learn how the present system of landed property, large as well as small, has arisen. It is necessary to contrast the misery of the agricultural labourers of the present time and the mortgage-servitude of the small peasants, with the old common property of all free men in what was then in truth their "fatherland", the free common possession of all by inheritance.

I shall give, therefore, a short historical sketch of the primitive agrarian conditions of the German tribes. A few traces of these have survived until our own time, but all through the Middle Ages they served as the basis and as the type of all public institutions, and permeated the whole of public life, not only in Germany, but also in the north of France, England, and Scandinavia. And yet they have been so completely forgotten, that recently G. L. Maurer has had to re-discover their real significance.[496]

Two fundamental facts, that arose spontaneously, govern the primitive history of all, or of almost all, nations; the grouping of the people according to kindred, and common property in the soil. And this was the case with the Germans. As they had brought with them from Asia the method of grouping by tribes and gentes, as they even in the time of the Romans so drew up their battle array, that those related to each other always stood shoulder to shoulder, this grouping also governed the partitioning of their new territory east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. Each tribe settled down upon the new possession, not according to whim or accident, but, as Caesar expressly states,[a] according to the gens-relationship between the members of the tribe. A particular area was apportioned to each of the nearly related larger groups, and on this again the individual gentes, each including a certain number of families, settled down by villages. A number of allied villages formed a hundred (old high German, *huntari*; old Norse, *heradh*). A number of hundreds formed a *gau* or shire. The sum total of the shires was the people itself.

The land which was not taken possession of by the village remained at the disposal of the hundred. What was not assigned to the latter remained for the shire. Whatever after that was still to be disposed of—generally a very large tract of land—was the immediate possession of the whole people. Thus in Sweden we find all these different stages of common holding side by side. Each village had its village common land (*bys almänningar*), and beyond this was the hundred common land (*härads*), the shire common land (*lands*), and finally the people's common land. This last, claimed by the king as representative of the whole nation, was known therefore as *Konungs almänningar.* But all of these, even the royal lands, were named, without distinction, *almänningar,* common land.

This old Swedish arrangement of the common land, in its minute subdivision, evidently belongs to a later stage of development. If it ever did exist in Germany, it soon vanished. The rapid increase in the population led to the establishment of a number of daughter-villages on the *Mark,* i.e., on the large tract of land attributed to each individual mother village. These daughter-villages formed a single mark-association with the mother village, on the basis of equal or of restricted rights. Thus we find everywhere in Germany, so far as research goes back, a larger or smaller number of villages united in one mark-association. But these associations were, at least, at first, still subject to the great federations of the marks of the hundred, or of the shire. And, finally, the people, as a whole, originally formed one single great mark-association, not only for the administration of the land that remained the immediate possession of the people, but also as a supreme court over the subordinate local marks.

Until the time when the Frankish kingdom subdued Germany east of the Rhine, the centre of gravity of the mark-association seems to have been in the *gau* or shire—the shire seems to have formed the unit mark-association. For, upon this assumption alone is it explicable that, upon the official division of the kingdom, so many old and large marks reappear as shires.[a] Soon after this time began the decay of the old large marks. Yet even in the code known as the *Kaiserrecht*, the "Emperor's Law" of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, it is a general rule that a mark includes from six to twelve villages.[497]

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[a] Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico,* Book VI, Chapter 22.—*Ed.*

In Caesar's time a great part at least of the Germans, the Suevi, to wit, who had not yet got any fixed settlement, cultivated their fields in common. From analogy with other peoples we may take it that this was carried on in such a way that the individual gentes, each including a number of nearly related families, cultivated in common the land apportioned to them, which was changed from year to year, and divided the products among the families. But after the Suevi, about the beginning of our era, had settled down in their new domains, this soon ceased. At all events, Tacitus (150 years after Caesar) only mentions the tilling of the soil by individual families.[b] But the land to be tilled only belonged to these for a year. Every year it was divided up anew and redistributed.

How this was done, is still to be seen at the present time on the Moselle and in the Hochwald, on the so-called "Gehöferschaften".[c] There the whole of the land under cultivation, arable and meadows, not annually it is true, but every three, six, nine, or twelve years, is thrown together and parcelled out into a number of "Gewanne", or areas, according to situation and the quality of the soil. Each Gewann is again divided into as many equal parts, long, narrow strips, as there are claimants in the association. These are shared by lot among the members, so that every member receives an equal portion in each Gewann.[d] At the present time the shares have become unequal by divisions among heirs, sales, etc.; but the old full share still furnishes the unit that determines the half, or quarter, or one-eighth shares. The uncultivated land, forest and pasture land, is still a common possession for common use.

The same primitive arrangement obtained until the beginning of this century in the so-called assignments by lot (Loosgüter) of the Rhein Palatinate in Bavaria, whose arable land has since been turned into the private property of individuals. The Gehöferschaften also find it more and more to their interest to let the periodical re-division become obsolete and to turn the changing ownership into settled private property. Thus most of them, if not all, have died out in the last forty years and given place to villages with peasant proprietors[a] using the forests and pasture land in common.[498]

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "als Gerichtsgaue" ("as court-shires").— *Ed.*

[b] Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania*.— *Ed.*

[c] Farmstead communities.— *Ed.*

[d] The 1891 German edition further has: "i.e. a plot of every stretch of land, of soil of every quality".— *Ed.*

The first piece of ground that passed into the private property of individuals was that on which the house stood. The inviolability of the dwelling, that basis of all personal freedom, was transferred from the caravan of the nomadic train to the log house of the stationary peasant, and gradually was transformed into a complete right of property in the homestead. This had already come about in the time of Tacitus. The free German's homestead must, even in that time, have been excluded from the mark, and thereby inaccessible to its officials, a safe place of refuge for fugitives, as we find it described in the regulations of the marks of later times, and to some extent, even in the "leges Barbarorum", the codifications of German tribal customary law, written down from the fifth to the eighth century.[499] For the sacredness of the dwelling was not the effect but the cause of its transformation into private property.

Four or five hundred years after Tacitus, according to the same law-books, the cultivated land also was the hereditary, although not the absolute freehold property of individual peasants, who had the right to dispose of it by sale or any other means of transfer. The causes of this transformation, as far as we can trace them, are twofold.

First, from the beginning there were in Germany itself, besides the close villages already described, with their complete ownership in common of the land, other villages where, besides homesteads, the fields also were excluded from the mark, the property of the community, and were parcelled out among the individual peasants as their hereditary property. But this was only the case where the nature of the place, so to say, compelled it: in narrow valleys,[b] and on narrow, flat ridges between marshes, as in Westphalia; later on, in the Odenwald, and in almost all the Alpine valleys. In these places the village consisted, as it does now, of scattered individual dwellings, each surrounded by the fields belonging to it. A periodical re-division of the arable land was in these cases hardly possible, and so what remained within the mark was only the circumjacent untilled land. When, later, the right to dispose of the homestead by transfer to a third person became an important consideration, those who were free owners of their fields found themselves in an advantageous position. The wish to attain these advantages may have led in many of the villages with common ownership of the land to the letting the customary method of partition die out and to the transformation of the individual shares of the members into hereditary and transferable freehold property.

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[a] The 1891 German edition has: "with allotment peasants".— *Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has here: "as in the Berg country".— *Ed.*

But, second, conquest led the Germans on to Roman territory, where, for centuries, the soil had been private property (the unlimited property of Roman law), and where the small number of conquerors could not possibly altogether do away with a form of holding so deeply rooted. The connexion of hereditary private property in fields and meadows with Roman law, at all events on territory that had been Roman, is supported by the fact that such remains of common property in arable land as have come down to our time are found on the left bank of the Rhine—*i.e.*, on conquered territory, but territory *thoroughly Germanised.* When the Franks settled here in the fifth century, common ownership in the fields must still have existed among them, otherwise we should not find there Gehöferschaften and Loosgüter.[a] But here also private ownership soon got the mastery, for this form of holding only do we find mentioned, in so far as arable land is concerned, in the Ripuarian law of the sixth century.[500] And in the interior of Germany, as I have said, the cultivated land also soon became private property.

But if the German conquerors adopted private ownership in fields and meadows—*i.e.*, gave up at the first division of the land, or soon after, any re-partition (for it was nothing more than this), they introduced, on the other hand, everywhere their German mark system, with common holding of woods and pastures, together with the over-lordship of the mark in respect to the partitioned land. This happened not only with the Franks in the north of France and the Anglo-Saxons in England, but also with the Burgundians in Eastern France, the Visigoths in the south of France and Spain, and the Ostrogoths and Langobardians in Italy. In these last-named countries, however, as far as is known, traces of the mark government have lasted until the present time almost exclusively in the higher mountain regions.

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[a] land distributed by drawing lots.—*Ed.*

The form that the mark government has assumed after the periodical partition of the cultivated land had fallen into disuse, is that which now meets us, not only in the old popular laws of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, but also in the English and Scandinavian law-books of the Middle Ages, in the many German mark regulations (the so-called *Weisthümer*[501]) from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and in the customary laws (*coûtumes*) of Northern France.

Whilst the association of the mark gave up the right of, from time to time, partitioning fields and meadows anew among its individual members, it did not give up a single one of its other rights over these lands. And these rights were very important. The association had only transferred their fields to individuals with a view to their being used as arable and meadow land, and with that view alone. Beyond that the individual owner had no right. Treasures found in the earth, if they lay deeper than the ploughshare goes, did not, therefore, originally belong to him, but to the community. It was the same thing with digging for ores, and the like. All these rights were, later on, stolen by the princes and landlords for their own use.

But, further, the use of arable and meadow lands was under the supervision and direction of the community and that in the following form. Wherever three-field farming obtained—and that was almost everywhere—the whole cultivated area of the village was divided into three equal parts, each of which was alternately sown one year with winter seed, the second with summer seed, and the third lay fallow. Thus the village had each year its winter field, its summer field, its fallow field. In the partition of the land care was taken that each member's share was made up of equal portions from each of the three fields, so that everyone could, without difficulty, accommodate himself to the regulations of the community, in accordance with which he would have to sow autumn seed only in his winter field, and so on.

The field whose turn it was to lie fallow returned, for the time being, into the common possession, and served the community in general for pasture. And as soon as the two other fields were reaped, they likewise became again common property until seed-time, and were used as common pasturage. The same thing occurred with the meadows after the aftermath. The owners had to remove the fences upon all fields given over to pasturage. This compulsory pasturage, of course, made it necessary that the time of sowing and of reaping should not be left to the individual, but be fixed for all by the community or by custom.

All other land, *i.e.*, all that was not house and farmyard, or so much of the mark as had been distributed among individuals, remained, as in early times, common property for common use; forests, pasture lands, heaths, moors, rivers, ponds, lakes, roads and bridges, hunting and fishing grounds. Just as the share of each member in so much of the mark as was distributed was of equal size, so was his share also in the use of the "common mark". The nature of this use was determined by the members of the community as a whole. So, too, was the mode of partition, if the soil that had been cultivated no longer sufficed, and a portion of the common mark was taken under cultivation. The chief use of the common mark was in pasturage for the cattle and feeding of pigs on acorns. Besides that, the forest yielded timber and firewood, litter for the animals, berries and mushrooms, whilst the moor, where it existed, yielded turf. The regulations as to pasture, the use of wood, etc., make up the most part of the many mark records written down at various epochs between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries, at the time when the old unwritten law of custom began to be contested. The common woodlands that are still met with here and there, are the remnants of these ancient unpartitioned marks. Another relic, at all events in West and South Germany, is the idea, deeply rooted in the popular consciousness, that the forest should be common property, wherein every one may gather flowers, berries, mushrooms, beechnuts and the like, and generally so long as he does no mischief, act and do as he will. But this also Bismarck remedies, and with his famous berry-legislation[502] brings down the Western Provinces to the level of the old Prussian squirearchy.

Just as the members of the community originally had equal shares in the soil and equal rights of usage, so they had also an equal share in the legislation, administration, and jurisdiction within the mark. At fixed times and, if necessary, more frequently, they met in the open air to discuss the affairs of the mark and to sit in judgment upon breaches of regulations and disputes concerning the mark. It was, only in miniature, the primitive assembly of the German people, which was, originally, nothing other than a great assembly of the mark. Laws were made, but only in rare cases of necessity. Officials were chosen, their conduct in office examined, but chiefly judicial functions were exercised. The president had only to formulate the questions. The judgment was given by the aggregate of the members present.

The unwritten law of the mark was, in primitive times, pretty much the only public law of those German tribes, which had no kings; the old tribal nobility, which disappeared during the conquest of the Roman empire,[a] or soon after, easily fitted itself into this primitive constitution, as easily as all other spontaneous growths of the time, just as the Celtic clan-nobility, even as late as the seventeenth century, found its place in the Irish holding of the soil in common. And this unwritten law has struck such deep roots into the whole life of the Germans, that we find traces of it at every step and turn in the historical development of our people. In primitive times, the whole public authority in time of peace was exclusively judicial, and rested in the popular assembly of the hundred, the shire, or of the whole tribe. But this popular tribunal was only the popular tribunal of the mark adapted to cases that did not purely concern the mark, but came within the scope of the public authority. Even when the Frankish kings began to transform the self-governing shires into provinces governed by royal delegates, and thus separated the royal shire-courts from the common mark tribunals, in both the judicial function remained vested in the people. It was only when the old democratic freedom had been long undermined, when attendance at the public assemblies and tribunals had become a severe burden upon the impoverished freemen, that Charlemagne, in his shire-courts,[b] could introduce judgment by Schöffen, lay assessors, appointed by the king's judge, in the place of judgment by the whole popular assembly.* But this did not seriously touch the tribunals of the mark. These, on the contrary, still remained the model even for the feudal tribunals in the Middle Ages. In these, too, the feudal lord only formulated the issues, whilst the vassals themselves found the verdict. The institutions governing a village during the Middle Ages are but those of an independent village mark, and passed into those of a town as soon as the village was transformed into a town, *i.e.*, was fortified with walls and trenches. All later constitutions of cities have grown out of these original town mark regulations. And finally, from the assembly of the mark were copied the arrangements of the numberless free associations of mediaeval times not based upon common holding

* Not to be confused with the Schöffen courts after the manner of Bismarck and Leonhardt,[503] in which lawyers and lay assessors combined find verdict and judgment. In the old judicial courts there were no lawyers at all, the presiding judge had no vote at all, and the Schöffen or lay assessors gave the verdict independently.

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[a] The 1891 German edition has: "which disappeared during the Völkerwanderung or soon after it".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition has: "in most shire-courts".—*Ed.*

of the land, and especially those of the free guilds. The rights conferred upon the guild for the exclusive carrying on of a particular trade were dealt with just as if they were rights in a common mark. With the same jealousy, often with precisely the same means in the guilds as in the mark, care was taken that the share of each member in the common benefits and advantages should be equal, or as nearly equal as possible.

All this shows the mark organisation to have possessed an almost wonderful capacity for adaptation to the most different departments of public life and to the most various ends. The same qualities it manifested during the progressive development of agriculture and in the struggle of the peasants with the advance of large landed property. It had arisen with the settlement of the Germans in Germania Magna, that is, at a time when the breeding of cattle was the chief means of livelihood, and when the rudimentary, half-forgotten agriculture which they had brought with them from Asia was only just put into practice again. It held its own all through the Middle Ages in fierce, incessant conflicts with the land-holding nobility. But it was still such a necessity that wherever the nobles had appropriated the peasants' land, the villages inhabited by these peasants, now turned into serfs, or at best into *coloni* or dependent tenants, were still organised on the lines of the old mark, in spite of the constantly increasing encroachments of the lords of the manor. Farther on we will give an example of this. It adapted itself to the most different forms of holding the cultivated land, so long as only an uncultivated common was still left, and in like manner to the most different rights of property in the common mark, as soon as this ceased to be the free property of the community.[a] It died out when almost the whole of the peasants' lands, both private and common,[b] were stolen by the nobles and the clergy, with the willing help of the princes. But economically obsolete and incapable of continuing as the prevalent social organisation of agriculture it became only when the great advances in farming of the last hundred years made agriculture a science and led to altogether new systems of carrying it on.

The undermining of the mark organisation began soon after the conquest of the Roman empire.[c] As representatives of the nation, the Frankish kings took possession of the immense territories belonging to the people as a whole, especially the forests, in order to squander them away as presents to their courtiers, to their generals, to bishops and abbots. Thus they laid the foundation of the great landed estates, later on, of the nobles and the Church. Long before the time of Charlemagne, the Church had a full third of all the land in France, and it is certain that, during the Middle Ages, this proportion held generally for the whole of Catholic Western Europe.

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[a] In the German edition of 1891 this sentence ends as follows: "as soon as this [the Mark] ceased to be free".—*Ed.*

[b] The 1891 German edition reads here: "both divided and undivided".—*Ed.*

[c] The German edition of 1891 has here: "after the Völkerwanderung".—*Ed.*

The constant wars, internal and external, whose regular consequences were confiscations of land, ruined a great number of peasants, so that even during the Merovingian dynasty,[504] there were very many free men owning no land. The incessant wars of Charlemagne broke down the mainstay of the free peasantry. Originally every freeholder owed service, and not only had to equip himself, but also to maintain himself under arms for six months. No wonder that even in Charlemagne's time scarcely one man in five could be actually got to serve. Under the chaotic rule of his successors, the freedom of the peasants went still more rapidly to the dogs. On the one hand, the ravages of the Northmen's invasions, the eternal wars between kings, and feuds between nobles, compelled one free peasant after another to seek the protection of some lord. Upon the other hand, the covetousness of these same lords and of the Church hastened this process; by fraud, by promises, threats, violence, they forced more and more peasants and peasants' land under their yoke. In both cases, the peasants' land was added to the lord's manor, and was, at best, only given back for the use of the peasant in return for tribute and service. Thus the peasant, from a free owner of the land, was turned into a tribute-paying, service-rendering appanage of it, into a serf. This was the case in the western Frankish kingdom,[505] especially west of the Rhine. East of the Rhine, on the other hand, a large number of free peasants still held their own, for the most part scattered, occasionally united in villages entirely composed of freemen. Even here, however, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, the overwhelming power of the nobles and the Church was constantly forcing more and more peasants into serfdom.

When a large landowner—clerical or lay—got hold of a peasant's holding, he acquired with it, at the same time, the rights in the mark that appertained to the holding. The new landlords were thus members of the mark and, within the mark, they were, originally, only regarded as on an equality with the other members of it, whether free or serfs, even if these happened to be their own bondsmen. But soon, in spite of the dogged resistance of the peasants, the lords acquired in many places special privileges in the mark, and were often able to make the whole of it subject to their own rule as lords of the manor. Nevertheless the old organisation of the mark continued, though now it was presided over and encroached upon by the lord of the manor.

How absolutely necessary at that time the constitution of the mark was for agriculture, even on large estates, is shown in the most striking way by the colonisation of Brandenburg and Silesia by Frisian and Saxon settlers, and by settlers from the Netherlands and the Frankish banks of the Rhine. From the twelfth century, the people were settled in villages on the lands of the lords according to German law, *i.e.*, according to the old mark law, so far as it still held on the manors owned by lords. Every man had house and homestead; a share in the village fields, determined after the old method by lot, and of the same size for all; and the right of using the woods and pastures, generally in the woods of the lord of the manor, less frequently in a special mark. These rights were hereditary. The fee simple of the land continued in the lord, to whom the colonists owed certain hereditary tributes and services. But these dues were so moderate, that the condition of the peasants was better here than anywhere else in Germany. Hence, they kept quiet when the peasants' war broke out. For this apostasy from their own cause they were sorely chastised.

About the middle of the thirteenth century there was everywhere a decisive change in favour of the peasants. The crusades[506] had prepared the way for it. Many of the lords, when they set out to the East, explicitly set their peasant serfs free. Others were killed or never returned. Hundreds of noble families vanished, whose peasant serfs frequently gained their freedom. Moreover, as the needs of the landlords increased, the command over the payments in kind and services of the peasants became much more important than that over their persons. The serfdom of the earlier Middle Ages, which still had in it much of ancient slavery, gave to the lords rights which lost more and more their value; it gradually vanished, the position of the serfs narrowed itself down to that of simple hereditary tenants. As the method of cultivating the land remained exactly as of old, an increase in the revenues of the lord of the manor was only to be obtained by the breaking up of new ground, the establishing of new villages. But this was only possible by a friendly agreement with the colonists, whether they belonged to the estate or were strangers. Hence, in the documents of this time, we meet with a clear determination and a moderate scale of the peasants' dues, and good treatment of the peasants, especially by the spiritual landlords. And, lastly, the favourable position of the new colonists reacted again on the condition of their neighbours, the bondmen, so that in all the North of Germany these also, whilst they continued their services to the lords of the manor, received their personal freedom. The Slav and Lithuanian peasants alone were not freed. But this was not to last.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the towns rose rapidly, and became rapidly rich. Their artistic handicraft, their luxurious life, throve and flourished, especially in South Germany and on the Rhine. The profusion of the town patricians aroused the envy of the coarsely-fed, coarsely-clothed, roughly-furnished, country lords. But whence to obtain all these fine things? Lying in wait for travelling merchants became more and more dangerous and unprofitable. But to buy them, money was requisite. And that the peasants alone could furnish. Hence, renewed oppression of the peasants, higher tributes, and more corvée; hence renewed and always increasing eagerness to force the free peasants to become bondmen, the bondmen to become serfs, and to turn the common mark-land into land belonging to the lord. In this the princes and nobles were helped by the Roman jurists, who, with their application of Roman jurisprudence to German conditions, for the most part not understood by them, knew how to produce endless confusion, but yet that sort of confusion by which the lord always won and the peasant always lost. The spiritual lords helped themselves in a more simple way. They forged documents, by which the rights of the peasants were curtailed and their duties increased. Against these robberies by the landlords,[a] the peasants, from the end of the fifteenth century, frequently rose in isolated insurrections, until, in 1525, the great Peasants' War overflowed Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, extending into Alsace, the Palatinate, the Rheingau, and Thuringen. The peasants succumbed after hard fighting. From that time dates the renewed predominance of serfdom amongst the German peasants generally. In those places where the fight had raged, all remaining rights of the peasants were now shamelessly trodden under foot, their common land turned into the property of the lord, they themselves into serfs. The North German peasants, being placed in more favourable conditions, had remained quiet; their only reward was that they fell under the same subjection, only more slowly. Serfdom is introduced among the German peasantry from the middle of the sixteenth century in Eastern Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, and from the end of that century in Schleswig-Holstein, and henceforth becomes more and more their general condition.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "by the princes, nobles and priests".—*Ed.*

This new act of violence had, however, an economic cause. From the wars consequent upon the Protestant Reformation, only the German princes had gained greater power. It was now all up with the nobles' favourite trade of highway robbery. If the nobles were not to go to ruin, greater revenues had to be got out of their landed property. But the only way to effect this was to work at least a part of their own estates on their own account, upon the model of the large estates of the princes, and especially of the monasteries. That which had hitherto been the exception now became a necessity. But this new agricultural plan was stopped by the fact that almost everywhere the soil had been given to tribute-paying peasants. As soon as the tributary peasants, whether free men or *coloni*, had been turned into serfs, the noble lords had a free hand. Part of the peasants were, as it is now called in Ireland,[a] evicted, *i.e.*, either hunted away or degraded to the level of cottars, with mere huts and a bit of garden land, whilst the ground belonging to their homestead was made part and parcel of the demesne of the lord, and was cultivated by the new cottars and such peasants as were still left, in *corvée* labour. Not only were many peasants thus actually driven away, but the corvée service of those still left was enhanced considerably, and at an ever increasing rate. The capitalistic period announced itself in the country districts as the period of agricultural industry on a large scale, based upon the corvée labour of serfs.

This transformation took place at first rather slowly. But then came the Thirty Years' War.[507] For a whole generation Germany was overrun in all directions by the most licentious soldiery known to history. Everywhere was burning, plundering, rape, and murder. The peasant suffered most where, apart from the great armies, the smaller independent bands, or rather the freebooters, operated uncontrolled, and upon their own account. The devastation and depopulation were beyond all bounds. When peace came, Germany lay on the ground helpless, down-trodden, cut to pieces, bleeding; but, once again, the most pitiable, miserable of all was the peasant.

The land-owning noble was now the only lord in the country districts. The princes, who just at that time were reducing to nothing his political rights in the assemblies of Estates by way of compensation, left him a free hand against the peasants. The last power of resistance on the part of the peasants had been broken by the war. Thus the noble was able to arrange all agrarian conditions in the manner most conducive to the restoration of his ruined finances. Not only were the deserted homesteads of the peasants, without further ado, united with the lord's demesne; the eviction of the peasants was carried on wholesale and systematically. The greater the lord of the manor's demesne, the greater, of course, the corvée required from the peasants. The system of "unlimited corvée" was introduced anew; the noble lord was able to command the peasant, his family, his cattle, to labour for him, as often and as long as he pleased. Serfdom was now general; a free peasant was now as rare as a white crow. And in order that the noble lord might be in a position to nip in the bud the very smallest resistance on the part of the peasants, he received from the princes of the land the right of patrimonial jurisdiction, *i.e.*, he was nominated sole judge in all cases of offence and dispute among the peasants, even if the peasant's dispute was with him, the lord himself, so that the lord was judge in his own case! From that time, the stick and the whip ruled the agricultural districts. The German peasant, like the whole of Germany, had reached his lowest point of degradation. The peasant, like the whole of Germany, had become so powerless that all self-help failed him, and deliverance could only come from without.

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[a] The German edition of 1891 has here: "to use the technical term".—*Ed.*

And it came. With the French Revolution came for Germany also and for the German peasant the dawn of a better day. No sooner had the armies of the Revolution conquered the left bank of the Rhine, than all the old rubbish vanished, as at the stroke of an enchanter's wand—corvée service, rent dues of every kind to the lord, together with the noble lord himself. The peasant of the left bank of the Rhine was now lord of his own holding; moreover, in the Code Civil,[508] drawn up at the time of the Revolution and only baffled and botched by Napoleon, he received a code of laws adapted to his new conditions, that he could not only understand, but also carry comfortably in his pocket.

But the peasant on the right bank of the Rhine had still to wait a long time. It is true that in Prussia, after the well-deserved defeat at Jena,[509] some of the most shameful privileges of the nobles were abolished, and the so-called redemption of such peasants' burdens as were still left was made legally possible. But to a great extent and for a long time this was only on paper. In the other German States, still less was done. A second French Revolution, that of 1830, was needed to bring about the "redemption" in Baden and certain other small States bordering upon France. And at the moment when the third French Revolution, in 1848, at last carried Germany along with it, the redemption was far from being completed in Prussia, and in Bavaria had not even begun. After that, it went along more rapidly and unimpeded; the corvée labour of the peasants. who had this time become rebellious on their own account, had lost all value.

And in what did this redemption consist? In this, that the noble lord, on receipt of a certain sum of money or of a piece of land from the peasant, should henceforth recognise the peasant's land, as much or as little as was left to him, as the peasant's property, free of all burdens; though all the land that had at any time belonged to the noble lord was nothing but land stolen from the peasants. Nor was this all. In these arrangements, the Government officials charged with carrying them out almost always took the side, naturally, of the lords, with whom they lived and caroused, so that the peasants, even against the letter of the law, were again defrauded right and left.

And thus, thanks to three French revolutions, and to the German one, that has grown out of them, we have once again a free peasantry. But how very inferior is the position of our free peasant of to-day compared with the free member of the mark of the olden time! His homestead is generally much smaller, and the unpartitioned mark is reduced to a few very small and poor bits of communal forest. But, without the use of the mark, there can be no cattle for the small peasant; without cattle, no manure; without manure, no agriculture. The tax-collector and the officer of the law threatening in the rear of him, whom the peasant of to-day knows only too well, were people unknown to the old members of the mark. And so was the mortgagee, into whose clutches nowadays one peasant's holding after another falls. And the best of it is that these modern free peasants, whose property is so restricted, and whose wings are so clipped, were created in Germany, where everything happens too late, at a time when scientific agriculture and the newly-invented agricultural machinery make cultivation on a small scale a method of production more and more antiquated, less and less capable of yielding a livelihood. As spinning and weaving by machinery replaced the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, so these new methods of agricultural production must inevitably replace the cultivation of land in small plots by landed property on a large scale, provided that the time necessary for this be granted.

For already the whole of European agriculture, as carried on at the present time, is threatened by an overpowering rival, *viz.*, the production of corn on a gigantic scale by America. Against this soil, fertile, manured by nature for a long range of years, and to be had for a bagatelle, neither our small peasants, up to their eyes in debt, nor our large landowners, equally deep in debt, can fight. The whole of the European agricultural system is being beaten by American competition. Agriculture, as far as Europe is concerned, will only be possible if carried on upon socialised lines, and for the advantage of society as a whole.

This is the outlook for our peasants. And the restoration of a free peasant class, starved and stunted as it is, has this value,—that it has put the peasant in a position, with the aid of his natural comrade, the worker, to help himself, as soon as he once understands *how.*[510]

But how?—By means of reviving the mark, not in its old, outdated form, but in a rejuvenated form: by rejuvenating common landownership under which the latter would not only provide the small-peasant community with all the prerogatives of big farming and the use of agricultural machinery, but will also give them means to organise, along with agriculture, major industries utilising steam and water power, and to organise them without capitalists by the community itself.

To organise big farming and utilise agricultural machines means, in other words, to make superfluous the agricultural labour of most small peasants who today work their land themselves. And so that these people, made superfluous in agriculture, would not be left unemployed and would not have to go to towns and cities, it would be necessary to employ them in industry in the village itself, and that can only be profitably organised on a large scale with the aid of steam and water power.

How to arrange this? Think well on it, German peasants. Only the *Social-Democrats* can help you.

Frederick Engels

PREFACE TO THE FIRST GERMAN EDITION OF *SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC*[511]

The following work is derived from three chapters of my book: *Herrn E. Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1878. I put them together for my friend Paul Lafargue for translation into French and added a few extra remarks. The French translation revised by me appeared first in the *Revue socialiste*[a] and then independently under the title: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*, Paris, 1880. A rendering into Polish made from the French translation has just appeared in Geneva and bears the title: *Socyjalizm utopijny a naukowy*, Imprimerie de l'Aurore, Genève, 1882.

The surprising success of the Lafargue translation in the French-speaking countries and especially in France itself forced me to consider the question whether a separate German edition of these three chapters would not likewise be of value. Then the editors of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat* informed me that a demand was generally being raised within the German Social-Democratic Party for the publication of new propaganda pamphlets, and they asked me whether I would not apply those three chapters to this purpose.[512] I was naturally in agreement with that and put my work at their disposal.

It was, however, not originally written for immediate popular propaganda. How could what was in the first place a purely scientific work be suitable for that? What changes in form and content were required?

So far as form is concerned, only the numerous foreign words could arouse doubts. But even Lassalle in his speeches and propaganda writings was not at all sparing with foreign words, and to my knowledge there has been no complaint about it. Since that time our workers have read newspapers to a far greater extent and far more regularly and to the same extent they have become thereby more familiar with foreign words. I have restricted myself to removing all unnecessary foreign words. Where they were unavoidable, I have refrained from adding so-called explanatory translations. The unavoidable foreign words, usually generally accepted scientific-technical expressions, would not have been unavoidable if they had been translatable. Translation, therefore, distorts the sense; it confuses instead of explaining. Oral information is of much greater assistance.

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[a] F. Engels, "Le socialisme utopique et le socialisme scientifique", I-III, *La Revue socialiste*, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, March 20, April 20 and May 5, 1880.—*Ed.*

The content on the other hand, I think I can assert, will cause German workers few difficulties. In general, only the third section is difficult, but far less so for workers, whose general conditions of life it concerns, than for the "educated" bourgeois. In the many explanatory additions that I have made here, I have had in mind not so much the workers as "educated" readers; persons of the type of the Deputy von Eynern, the Privy Councillor Heinrich von Sybel and other Treitschkes, who are governed by the irresistible impulse to demonstrate again and again in black and white their frightful ignorance and, following from this, their colossal misconception of socialism. If Don Quixote tilts his lance at windmills, that is in accordance with his office and his role; but it would be impossible for us to permit Sancho Panza anything of the sort.

Such readers will also be surprised that in a sketch of the history of the development of socialism they should encounter the Kant-Laplace cosmogony, modern natural science and Darwin, classical German philosophy and Hegel. But scientific socialism is after all an essentially German product and could arise only in that nation whose classical philosophy had kept alive the tradition of conscious dialectics: in Germany.* The materialist conception of history and its specific application to the modern class struggle

* "In Germany" is a slip of the pen. It should read "among Germans". For as indispensable, on the one hand, as German dialectics were for the genesis of scientific socialism, as equally indispensable for it were the developed economic and political conditions of England and France. The economic and political stage of development of Germany, which at the beginning of the forties was still more backward than today, could produce at the most caricatures of socialism (*cf. Communist Manifesto,* III, 1. c., "German, or 'True', Socialism"[a]). Only by the subjection of the economic and political conditions produced in England and France

between proletariat and bourgeoisie was only possible by means of dialectics. And if the schoolmasters of the German bourgeoisie have drowned the memory of the great German philosophers and of the dialectics produced by them in a swamp of empty eclecticism—so much so that we are compelled to appeal to modern natural science as a witness to the preservation of dialectics in reality—we German Socialists are proud of the fact that we are descended not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 510-13.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

London, September 21, 1882

First published in the book: F. Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1882

Printed according to the book

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to German dialectical criticism could a real result be achieved. From this angle, therefore, scientific socialism is not an *exclusively* German, but just as much as international product. [This footnote was added by Engels to the third German edition of 1883.]

Frederick Engels

JENNY LONGUET, NÉE MARX[513]

Jenny, the eldest daughter of Karl Marx, died at Argenteuil near Paris on January 11. About eight years ago she married *Charles Longuet*, a former member of the Paris Commune and at present co-editor of the *Justice*.[514]

Jenny Marx was born on May 1, 1844, grew up in the midst of the international proletarian movement and most closely together with it. Despite a reticence that could almost be taken for shyness, she displayed when necessary a presence of mind and energy which could be envied by many a man.

When the Irish press disclosed the infamous treatment that the Fenians sentenced in 1866 and later had to suffer in jail,[515] and the English papers stubbornly ignored the atrocities; and when the Gladstone Government, despite the promises it made during the election campaign, refused to amnesty them[516] or even to ameliorate their conditions, Jenny Marx found a means to make the pious Mr. Gladstone take immediate steps. She wrote two articles for Rochefort's *Marseillaise*[a] vividly describing how political prisoners are treated in free England. This had an effect. The disclosures in a big Paris newspaper could not be endured. A few weeks later O'Donovan Rosa and most of the others were free and on their way to America.

In the summer of 1871 Jenny, together with her youngest sister,[b] visited their brother-in-law Lafargue at Bordeaux. Lafargue, his wife, their sick child[c] and the two girls went from there to

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[a] Jenny Marx wrote eight articles on the Irish question for this newspaper (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 414-41).— *Ed.*

[b] Eleanor Marx.— *Ed.*

[c] Charles Étienne Lafargue.— *Ed.*

Bagnères-de-Luchon, a spa in the Pyrenees. Early one morning a gentleman came to Lafargue and said: "I am a police officer, but a Republican; an order for your arrest has been received; it is known that you were in charge of communications between Bordeaux and the Paris Commune. You have one hour to cross the border."

Lafargue with his wife and child succeeded in getting over the pass into Spain, for which the police took revenge by arresting the two girls. Jenny had a letter in her pocket from Gustave Flourens, the leader of the Commune who was killed near Paris; had the letter been discovered, a journey to New Caledonia[517] was sure to follow for the two sisters. When she was left alone in the office for a moment, Jenny opened a dusty old account book, put the letter inside and closed the book again. Perhaps the letter is still there. When the two girls were brought to his office, the prefect, the noble Count of Kératry, well remembered as a Bonapartist, closely questioned them. But the cunning of the former diplomat and the brutality of the former cavalry officer were of no avail when faced with Jenny's calm circumspection. He left the room in a fit of rage about "the energy that seems peculiar to the women of this family". After the dispatch of numerous cables to and from Paris, he finally had to release the two girls, who had been treated in a truly Prussian way during their detention.

These two incidents are characteristic of Jenny. The proletariat has lost a valiant fighter in her. But her mourning father has at least the consolation that hundreds of thousands of workers in Europe and America share his sorrow.

London, January 13, 1883

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 4, January 18, 1883

Printed according to the newspaper

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Frederick Engels

TO THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*

London, March 16, 1883

Karl Marx's death occurred at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 14th inst. at Argenteuil, France.[518] For several weeks Marx had been suffering from bronchitis, this being further complicated by an abscess of the lung, and ultimately an internal haemorrhage put an end to his life. His death was an easy and painless one.

Frederick Engels

First published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 66, March 17, 1883

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

Frederick Engels

DRAFT OF A SPEECH AT THE GRAVESIDE OF KARL MARX[519]

Scarcely 15 months ago most of us assembled round this grave, then about to become the last resting place of a grand and noble-hearted woman.[a] Today we have it reopened, to receive what remains of her husband.

Karl Marx was one of those pre-eminent men of whom a century produces not many. Charles Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature upon our planet. Marx is the discoverer of the fundamental law according to which human history moves and develops itself, a law so simple and self-evident that its simple enunciation is almost sufficient to secure assent. Not enough with that, Marx had also discovered the law [which] has created our actual state of society with its great class-division of capitalists and wages-labourers; the law according to which that society has become organised, has grown until it [has] almost outgrown itself, and according to which it must ultimately perish like all previous historical phases of society. Such results render it all the more painful that he should have been taken from us in the midst of his work, and that, much as he did, still more he left uncompleted.

But science, though dear to him, was far from absorbing him entirely. No man could feel a purer joy than he when a new scientific progress was secured anywhere, no matter whether practically applicable or not. But he looked upon science above all things as a grand historical lever, as a revolutionary power in the most eminent sense of the word. And as such he used, to such purpose he wielded that immense knowledge, especially of history in all its branches of which he disposed.

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[a] Jenny Marx, neé von Westphalen.—*Ed.*

For he was indeed, what he called himself, a Revolutionist. The struggle for the emancipation of the class of wages-labourers from the fetters of the present capitalistic system of economic production, was his real element. And no more active combatant than he ever existed. The crowning effort of this part of his work was the creation of the International Working Men's Association of which he was the acknowledged leader from 1864-72. The Association has disappeared, as far as outward show goes; but the fraternal bond of union of the working men of all civilised countries of Europe and America is established once for ever, and continues to live even without any outward, formal bond of union.

No man can fight for any cause without creating enemies. And he has had plenty of them. For the greater part of his political life he was the best hated and best slandered man in Europe. But he scarcely ever noticed calumny. If ever man lived calumny down, he did, and at the time of his death he could look with pride upon the millions of his followers, in the mines of Siberia as well as in the workshops of Europe and America; he saw his economical theories adopted as the undisputed creed of universal socialism, and if he still had many opponents, there was scarcely one personal enemy left.[a]

Written between March 14 and 17, 1883

First published in the newspaper *La Justice,* No. 27, March 20, 1883

Reproduced from the manuscript, verified with the newspaper

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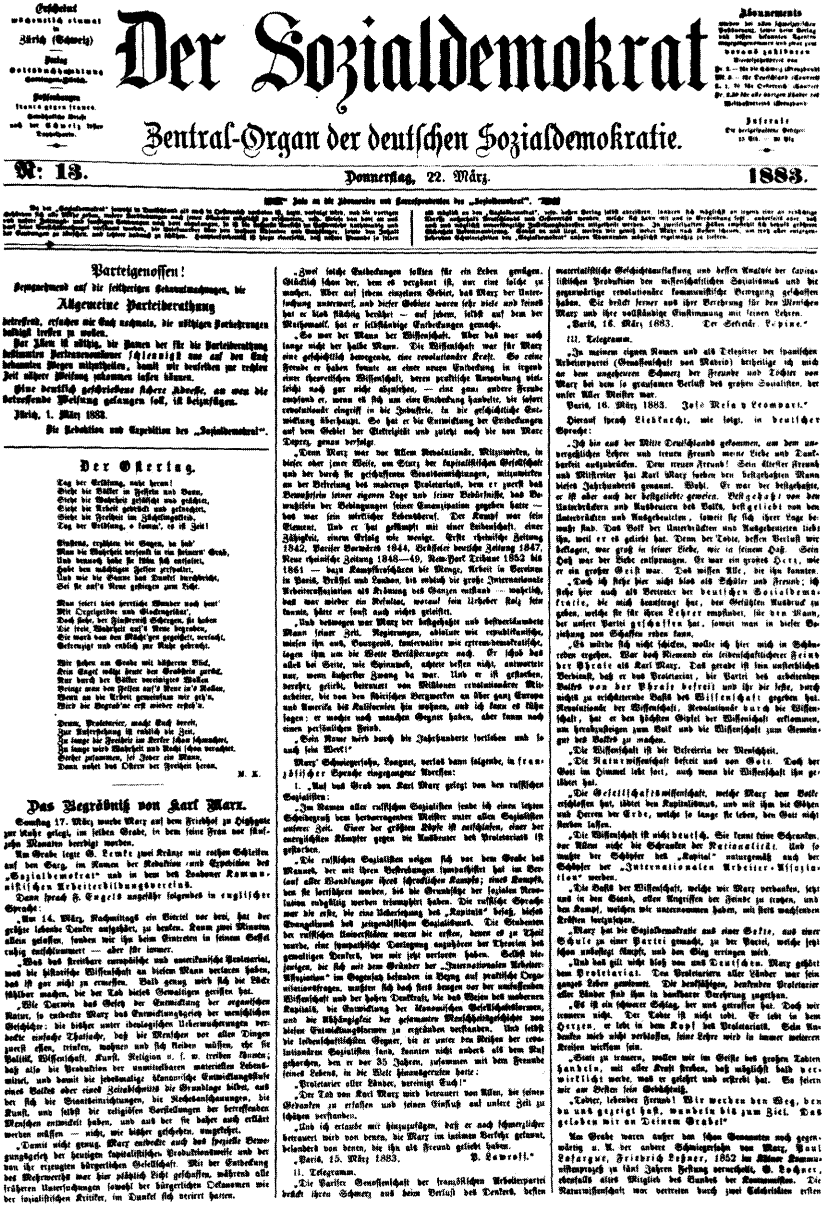
[a] *La Justice* has two more paragraphs: "What Marx was in his private life, for his family and his friends—I have no force to express it at the moment. And there is no need to do so, because all of you who have come here to tell him your last farewell know this.

"Farewell, Marx! Your work and your name will endure through the ages."—*Ed.*



Der Sozialdemokrat

Zentral-Organ der deutſchen Sozialdemokratie.

№: 13. Donnerſtag, 22. März. 1883.

Parteigenoſſen!

Der Oſtertag.

Das Begräbniß von Karl Marx.

A page of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, March 22, 1883, containing Engels' article "Karl Marx's Funeral"

32–1317

Frederick Engels

KARL MARX'S FUNERAL[520]

On Saturday, March 17, Marx was laid to rest in Highgate Cemetery, in the same grave in which his wife had been buried fifteen months earlier.

At the graveside *Gottlieb Lemke* laid two wreaths with red ribbons on the coffin in the name of the editorial board and dispatching service of the *Sozialdemokrat* and in the name of the London *Communist Workers' Educational Society*.[521]

Frederick Engels then made the following speech in *English*:

"On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep—but forever.

"An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.

"But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

"Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated—and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially—in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

"Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

"For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the Paris *Vorwärts!* (1844), *Brüsseler Deutsche Zeitung*[a] (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New-York Tribune* (1852-61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organisations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association—this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

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[a] *Deutsche-Brüsseler Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

"And, consequently, Marx was the best-hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

"His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!"

Then Marx's son-in-law *Longuet* read the following addresses which had been received in *French*.

I. ON THE GRAVE OF KARL MARX FROM THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS

"In the name of all Russian socialists I send a last farewell greeting to the outstanding Master among all the socialists of our times. One of the greatest minds has passed away, one of the most energetic fighters against the exploiters of the proletariat has died.

"The Russian socialists bow before the grave of the man who sympathised with their strivings in all the fluctuations of their terrible struggle, a struggle which they shall continue until the final victory of the principles of the social revolution. The Russian language was the first to have a translation of *Capital*,[a] that gospel of contemporary socialism. The students of the Russian universities were the first to whose lot it fell to hear a sympathetic exposition of the theories of the mighty thinker whom we have now lost. Even those who were opposed to the founder of the International Working Men's Association in respect of practical questions of organisation were obliged always to bow before his comprehensive knowledge and lofty power of thought which penetrated the substance of modern capital, the development of the economic forms of society and the dependence of the whole history of mankind on those forms of development. Even the most vehement opponents that he found in the ranks of the revolutionary socialists could not but obey the call that he and his lifelong friend sent into the world 35 years ago:

"'*Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!*'

"The death of Karl Marx is mourned by all who have been able to grasp his thought and appreciate his influence upon our time.

"I allow myself to add that it will be still more deeply mourned by those who associated closely with Marx, especially by those who loved him as a friend.

Paris, March 15, 1883 "*P. Lavrov.*"

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[a] Карл Марксъ, *Капиталъ. Критика политической экономіи.* Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго. Томъ первый. Книга I. «Процессъ производства капитала». С.-Петербургъ, 1872.— *Ed.*

II. TELEGRAM

"The Paris branch of the French Workers' Party expresses its grief at the loss of the thinker whose materialist conception of history and analysis of capitalist production founded scientific socialism and the present revolutionary communist movement. It also expresses its respect for Marx as a man and its complete agreement with his doctrines.

Paris, March 16, 1883 "The Secretary, *Lépine.*"

III. TELEGRAM

"In my own name and as a delegate of the Spanish Workers' Party[522] (Madrid Branch), I share the immense grief of the friends and daughters of Marx at the cruel loss of the great Socialist who was the master of us all.

Paris, March 16, 1883 "*José Mesa y Leompart.*"

Then *Liebknecht* made the following speech in *German:*

"I have come from the heart of Germany to express my love and gratitude to my unforgettable teacher and faithful friend. To my faithful friend! Karl Marx's greatest friend and colleague has just called him the best-hated man of this century. That is true. He was the best-hated but he was also the best-loved. The best-*hated* by the oppressors and exploiters of the people, the best-*loved* by the oppressed and exploited, as far as they are conscious of their position. The oppressed and exploited people love him because *he* loved them. For the deceased whose loss we are mourning was great in his love as in his hatred. His hatred had love as its source. He was a great *heart* as he was a great *mind*. All who knew him know that.

"But I am here not only as a pupil and a friend, I am here as the representative of the *German Social-Democrats*, who have charged me with expressing their feelings for their *teacher*, for *the* man who *created* our party, as much as one can speak of creating in this connection.

"It would be out of place here to indulge in fine speeches. For nobody was a more vehement *enemy of phrasemongering* than Karl Marx. It is precisely his immortal merit that he *freed* the proletariat, the working people's party, *from phrases* and gave it the solid foundation of *science* that nothing can shake. A revolutionary in science and a revolutionary *through* science, he scaled the highest peak of science in order to come down to the people and to make science the common good of the people.

"Science is the liberator of humanity.

"The *natural* sciences free us from *God*. But God in heaven still lives on although science has killed him.

"The science of *society* that Marx revealed to the people kills capitalism, and with it the idols and masters of the *earth* who will not let God die as long as they live.

"Science is not *German*. It knows no barriers, and least of all the barriers of *nationality*. It was therefore natural that the creator of *Capital* should also become the creator of the *International Working Men's Association*.

"The basis of science, which we owe to Marx, puts us in a position to resist all attacks of the enemy and to continue with ever-increasing strength the fight which we have undertaken.

"Marx changed the Social-Democracy from a *sect*, a *school*, into a *party*, the party which is now fighting undaunted and which will be victorious.

"And that is true not only of us *Germans*. Marx belongs to the *proletariat*. It was to the proletariat of all countries that his life was dedicated. Proletarians who can think and do think in all countries have grateful reverence for him.

"It is a heavy blow that has fallen on us. But we do not mourn. The deceased is not dead. He lives in the *heart*, he lives in the *head* of the proletariat. His memory will not perish, his doctrine will be effective in ever broader circles.

"Instead of mourning, let us *act* in the spirit of the great man who has died and strive with all our strength so that the doctrine which he taught and for which he fought *will be put into practice* as soon as possible. That is the best way to honour his memory!

"Deceased, living friend, *we shall follow to the final aim the way you showed us. We swear it on your grave!*"

Besides those mentioned there were also present at the grave, among others, Karl Marx's other son-in-law, *Paul Lafargue*, *Friedrich Lessner*, who was sentenced at the Cologne Communist Trial in 1852[523] to five years' imprisonment in a fortress, and *G. Lochner*, also an old member of the Communist League.[524] The natural sciences were represented by two celebrities of the first magnitude, the zoologist Professor *Ray Lankester* and the chemist Professor *Schorlemmer*, both members of the London Academy of Sciences (ROYAL SOCIETY).[525]

Written on about March 18, 1883

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 13, March 22, 1883

Signed: *Fr. Engels*

Printed according to the newspaper

Frederick Engels

[TO THE EDITORS OF THE *NEW YORKER VOLKSZEITUNG*]

[London,] April 18, [18]83
122 Regent's Park Road

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *N. Y. VOLKSZEITUNG*

In your issue of the 15th you print my telegram to Sorge[a] as though it were addressed *to you*.[b]

In the issue of the 17th you make me say in my telegram to you that Marx died in Argenteuil.[c]

It is not our custom over here to take liberties of this kind with the names of other persons or to countenance such things if they are done to ourselves.

You have thus made it impossible for me to send you any further reports.

If you ever make similar misuse of my name in your paper again, I shall be compelled to request my old friend Sorge to announce that this was an outright falsification on your part.

Yours very truly,
F. E.

First published in: Marx and Engels, *Works*, First Russian Edition, Vol. XXVII, Moscow, 1935

Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Engels is referring to his telegram to Friedrich Adolf Sorge of March 14, 1883 (see present edition, Vol. 46).—*Ed.*

[b] See an item, "London, 14. März, 1883" in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 64, March 15, 1883.—*Ed.*

[c] See this volume, p. 462.—*Ed.*

Frederick Engels

ON THE DEATH OF KARL MARX[526]

I

I have subsequently received several further announcements on the occasion of this bereavement which demonstrate how widespread people's sympathy has been, and of which I have to render an account.

On 20th March Miss Eleanor Marx received the following telegram, written in French, from the Editorial Office of *The Daily News*:

> "*Moscow*, 18th March. Editorial Office *Daily News*, London. Please be so kind as to convey to Mr. *Engels*, author of *The Working Classes in England*[a] and intimate friend of the late *Karl Marx*, our request that he lay a wreath on the coffin of the unforgettable author of *Capital*, bearing the following inscription:
>
> "'In memory of the defender of workers' rights in theory and their implementation in practice—the students of the *Petrovsky* Agricultural Academy in Moscow.'[527]
>
> "Mr. Engels is requested to tell us his address and the cost of the wreath. The amount due will be forwarded to him without delay.
>
> "Students of the Petrovsky Academy in Moscow."

The dispatch was at any event too late for the funeral, which took place on 17th March.

In addition to that, our friend *P. Lavrov* in Paris remitted me an order on 31st March for 124.50 frs (£4.18s.9d.), sent in by students of the Technological Institute in *Petersburg*[528] and by Russian student women, also for a wreath to go on the grave of Karl Marx.

Thirdly, last week the *Sozialdemokrat* announced that Odessa students also wished for a wreath in their name to be placed on Marx's grave.[529]

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[a] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*.—*Ed.*

As the money received from Petersburg is easily enough for all three wreaths, I have taken the liberty of paying for the Moscow and Odessa wreaths from that as well. The preparation of the inscriptions, a somewhat unfamiliar practice here, has caused some delay, but the wreaths will be placed on the grave at the beginning of next week, and I shall then be able to render an account, in the *Sozialdemokrat*, of the money received.[a]

A beautiful, large wreath has reached us from *Solingen*, via the Communist Workers' Educational Society[530] here, "for the grave of Karl Marx from the workers of the scissors, knife and sword industry at Solingen". When we placed it on the grave on 24th March, we found that the long ends of the red silk bows on the wreaths from the *Sozialdemokrat* and the Communist Workers' Educational Society had been cut off and stolen by people desecrating the grave. Complaining to the trustees was to no avail, but will no doubt mean that the grave will be protected in future.

A Slavonic association in Switzerland[531] expresses the hope

> "that a special memorial will be established to Karl Marx through the setting-up of an international fund bearing his name in support of the victims of the great emancipation struggle and for the furtherance of that struggle itself",

and has sent an initial contribution which I have retained for the time being. Of course, the fate of this suggestion depends primarily on whether there is a response to it, and that is why I am publishing it here.

In order to counter the false rumours which are being circulated in the press with some actual facts, I am passing on the following brief details concerning the illness and death of our great theoretical leader.

Having been almost totally cured of an old liver complaint by three periods of treatment at Karlsbad,[532] Marx was left suffering only from a chronic stomach complaint and nervous exhaustion, which took the form of headaches and, mainly, persistent insomnia. Both complaints disappeared more or less after a visit to a seaside or health resort in the summer, and did not return, with more troublesome effects, until after the New Year. Chronic throat complaints and coughing, which also contributed to the insomnia, and chronic bronchitis were, on the whole, less troublesome. But it was to those very complaints that he was to succumb. Four or five weeks before the death of his wife[b] he was suddenly seized by a severe bout of pleurisy, complicated by bronchitis and incipient pneumonia. The affair was very dangerous, but it turned out well. He was then sent first of all to the Isle of Wight (early in 1882), and following that to Algiers. The journey was a cold one and he arrived in Algiers suffering from a renewed attack of pleurisy. In normal circumstances that would not have made so much difference. But in Algiers the winter and the spring were colder and rainier than ever. In April vain attempts were made to heat the dining room! The final result was that his overall condition became worse instead of better.

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[a] See this volume, pp. 476-77.— *Ed.*

[b] Jenny Marx died on December 2, 1881.— *Ed.*

Having been sent from Algiers to Monte Carlo (Monaco), Marx arrived there, after a cold and damp voyage, suffering from a third but milder attack of pleurisy. On top of that constant bad weather, which he seemed to have brought with him specially from Africa. So here too he had to fight against a fresh bout of illness rather than have the opportunity to restore himself. Towards the beginning of summer he went to visit his daughter Madame Longuet at Argenteuil, and used his stay there to go to the sulphurous springs in the neighbouring town of Enghien to treat his chronic bronchitis. Despite the continued wet summer the treatment was a success, slow but to the satisfaction of the doctors.[a] They now sent him to Vevey on Lake Geneva, and there he recovered most, so that he was allowed to spend the winter, not in London, it is true, but on the south coast of England. Here he wanted at last to take up his work again. When he came to London in September, he looked well and often climbed Hampstead Hill (about 300 feet above his lodging) with me, without complaint. When the November fogs threatened to descend he was sent to Ventnor, the southern tip of the Isle of Wight. Immediately he was subjected again to wet weather and fog. The inevitable consequence was a fresh cold, coughing and so on; in short, weakening through confinement to his room when he should have been restoring himself by moving about in the fresh air. Then Madame Longuet died. The next day (12th January) Marx came to London, clearly suffering from bronchitis. This was soon complicated by laryngitis, which made it almost impossible for him to swallow. Able to bear the greatest of pain with the most stoic equanimity, he preferred to drink a litre of milk (which he had loathed his whole life long) rather than eat the appropriate solids. In February an ulcer developed in his lung. The medicaments had no effect on his body, surfeited as it was with medicines administered over the previous fifteen months; at most they weakened his appetite and inhibited his digestion. He became visibly thinner, almost by the day. All the same, the illness was taking a relatively favourable course overall. His bronchitis was almost cured and it became easier for him to swallow. The doctors[a] were full of hope. Then, visiting him between two and three o'clock—the best time to see him—I suddenly found the whole house in tears: he was so ill that they thought it was probably the end. And yet that very morning he had taken wine, milk and soup with relish. Faithful old Lenchen Demuth, who had raised all his children from the cradle and has been with the household for forty years, went up to him and came straight back down: "Come with me, he's half asleep." When we went in, he was completely asleep, but forever. One cannot wish to die an easier death than Karl Marx did in his armchair.

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[a] Gustave Dourlen and Feugier.—*Ed.*

And now, to close with, a piece of good news:

The manuscript of the second volume of *Capital* has been preserved *completely intact*. Whether it can be printed in its present form I am not yet in a position to say. There are more than 1,000 pages of folio. But "the process of circulation of capital" and "the forms of the process as a whole" are complete in a version dating from the years 1867-1870. There is the beginning of a later version and copious material in the form of critical extracts, particularly on Russian landownership, a good deal of which may yet be put to use.

His oral instruction was that his youngest daughter Eleanor and I should be his literary executors.

London, 28th April 1883

Frederick Engels

II

A beautiful wreath bearing an inscription on red ribbons was sent to Argenteuil by the Social-Democrats of *Erfurt*; fortunately someone happened to be available to bring it across; when it was laid on the grave, it was noticed that the red silk ribbons of the Solingen wreath had again been stolen.

Meanwhile the three wreaths for *Moscow*, *Petersburg* and *Odessa* were completed. To prevent the ribbons from being stolen, we were obliged to make it impossible for them to be used again by making little incisions on the edges. They were laid on the grave yesterday. A shower of rain had so affected the ribbon on the Erfurt wreath that it could not be used for anything else, and thus escaped being stolen.

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[a] Horatio Bryan Donkin.—*Ed.*

These three wreaths cost £1.1s.8d. each, a total of £3.5s.0d. I therefore have £1.13s.9d. left from the £4.18s.9d. that was sent to me, and I shall send that back to P. Lavrov in order to comply with the wishes of the donors.—

The death of a great man provides a first-rate opportunity for small people to make political, literary and actual capital out of it. Here just a few examples which should be made public, not to speak of the many which have occurred in private correspondence.

In a letter dated 2nd April *Philipp van Patten*, Secretary of the CENTRAL LABOR UNION in New York,[533] wrote to me as follows:

> "In connection with the recent demonstration in honour of the memory of Karl Marx, when ... all factions united in testifying their regard for the deceased philosopher, there were very loud statements made by *John Most* and his friends to the effect that *he*, Most, was upon intimate terms with Karl Marx, that *he* had made his work *Das Kapital* popular in Germany and that Marx was in accord with the propaganda conducted by him.
>
> "We have a high appreciation of the talents and the achievements of Marx but cannot believe that he was in sympathy with the anarchistic, disorganising methods of Most and I would like to obtain from you an expression of opinion as to Karl Marx's position upon the question of Anarchy versus Social-Democracy. Too much mischief has already been done here by the untimely and imprudent talk of Most and it is rather disagreeable for us to learn that so high an authority as Marx endorsed such tactics."

I replied to him in a letter on 18th April[a] [534]:

"My statement in reply to your inquiry of the 2nd April as to Karl Marx's position with regard to the Anarchists in general and Johann Most in particular shall be short and clear.

"Marx and I, ever since 1845,[535] have held the view that *one* of the final results of the future proletarian revolution will be the gradual dissolution and ultimate disappearance of that political organisation called *the State*; an organisation the main object of which has ever been to secure, by armed force, the economical subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority. With the disappearance of a wealthy minority the necessity for an armed repressive State-force disappears also. At the same time we have always held, that in order to arrive at this and the other, far more important ends of the social revolution of the future, the proletarian class will first have to possess itself of the organised political force of the State and with its aid stamp out the resistance of the Capitalist class and re-organise society. This is stated already in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847, end of Chapter II.[a]

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[a] The *Sozialdemokrat* further has: "which is given here in the German translation".—*Ed.*

"The Anarchists reverse the matter. They say, that the Proletarian revolution has to *begin* by abolishing the political organisation of the State. But after the victory of the Proletariat, the only organisation the victorious working class finds ready-made for use, is that of the State. It may require adaptation to the new functions.[b] But to destroy that at such a moment, would be to destroy the only organism by means of which the victorious working class can exert its newly conquered power, keep down its capitalist enemies and carry out that economical revolution of society, without which the whole victory must end in a defeat and in a massacre of the working class like that after the Paris Commune.[536]

"Does it require my express assertion, that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin? The whole internal history of the International Working Men's Association is there to prove it. The Anarchists tried to obtain the lead of the International by the foulest means, ever since 1867 and the chief obstacle in their way was Marx. The result of the five years' struggle was the expulsion, at the Hague Congress, September 1872, of the Anarchists from the International, and the man who did most to procure that expulsion, was Marx. Our old friend *F. A. Sorge* of Hoboken, who was present as a delegate, can give you further particulars if you desire.

"Now as to Johann Most. If any man asserts that Most, since he turned anarchist, has had any relations with, or support from Marx, he is either a dupe or a deliberate liar. After the first No. of the London *Freiheit* had been published,[c] Most did not call upon Marx and myself more than once, at most twice. Nor did we call on him or even meet him accidentally anywhere or at any time since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper.[d] Indeed, we at last ceased to take it in as there was absolutely 'nothing in it'. We had for his anarchism and anarchist tactics the same contempt as for that of the people[a] from whom he had learnt it.

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 505-06.— *Ed.*

[b] In the *Sozialdemokrat* this sentence reads: "This state may require very important changes before it can fulfil its new functions".— *Ed.*

[c] On January 4, 1879.— *Ed.*

[d] The words "since his new-fangled anarchism had burst forth in that paper" are omitted in the *Sozialdemokrat*.— *Ed.*

"While still in Germany, Most published a 'popular' extract of *Das Kapital*.[b] Marx was requested to revise it for a second edition. I assisted Marx in that work. We found it impossible to eradicate more than the very worst mistakes, unless we re-wrote the whole thing from beginning to end, and Marx consented his corrections being inserted on the express condition only that his name was never in any way connected with even this revised form of Johann Most's production.[c]

"You are perfectly at liberty to publish this letter in the *Voice of the People*,[d] if you like to do so."

From America to Italy.

About two years ago a young Italian, one Signor *Achille Loria* from Mantua, sent Marx a copy of a book he had written on ground-rent[537] together with a letter written in German in which he proclaimed himself to be a disciple and admirer of Marx. He also corresponded with him for some time after that. In the summer of 1882 he came to London and visited me twice. The second time I had occasion seriously to tell him my opinion about the fact that, in a pamphlet[e] which had appeared in the meantime, he had accused Marx of having deliberately misquoted.

Now this puny fellow, who got his wisdom from the German academic socialists,[538] has written an article on Marx in *Nuova Antologia*[f] and has the effrontery to send me, "his most worthy friend" (!!), a separate offprint. What constituted this effrontery will be clear from the following translation of my reply (I wrote to him in his language, for his German is even shakier than my Italian):

"I received your piece on Karl Marx. You are at liberty to subject his teachings to your most searching criticism and even to misunderstand them if you wish; you are at liberty to draft a biography of Marx which is a work of pure fantasy. However, what you are not at liberty to do, and it is a privilege I shall never grant to anybody, is to slander the character of my late friend.

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[a] Engels is referring to Proudhon and Bakunin.—*Ed.*

[b] J. Most, *Kapital und Arbeit. Ein populärer Auszug aus "Das Kapital" von Karl Marx*, Chemnitz [1873].—*Ed.*

[c] It appeared in Chemnitz in 1876.—*Ed.*

[d] In the *Sozialdemokrat* the words "in the *Voice of the People*" are omitted.—*Ed.*

[e] A. Loria, *La teoria del valore negli economisti italiani*, Bologna, 1882, pp. 38-39.—*Ed.*

[f] A. Loria, "Karl Marx", *Nuova Antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Vol. 38, Rome, 1883, pp. 509-42.—*Ed.*

"Already, in an earlier work, you have presumed to accuse Marx of having deliberately misquoted. When Marx read that, he compared his quotations and yours with the original texts and told me that his quotations were correct, and if anyone was deliberately misquoting, then it was you. And when I see how you now quote Marx, how you shamelessly have him speak of '*profit*' where he speaks of '*surplus value*'[a]—especially in view of the fact that he was constantly at pains to avoid the error of assuming that the two things were the same (which incidentally Mr. *Moore* and I explained to you orally when you were in London)—then I know whom to believe and who is deliberately misquoting.

"But that is a mere trifle by comparison with your 'firm and deeply held conviction ... that they' (the teachings of Marx) 'are all dominated by a *conscious sophism*'; that Marx 'did not allow himself to be held up by incorrect conclusions, *knowing full well that they were incorrect*'; that 'he was often a sophist who, *at the cost of the truth,* wished to arrive at the negation of the existing society', and that, as Lamartine says, 'he played with lies and truth as children play with knucklebones'.[b]

"In Italy, a land of ancient civilisation, that may be regarded as a compliment. Among the academic socialists too such a thing may be regarded as great praise, since, of course, those fine professors would never have been able to accomplish their numerous systems except 'at the cost of the truth'. We revolutionary communists regard the matter differently. We consider such assertions to be defamatory accusations, and since we know them to be fabrications, we hurl them back at their author who has defamed no one but himself with such inventions.

"It seems to me that you had a duty to inform the public as to the nature of that famous 'conscious sophism', which you say dominates all the teachings of Marx. But I have looked for it in vain. Nagott!" (Lombardic swearword for: nothing at all.)

"It takes a puny soul to imagine that a man like Marx 'always threatened his opponents with a second volume' which 'he never for one moment thought of writing'; that that second volume was nothing more than 'a crafty expedient of Marx's to avoid scientific arguments.'[c] That second volume is on hand and will shortly be published. Then at last you may perhaps learn to grasp the distinction between surplus value and profit.

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[a] Ibid., pp. 531-32.—*Ed.*

[b] Ibid, pp. 510, 538-39.—*Ed.*

[c] Ibid., p. 532.—*Ed.*

"A German translation of this letter will appear in the next edition of the Zurich *Sozialdemokrat.*

"In closing, the sentiments I am gratified to express are no more than those you deserve."

That should suffice for today.

London, 12th May 1883

Frederick Engels

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FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS

Karl Marx

NOTES ON BAKUNIN'S BOOK *STATEHOOD AND ANARCHY*[539]

Written in April 1874-January 1875

First published in the magazine *Letopisi marksizma,* No. 11, 1926

Printed according to the manuscript

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BAKUNIN: STATEHOOD AND ANARCHY

INTRODUCTION. PART I. 1873[a]

(Following this title on p. 1: Conflict («Борьба») in the International Working Men's Association.)

«FOREWORD»

«In Italy as in Russia there was quite a significant number of such young people, incomparably more than in any other country» 540 (p. 7).[b]

«Indeed, perhaps nowhere is the social revolution as close as in Italy» (p. 8).

«In Italy there predominates that destitute proletariat who are spoken of with such profound contempt by Messrs. Marx and Engels, and in their wake the whole school of German Social-Democrats, and quite mistakenly, since it is in this class *and this class alone* and by no means in the bourgeois stratum of the working masses referred to above that *the entire intelligence and the entire strength of the coming social revolution is to be found*» (p. 8).

Contrast the German situation: here the government can rely, on the one hand, on its excellent etc., army, and, on the other hand,

«on the *patriotism of its loyal subjects*, on boundless national ambition and on that ancient, historical and no less boundless servility and worship of power which to this day characterise the German nobility, the German burghers» (bourgeoisie), «the German *bureaucracy*, the German church, the entire guild of *German* scholars and, under their combined influence, frequently enough, alas, the *German nation itself*» (p. 11).

«As can be seen, Prussia has swallowed up Germany. This means that as long as Germany remains a state, *it will necessarily remain the prime and chief representative and a constant source of all possible despotisms in Europe*», despite any pseudo-liberal, constitutional, democratic «*and even Social-Democratic forms*» (p. 11).

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[a] [M. A. Bakunin,] *Государственность и анархія*. Введеніе. Часть I. [Geneva,] 1873.— *Ed.*

[b] Here and below Marx indicates in brackets pages in Bakunin's book.— *Ed.*

Ever since the middle of the [*16th*] *century* and *up to 1815* the chief source of all reactionary movements was Austria (i.e. as the representative of Germany); from 1815 to 1848 divided between Austria and Prussia, with the former predominating (Metternich) (p. 12); «*from 1815 this Holy Alliance of pure German reaction was joined, much more* ***for sport*** *than for profit, by our Tartar-German, all-Russian, imperial knout*» (p. 13).

To shift the responsibility from themselves the Germans try to persuade themselves and others that Russia was the chief instigator of the Holy Alliance. "In contrast to the German Social-Democrats, whose programme has as its first goal the establishment of a Pan-Germanic Empire, the Russian social revolutionaries are striving primarily to bring about the utter dissolution of our" (the Russian) "Empire", etc. (p. 13).

In the interest of the truth, «*not from any wish to defend the policy of the Petersburg cabinet*» (p. 13), Bakunin replies to the Germans as follows. (So as not to have to mention the creation of Prussia with Russian help, which had been forthcoming ever since Peter I, the great man overlooks the alliance under Catherine, as well as Russian influence over France since the Revolution and up to and *including* Louis Philippe.) (He likewise ignores the fact that from the beginning of the 18th century Russia had intrigued with England with the aim of subjugating Europe.) He starts with Alexander I and Nicholas and depicts their activities as follows:

«Alexander rushed hither and thither, bustled about and made a great fuss; Nicholas gave black looks and uttered threats. *But that was the end of it. They did nothing ... because they could not, since their friends, the Austrian and Prussian Germans, prevented them from acting; they had only been assigned an honorary role of playing the bogeyman*» (intimidation); «*the only countries to move were Austria, Prussia* and» "finally [under the leadership and with the consent of both]—the French Bourbons who moved against Spain"[541] (pp. 13, 14).

Russia only once crossed her frontiers and that was in 1849, to rescue Austria from the Hungarian revolution.[542] Apart from that she also suppressed the Polish revolution twice in this century with the aid of Prussia,[543] which had as great an interest in this as herself. Of course, «*a Russia of the people is unthinkable without Polish independence and freedom*» (p. 14).

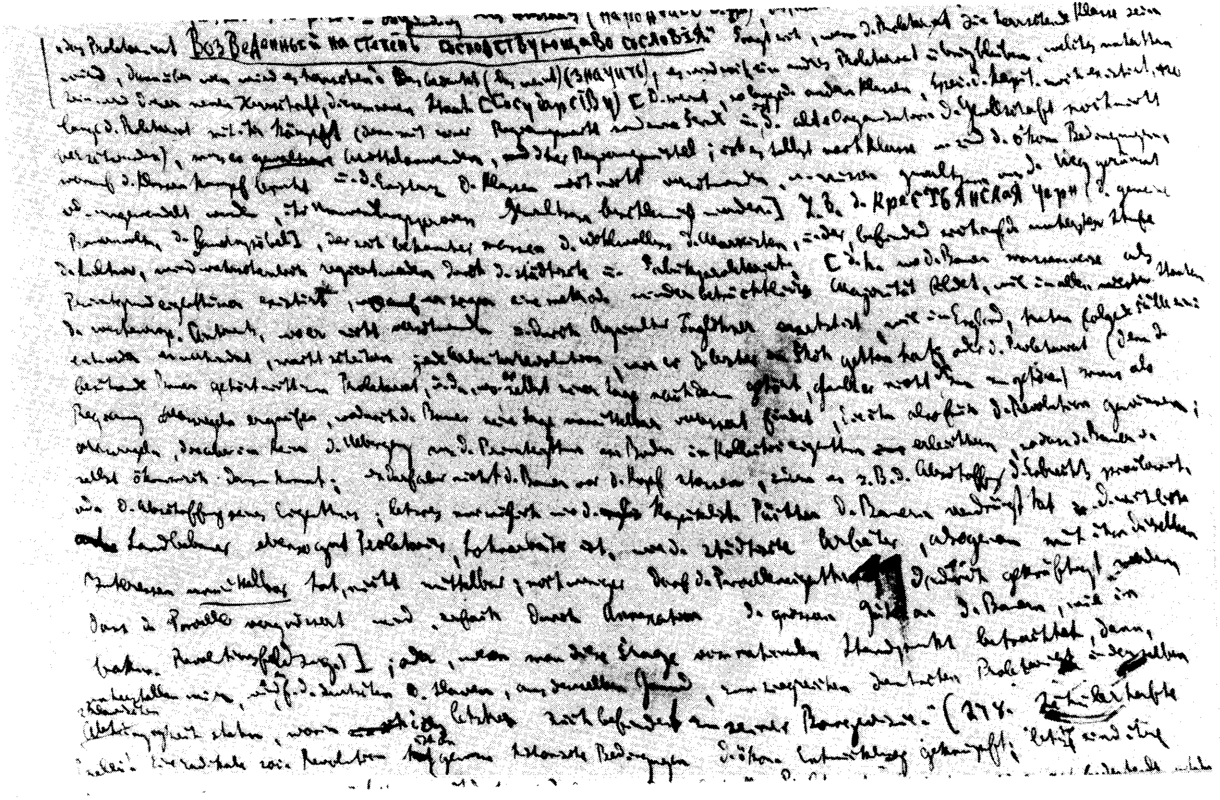
Neither intelligence, power or wealth can give Russia *such predominance as to entitle her to a «decisive say» in Europe* (p. 14).

Russia can only take action at the behest of a Western power. (Thus Frederick II called on Catherine to partition Poland[544] and almost Sweden as well.)

As for the revolutionary movement in Europe, Russia, finding herself in the hands of Prussian politicians, played the role of bogeyman and not infrequently that of the screen behind which they were adept at concealing their own aggressive and reactionary manoeuvres. After their recent victories,[545] they no longer need this and don't do it any more (p. 15).

Now with Bismarck, Berlin is the visible chief and capital of reaction in Europe (p. 16). Reaction (Roman Catholic) in Rome, Versailles, and to some extent in Vienna and Brussels; knout-reaction in Russia; but the living, «intelligent», really «powerful» reaction is concentrated in Berlin and is spreading from the new German Empire to all parts of Europe, etc. (p. 16).

«*The federal organisation of the workers' associations, groups, communities, volosts and ultimately of regions and peoples, from below—this sole precondition of true, non-fictitious*



Part of a page from Marx's "Notes on Bakunin's Book *Statehood and Anarchy*"

freedom—is as opposed to their nature[a] as any economic autonomy is incompatible with them» (p. 17).

Representative democracy (представительная демократія) on the other hand has two requirements for its success: «state centralisation and the actual subjugation of the sovereign people by an intellectual minority which governs and unfailingly exploits it, while ostensibly representing it» (p. 17).

«The essence of *our Tartar-German Empire*» (p. 14).

The new German Empire is warlike; it must conquer or be conquered (pp. 17, 18): it has a «compelling aspiration to become a world state» (p. 18). Hegemony is merely the modest expression of this aspiration; its precondition is the weakness and subjugation of as many of the surrounding empires as possible.[b] The last French Empire had this role, at present the German has it, and «*In our view the German state is the only true state in Europe*» (p. 19).

«*State*» (*empire, royaume*[c]); «*ruler*» (*souverain, monarque, empereur, roi*[d]); *rule* (*régner, dominer*[e]). (In German, on the other hand, *Reich* originally referred only to a piece of territory (large OR small) with definite boundaries, named after the tribe, etc., the people it belonged to. For example, the region of the Upper Palatinate on the Regen up to Viechtach was called the *Viechtreich*; Aachnerreich; Vrankryk (in the Netherlands); the *Reich* of Nimwegen; *Reich* of Megen; the district of Trarbuch on the Moselle is still called Cröverreich to this day; Westrich is another region on the Moselle.)

France's «*career as a state*» is at an end; anyone who knows anything of the character of the French knows like us (Bakunin) that as France was able to be the «*predominant power*» for so long, she will find it impossible to accept a secondary position or even one of equality with others. She will prepare for a new war, for revenge, for the re-establishment of her lost первенства (primacy) (p. 19). But will she achieve it? Surely not. The latest events have shown that *patriotism*, the highest civic virtue (*эта высшая государственная добродетель*) no longer exists in France (p. 19). The patriotism of the upper classes[f] is nothing more than vanity which, however, they will abandon in favour of their real interests, as the last war demonstrated. The French rural population displayed just as little patriotism. Peasants ceased to be patriots once they became property owners. Only in Alsace and Lorraine, as if in mockery of the Germans, did French patriotism make its appearance. Patriotism survives now only *in the urban proletariat*. This is the main reason why the hatred of the propertied classes turned against them. But they are not patriotic in the true sense, because they are socialist (fraternal towards the workers of all other countries). They took up arms not against the German people, but against Germanic military despotism (pp. 20-22). The war began only four years after the First Geneva Congress[546] and the propaganda of the International created «*especially*» among the workers «*of Latin origin*» a new antipatriotic outlook (p. 22).

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[a] I.e. the nature of modern capitalist production and bank speculation.—*Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has "at least all the surrounding states".—*Ed.*

[c] Kingdom.—*Ed.*

[d] Sovereign, monarch, emperor, king.—*Ed.*

[e] Govern, dominate.—*Ed.*

[f] Bakunin has: "social-estates".—*Ed.*

This also became apparent at a MEETING in *Vienna* in *1868* "in response to a whole series of political and patriotic «*proposals*»" made by the young Germanic[a] bourgeois democrats.547 The workers replied by saying that they were being exploited by them, had always been deceived and oppressed by them, and that all workers of all countries were their brothers... The international camp of working men was their only fatherland, the international world of exploiters their only enemy (pp. 22, 23). As proof they sent a telegram "to their Paris brethren, the pioneers of «workers' liberation throughout the world»" (p. 23).[b] This reply raised quite a furore in Germany; it sent waves of panic through all bourgeois democrats, including even Johann Jacoby, and "not only wounded their patriotic feelings but also offended against the official faith (государственную вѣру) of the school of Lassalle and Marx. Probably on the advice of the latter, Mr. Liebknecht, who is now one of the leaders of the German Social-Democrats, but who was at the time still a member of the bourgeois-democratic party (the defunct People's Party 548), immediately left Leipzig for Vienna to have negotiations (переговоры) with the Viennese workers about the "*political tactlessness*" that had given rise to the scandal. In justice to him it must be said he acted so successfully that only a few months later, namely in August 1868, at the Nuremberg Congress of German workers, all the leaders of the Austrian proletariat subscribed without protest to the narrowly patriotic programme of the Social-Democratic Party" 549 (pp. 23, 24). This revealed "the profound gulf between the political leanings of the leaders of the Party, all of whom were more or less learned and bourgeois, and the revolutionary instincts of the *Germanic or at least the Austrian proletariat itself*". However, such instincts have barely developed in Germany and Austria since 1868, but have come on famously in Belgium, Italy, Spain and above all in France (p. 24). The French workers are fully conscious that, as social revolutionaries, they are working for the whole world (p. 25), "and more for the world than for themselves" (p. 25). "This dream" (эта мечта) "has become second nature to the French proletariat and has expelled the last vestiges of imperial patriotism from their minds and their hearts" (p. 26). When the French proletariat issued its call to arms, it was in the conviction that it was fighting as much for the freedom and rights of the German proletariat as for its own (p. 26). "They were not fighting for greatness and honour, but for victory over the hated «military power» which in the hands of the bourgeoisie had been the means of their oppression. They detested the German army, not because it was German, but because it was an army" (p. 26). The uprising of the Paris Commune against the Versailles National Assembly 550 and *against the saviour of the fatherland—Thiers*—makes crystal-clear the nature of the passion which alone motivates the French proletariat today for whom only a social-revolutionary war continues, etc., to exist (p. 27). In their passion for social revolution "*they proclaimed the ultimate dissolution of the French Empire, the shattering of the imperial unity of France, which is incompatible with the autonomy of the French Communes* (communities). The Germans only reduced the frontiers and the power (силу) of their political fatherland; they however aimed to «убить» (kill, destroy) it entirely, and as if to symbolise their treasonable intent, they toppled into the dust the Vendôme Column, the revered memorial of French glory" 551 (p. 27).

«Hence the state on the one hand, the social revolution on the other» (p. 29). This struggle at its sharpest in France; even among the peasants, at least in Southern France (p. 30). "And this hostile antagonism between two now irreconcilable worlds constitutes the *second* reason why it is impossible for France to become once again a state of the first rank, the predominant «state»" (p. 30). The men of Versailles, the stock exchange, the bourgeoisie, etc., lost their heads when Thiers announced the withdrawal of the Prussian troops[552] (p. 31). «That is to say, the curious patriotism of the French bourgeoisie looks to the ignominious capitulation of the fatherland for its salvation» (p. 31).

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[a] Bakunin has: "South German and Austrian".—*Ed.*

[b] "Die Arbeiter Wien's an die französischen und englischen Arbeiter. Wien, den 10. Juli 1868", *Der Vorbote*, No. 8, August, 1868, pp. 120-22.—*Ed.*

"The sympathies for the Spanish revolution, evinced so clearly nowadays by French workers, *particularly in Southern France*,[553] where the proletariat evidently longs for fraternal alliance with the Spanish proletariat and would *even like to form a «people's» federation with them*, based on free labour and collective ownership" [p. 32],—

Народъ, people, nation (*natio*, *nasci*—something born, birth)—

"despite all national differences and state frontiers—these sympathies and aspirations, I say, prove that for the French proletariat above all, as well as for the privileged classes, the age of imperial patriotism is over" (p. 32).

«How then can such an ancient, incurably sick state» (like France) «take on the youthful and hitherto still healthy German state» (p. 33)? No form of state, no republic however democratic, can give the people what it needs, "i.e. the free (вольный—free, but also unbridled) organisation of its own interests from below (снизу въ верхъ), without any interference, tutelage, compulsion from above, because every such statehood (государство), even the most republican and most democratic, even the *so-called people's state*" (мнимо-народное государство) «*which has been thought up by Mr. Marx*, is in essence» nothing but the government of the masses from above by an intelligent and hence privileged minority, which rules as if it comprehended the real interests of the people better than the people itself" (pp. 34, 35).

Since therefore the propertied classes cannot satisfy the passion and the aspirations of the people, "only one means is left them—state force (государственное насилие), in a word, the «*state*», because the actual meaning of «*state*» is «*force*» (*violence, véhémence, force*), «*government by force*, concealed if possible, but if the worst comes to the worst, ruthless force», etc." (p. 35). Gambetta cannot mend matters here; the desperate struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat (in France) "calls for the deployment of all means and forces at the disposal of the government (the state), thus leaving no means and forces to spare to enable the French Empire to maintain its external supremacy over the European powers". «How could it compete with Bismarck's empire!» (p. 37). France must submit to the superior leadership, the friendly tutelage of the German Empire, just as the Italian state had to bow to the policies of the French (pp. 37, 38).

England: Influence greatly reduced. Following sentence characteristic:

«Even as recently as thirty years ago she would not have acquiesced so calmly in either *the German conquest of the Rhine provinces*, the re-establishment of Russian predominance on the Black Sea, or the Russian campaign in Khiva»[554] (p. 39). The reason for this complaisance, etc.—the struggle of the workers' world with the exploitative and politically dominant bourgeois world (p. 39). The social revolution is not far off there, etc. (l.c.).

Spain and Italy, not worth mentioning: they will never become dangerous and powerful states, not from the absence of material means but because the «spirit of the people» is directed towards quite different objectives (p. 39).

On this point: Spain roused herself again in the people's war against Napoleon[555] which was initiated by the untutored masses themselves. Nothing of the kind in Germany in 1812 and 1813. Remained unmoved until Napoleon's defeat in Russia. The Tirol the only exception[556] (pp. 40, 41).

Meanwhile:

«We have seen that the ownership of property sufficed to corrupt the French peasantry and to extinguish its last remaining sparks of patriotism» (p. 42). In Germany (1812-13) the young citizens or rather the loyal subjects (вѣрноподданные), stirred up by philosophers and poets, took up arms to protect and restore the German Empire, for it was just at this time that the idea of the Pan-Germanic Empire was born in Germany. In the meantime, the Spanish people rose up as one man (поголовно) to defend (отстоять) the freedom of their «homeland» and the independence of their «national life» against the ferocious and powerful oppressor (p. 43). Every form of government was then tried out in Spain, but to no purpose: despotism, constitutionalism, conservative republicanism, etc.; even the petty-bourgeois federal republic along Swiss lines (p. 43).

"Spain was seized (possessed) in real earnest by the demon of revolutionary socialism.[557] Andalusian and Estremaduran peasants, without asking anyone's permission or waiting for anyone's orders, made themselves masters of the estates of the erstwhile landowners. Catalonia, and particularly Barcelona, loudly assert their independence and autonomy. The people of Madrid proclaim a federal republic and refuse to subject the revolution to the future commands of a constituent assembly. Even in the North, in territory under Carlist control,[558] the social revolution is proceeding openly: the fueros (фуэросы)[559] are proclaimed, as is the independence of the districts and communities; all legal and civil records are burnt; throughout the whole of Spain the army fraternises with the people and drives away its officers. General bankruptcy has set in, public and private—the first prerequisite for social and economic revolution" (p. 44). "An end to finance, to the army, the courts, the police; away with government forces and with the «*state*»; what remains is the vigorous and fresh (свежий) people, sustained now only by the passion of the social revolution. Under the collective leadership of the International and the Alliance of Social Revolutionaries[560] it rallies and organises its forces, etc." (p. 44). The only living tradition still surviving in the Italian people is that of absolute autonomy, not only of the «областей» (province, region, district), but of the communities (общины).[a] To this, the «only political concept» which really is peculiar to the «people», we must add the historical and ethnographic «variety» of the «regions» where so many dialects are spoken that people in one «область» (which *en passant* also means "power, force") only understand the inhabitants of other «regions» with difficulty and sometimes not at all. But «socially», Italy is not disunited. On the contrary, there is a «common Italian character and type», by which Italians are distinguished from all other peoples, even southern ones (p. 45). The break-up of the latest Italian «state» will unfailingly have «free, social unification» as its consequence (p. 46). All this refers only to the «mass of the people».

In the «upper strata» of the Italian bourgeoisie, on the other hand, as in other countries, we find that «state unity has given rise to the *social unity of the class* of the privileged exploiters of the labour of the people, a unity which is now being steadily developed. This class is now known in Italy under the collective term

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[a] In Bakunin this reads "not even at the level of the province, but [only] in the communities".— *Ed.*

Consorteria ... the whole» official world, bureaucratic and military, police and judicial; big landowners, industrialists, merchants and bankers; the entire official and semi-official host of lawyers and writers, the whole parliament (p. 46).

But even the most terrible *destitution* (poverty), even when it afflicts «the many millions» of proletarians, is not a sufficient guarantee (залогъ) of revolution. When man (the destitute) is driven to *despair*, his rebellion becomes that much more possible... In desperation even the German ceases to reason; but an enormous amount is needed to drive him to despair... However, «destitution» and «despair» can do no more than provoke personal or at best local «*revolts*»; they are insufficient to grip «whole masses of the people». For that a «*universal popular ideal*» is needed which historically «always» evolves from the «depths of popular instinct», in addition a belief (вѣра) in one's right, «it could be said, a religious belief in this right».

This together with poverty and despair provides the right recipe for social revolution (pp. 47, 48).

"This is the situation in which the Italian people finds itself today" (p. 48).

In particular, it was the *International*—i.e. the Alliance, which has been especially effective in Italy in the last two years (1872 and 1873)—that acted as midwife to this ideal.

«It[a] pointed out to it [the proletariat] the objective to be achieved and at the same time provided it with the ways and means to organise the energies of the people» (p. 48).

"It is worthy of note that in Italy as in Spain it was not «Marx's state-communist programme» which carried the day (triumphed), but that in both countries there was a widespread and passionate endorsement of the *programme of the world-famous* (преславутого) *Alliance* or «*League of Social Revolutionaries*» with its implacable declaration of war on «domination, governmental tutelage, prerogative and authority» of every kind"[561] (p. 49).

"Under these conditions the people can emancipate itself and establish its own particular mode of life «on the basis of the most extensive freedom» of each and everyone, but without constituting a threat at all to the liberty of other peoples" (p. 49).

Therefore, since Italy and Spain adhere to the programme of the Alliance, the social revolution in those countries is at hand, but no *policy of conquest* is to be feared from them (p. 49).

The small states—Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, «for the very same reasons» (i.e. because they have embraced the programme of the Alliance!),

"but chiefly" because of "their political insignificance" (p. 49) present no threat but, on the contrary, have many reasons to "fear annexation by the new German Empire" (p. 50).

Austria sick unto death. Divided into two states, *Magyar-Slav* and *German-Slav*[562] (p. 50). The Germans wish for hegemony in the latter.

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[a] The propaganda of the International.—*Ed.*

"The Germans, «state-worshippers» and bureaucrats by nature, it can be said, base their pretentions on their historic right, i.e. on the right of conquest and «tradition», on the one hand, and on the alleged superiority of their culture, on the other" (p. 52). In recent years the Germans have been compelled to concede an independent «existence» to the Magyars. «Of all the tribes» that inhabit the Austrian Empire, the Magyars have the «most developed state-consciousness» after the Germans (p. 52). They assert their historic right to lord it over all the other tribes who live with them in the Kingdom of Hungary, even though they do not amount to much more than $^1/_3$ (l.c.) (viz. 5,500,000 Magyars, 5,000,000 Slavs, 2,700,000 Romanians, 1,800,000 Jews and Germans, around 500,000 other «tribes», making 15,500,000 all told) (l.c.). So the Austro-Hungarian Empire [divides] into 2: the Cisleithan state, Slav-German with 20,500,000 (7,200,000 Germans and Jews, 11,500,000 Slavs, about 1,800,000 Italians and other «tribes»); and the Magyar-Slav-Romanian-German state (p. 53).

In *Hungary*

the "majority of the population is subject to the Magyars, does not like them, bears their yoke grudgingly, hence perpetual struggle" (p. 53). The Magyars fear revolt from the Romanians and Slavs: hence in secret league with *Bismarck* who, "foreseeing the inevitable war with the Austrian Empire, which is destined to disappear, «makes advances» to the Magyars" (p. 54).

In the *Cisleithan* state the situation is no better; there the Germans want to rule over the Slav majority: "The Germans hate the Slavs as the master is wont to hate his slaves" (p. 54), fear their emancipation, etc. "Like all conquerors of foreign land and subjugators of foreign peoples, the Germans simultaneously and highly «unjustly» both hate and despise the Slavs" (l.c.). The Prussian Germans' main criticism of the Austrian government is that it is incapable of Germanicising the Slavs. "This, in their view and also in fact, constitutes the greatest crime against German patriotic interests in general and against *Pan-Germanism*" (p. 55) (his[a] emphasis). With the exception of the Poles, the Austrian Slavs have countered this Pan-Germanism with *Pan-Slavism*, which likewise is a piece of "nauseating folly", "an ideal incompatible with freedom and fatal to the people" (p. 55).

Hereto a footnote in which Mr. Bakunin threatens to treat this question at greater length; here he just calls on Russian revolutionary youth to resist this trend; he admits that Russian agents are busy propagating Pan-Slavism among the Austrian Slavs and trying to persuade them that the Tsar is *eager to free their land from the German yoke*, and "this at a time when the Petersburg Cabinet is «openly» betraying the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, selling them to Bismarck as a reward for the promised assistance in the East".

How does it come about, then, that in the Austro-Slav territories there is a whole class of educated, etc., people who either expect to be liberated by the Russians or even hope for "*the establishment of a Slav great power under the supremacy of the Russian Tsar*"? (p. 57).

This only goes to show "the degree to which this accursed German civilisation which is «*bourgeois*» in essence and hence «*statist*», has succeeded in entering the soul of the Slav patriots themselves ... they would remain completely German even though the goal they are seeking to achieve is anti-German; using ways and means borrowed from the Germans they want, they think to free the Slavs from the German yoke. Because of their German education they cannot conceive of any way of obtaining their freedom but through the formation of Slav states or a single great Slav empire. They therefore set themselves a purely German objective because the «modern state»—centralist, bureaucratic, a police and military state after the fashion, for example, of the new German or «All-Russian» Empire—is a purely German «creation». In Russia it formerly contained a certain Tartar element, «but even in Germany there is certainly no lack of Tartar civility nowadays»" (p. 57).

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[a] Bakunin's.— *Ed.*

"The entire nature, the entire character of the Slav tribe is definitely unpolitical, i.e. non-«statist». In vain do the Czechs hark back to (поминаютъ) their Great Moravian Empire[563] and the Serbs their Empire of Dušan. All such things are either ephemeral phenomena or old fairy-tales. The truth is that no single Slav tribe has ever of itself created a «state»" (p. 57).

Polish Monarchy-Republic:

founded under the dual influence of Germanism and Latinism, after the Slav people (холопъ—bondsman, serf) had been suppressed by the Szlachta who are not of Slav origin in the opinion of many Polish historians (such as «*Mickiewicz*») (p. 58).

Bohemian state (Czech):

patched together on the German model and openly influenced by the Germans; hence soon formed an organic part of the German Empire.

Russian Empire:

Tartar knout, Byzantine blessing (благословеніе) and German bureaucratic, military and police Enlightenment (p. 58).

"Hence it is indubitable that the Slavs have never established a «state» on their own initiative. Because they have never been a tribe bent on conquest. Only warlike people found «states» and they invariably found them for their own benefit and to the detriment of subjugated nations." The Slavs were predominantly peaceful, agrarian tribes; they lived cut off and independently in their communities, administered (управлять—also *govern*) in patriarchal fashion by their «elders» on the basis of the «electoral principle», collective ownership of land, no nobility, no special priest-caste, all equal, "implementing in a patriarchal and hence imperfect manner the idea of human fraternity". No political bonds between communities; only a defensive alliance in case of attacks from outside; no Slav «state»; but social, fraternal bonds between all Slav tribes, hospitable in the highest degree (pp. 58, 59). "Such an organisation rendered them defenceless against the incursions and attacks of warlike tribes, especially the Germans who sought to extend their rule everywhere" (p. 59). "The Slavs were exterminated in part, the majority subjugated by Turks, Tartars, Magyars and above all Germans" (p. 59). "The second half of the 10th century witnesses the beginning of the tormented, but also heroic history of their slavery" (p. 59).

"*Unfortunately for Poland* her leading parties (руководящія партіи) which to this day have belonged for the most part to the Szlachta, have not yet renounced their «statist» programme and, instead of striving for the liberation and «rebirth» of their «homeland» through social revolution, they remain the prisoners of ancient prejudices and seak either the protection of a Napoleon or else an alliance with the Jesuits and the Austrian feudal nobility" (p. 61).

In our century the Western and Southern Slavs have also awakened; Bohemia the centre for the one, Serbia for the other (pp. 61, 62).

The latest expression of the «state»: the *Pan-Germanic Empire*: "its days are numbered and all nations expect that its collapse will bring about their ultimate emancipation... Are the Slavs envious of the Germans for having earned the hatred of all the other peoples of Europe?" (p. 63)

England does not exist for this COFFEE-HOUSE politician; it is the true apex of bourgeois society in Europe.

Either there will be no Slav «state» at all, or else there will be a vast, all-devouring Pan-Slav, «St. Petersburg knout State» (pp. 64, 65).

Nor is it possible to oppose Pan-Germanic centralisation by forming a *Pan-Slav Federation* after the manner of the United States (p. 66). Federation in North America is possible only because there is no powerful «state» like Russia, Germany or France on the American continent adjacent to the great republic. Hence, *in order* to counter a victorious Pan-Germanism on the level of the «state» *or* politics, only one way remains: to establish a *Pan-Slav* «state».

Universal Slav servitude beneath the «All-Russian knout» (p. 67). But even this would be impossible. Numerically, there are almost three times as many Slavs in Europe as Germans. Despite this, a Pan-Slav Empire would never be able to match the Pan-Germanic Empire in terms of power and actual «political and military strength». Why not? "Because German blood, German instinct and the German tradition are all imbued with a passion for «state» order and «state» discipline"; with the Slavs the position is the reverse; "this is why they can only be disciplined by having the threat of a big stick hanging over them, while any German will swallow the stick with the conviction (съ убѣжденіемъ) of his own free will. To him freedom consists in «being drilled» and he «willingly bows down» to every authority. Furthermore, the Germans are earnest, diligent people, learned, thrifty, «orderly, careful and calculating», which does not prevent them from fighting splendidly if need be, namely when the authorities desire it. They proved this in the recent wars. Moreover, their military and administrative organisation has been perfected to the highest possible degree, beyond the reach of any other nation. So is it thinkable that the Slavs could ever match them on the plane of «statehood»? (pp. 68, 69). "The Germans look to the «state» for their life and their freedom; for the Slavs the «state» is a tomb. They seek their liberation outside the «state», not just in the struggle against the German «state», but in the «universal revolt» against «states» of every kind, in social revolution" (p. 69). "But «states» will not fall of their own accord: they can only be overthrown by an international social revolution which encompasses all nations and peoples" (p. 69). The Slavs' hostility to the state, which hitherto has been their weakness, becomes their strength for the present popular movement (p. 69). The moment is drawing near for the total emancipation of «the mass of unskilled workers» and for «their free social organisation «from below», without any «правительственного» (directing, governmental) interference, by means of *free economic*, «народных» (popular, public) «союзовъ» (union, alliance, coalition, federation), «disregarding» all old state frontiers and all national differences, on the sole basis of productive labour, humanised through and through and with total solidarity amidst all its diversity" (p. 70).

"Nationality is no universal human principle, but an historical, local fact having, like all «genuine» and harmless facts, an undoubted right to universal «recognition». Every people and even every «little people» has its own character, its manner and these in fact (именно) are what form the essence of nationality, the product of the whole of history and the totality of the conditions of life of the nationality.

Every people, like every individual, is «inevitably» what it is and has the undoubted right to be itself. This is what the entire so-called «national right» amounts to" (p. 70).

But it does not follow from this that one should lay down his nationality and the other his individuality as a «special principle», etc.: "The less they think about themselves, and the more they «are imbued» with a common humanity, then the more the nationality of the one and the individuality of the other gain in vitality and ideas" (p. 71). The Slavs too will only be able to assume «their rightful place» in history and in the free brotherhood of peoples if, jointly with others, they embrace universal interests (p. 71).

"In Germany the Reformation very quickly abandoned its «insurrectionary» character, which is anyway incompatible with the German temperament, and assumed the shape of a «peaceful state» reform which soon came to form the basis for the «most methodical», systematic, learned «state» despotism. In France, after a long and bloody struggle which made no small contribution to the growth of free thought in that country, they (desires for reform) were crushed by the victorious Catholic Church. In Holland, England and later in the United States of America they created a new civilisation which was *in essence anti-«statist»,* but *«bourgeois-economic»* and liberal" (p. 72).

This passage is very typical for Bakunin; the genuine capitalist state for him anti-governmental; secondly, the different developments in Germany, on the one hand, and Holland and England, on the other, are not the result of changes in world trade, but etc.

"The religious reform"

(also very brilliant that the Renaissance is only thought of in the context of religion)

"produced two main trends in civilised mankind: an *economic and liberal-«bourgeois»* trend, particularly in England and then in America, and the *despotic, «statist»*, essentially also «bourgeois» "—

he uses this word *bourgeois* both for capitalism and for the medieval philistines [Spießbürger] in Germany—

"and the *Protestant* trend, even though the latter is mixed with aristocratic Catholic elements which, incidentally, became completely subordinate to the «state». The chief representatives of this trend were *France* and *Germany*, the Austrian part to begin with and then the Prussian" (p. 73).

"The French Revolution founded a new universal human interest, the ideal of unlimited human liberty, but *exclusively in the political realm*; contradiction, political freedom [on its own] cannot be put into practice; freedom within a «state» is a lie. Resulted in two main tendencies. Systematic exploitation of the proletariat and the enrichment of a minority. On this exploitation of the people one party desires to set up a democratic republic, the other, more consistent, strives for the monarchic, i.e. an openly «state» despotism" (p. 73).

Against all these aspirations, there is a new trend "leading directly" to Bakunin (p. 74).[564]

"Therefore the Slav proletariat must join the International Working Men's Association *en masse*" (p. 75). "We have already had occasion to refer to the magnificent demonstration of international solidarity by the Viennese workers in

1868" (p. 75) against the Pan-Germanic programme. But the Austrian workers failed to follow this up with the necessary measures, "because they were stopped short (prevented) at the very first step by the patriotic-Germanic propaganda of Mr. Liebknecht and the other Social-Democrats who came with him to Vienna, it would seem, in July 1868 expressly for the purpose of throwing off course (leading astray) the true social instinct of the Austrian workers from the path of international revolution and diverting it towards political agitation in favour of establishing a «state», what they call «народным» (people's state), Pan-Germanic, of course—in short, for implementing the patriotic ideal of Count Bismarck,only on a Social-Democratic basis and by means of so-called legal «popular agitation»" (p. 76).

"For the Slavs this would mean voluntarily submitting to the German yoke and this [is] «repugnant» to every Slav heart (p. 77). Hence we shall not only not persuade our Slav brothers to enter the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party of the German workers which is presided over with dictatorial powers by Messrs. Marx and Engels and after them Messrs. Bebel, Liebknecht and some literary Jews; on the contrary, we must strive with all our might to prevent the Slav proletariat from «forming» a suicidal «alliance» with this party which is in no sense a «people's» party but in its tendency, its aims and its methods is purely «*bourgeois*» and moreover exclusively German, i.e. «fatal to Slavs»" (p. 77).

The Slav proletariat must not only not join this party, it must avoid all contact with it, and instead must strengthen its bonds with the International Working Men's Association. "The German Social-Democratic Party should on no account be confused with the International (p. 77). The political and patriotic programme of the former has almost nothing in common with the programme of the latter and is indeed diametrically opposed to it. At the Hague Congress the Marxists tried to impose it on the entire International.[565] But this attempt provoked a general loud protest from Italy, Spain, part of Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, England and even to some extent of the United States of America, so that it became apparent to the whole world that no one wants the German programme except for the Germans themselves" (p. 78).

The Slav proletariat must join the International *en masse*, form sections and, if it appears necessary, a «*Pan-Slav federation*» (p. 78).

Serbia, «*Serbian principality*»: The Serbs founded a «state» after emancipation from the Turks; its yoke heavier than that of the Turks (p. 79). At the mercy of bureaucratic «robbery» and despotism (l.c.). In Turkish Serbia there is neither a nobility nor very big landowners, nor industrialists, nor even particularly rich merchants; a new bureaucratic aristocracy has grown up, educated for the most part at government expense in Odessa, Moscow, Petersburg, Vienna, Germany, Switzerland and Paris (p. 79).

The Bulgarians want nothing to do with the Serbian «Dušan Kingdom»; nor do the «Croats», the «Montenegrins» and the Bosnian Serbs. For all these lands there is only one possible means of escape, and of unification—social revolution; «certainly not a *war* between states» which could lead only to their subjugation by Russia or Austria or both (p. 86).

In Czech Bohemia Wenceslas's kingdom and crown[566] have fortunately not yet been restored; the Viennese authorities treat it simply as a province, without even the privileges of Galicia; and yet there are as many political parties in Bohemia as in the dear[a] Slav «state». "Indeed, this damned German spirit of politicking and «statehood» has made such inroads into the education of Czech youth that there is a serious risk of the latter ending up by «losing» the capacity «to understand their own people» " (p. 86). "In all Austrian towns where the Slav population has intermingled with the German, the Slav workers play the most active part in all the general rallies of the proletariat. But there are almost no workers' associations in these towns apart from those which have recognised the programme of German Social-Democracy, so that in effect the Slav workers, carried away by their social-revolutionary instincts, have been recruited into a party whose direct and loudly proclaimed goal is the foundation of a pan-Germanic «state», i.e. a vast German «prison» " (p. 88).

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[a] Bakunin has: "any" (p. 86).—*Ed.*

They must accept the programme of the International under the leadership of Bakunin (p. 89) (the *Slav section* in Zurich, a member of the Jura Federation,[567] is specially recommended as a recruiting office in the Note to p. 89).

Austria (Conclusion).

The Empire continues to exist only through the calculated tolerance of Prussia and Russia who do not yet wish to proceed with dismembering it because each is waiting for a favourable opportunity to seize the lion's share [p. 93].

Russia:

"There is but one constitution of benefit to the people—the destruction of the (Russian) Empire" (p. 96).

Does it have the military power to take on the new German Empire? At present this the only political issue in Russia (l.c.). "This question ... inexorably posed by Germany's new situation, i.e. by the fact that it «has grown» overnight (за одну ночь) «into a gigantic and omnipotent state». But all history shows, and rational logic confirms, that two states of equal strength cannot subsist side by side. One must conquer the other" (p. 97). This is essential for Germany. "After long, long political humiliation it has suddenly become the most powerful empire on the European continent. Can it endure beside itself, under its very nose as it were, a power entirely independent of it, one it has not yet subdued and which dares to claim equal status; and the power of Russia at that, «the most hated of all»!" (p. 97).

"There can be few Russians, we believe, who are unaware of the degree to which the Germans, all Germans, but chiefly the German bourgeois, and under their influence, alas!, the German people too, hate Russia" (p. 97). This hatred [is] one of Germany's most powerful national passions. (p. 98).

Initially, a genuine hatred by German civilisation for Tartar barbarism (p. 98). In the twenties the protest of political liberalism against political despotism (l.c.). They put the entire blame for the Holy Alliance onto Russia (l.c.). In the early thirties sympathy with the Poles, hatred of the Russians for suppressing the Polish uprising (l.c.). They forgot again that Prussia had helped to put down the Poles; Prussia gave her assistance because a Polish victory would have meant rebellion throughout the whole of Prussian Poland, which would have "nipped the «rising power» of the Prussian monarchy in the bud" (l.c.).

In the second half of the thirties the emerging Slav question provided a new reason to hate the Russians, one which gave that hate a political and national direction: the formation in Austria and Turkey of a Slav Party which hoped for and expected help from Russia. The idea of a Pan-Slav republican federation to which the Decembrists (Pestel, Muravyov-Apostol, etc.) aspired. Nicholas took it up, but in the form of a unified, Pan-Slav and autocratic «state» under his sceptre of iron. In the early thirties and forties Russian agents travelled to the Slav territories from Petersburg and Moscow, some officially, others as unpaid volunteers; the latter belonged to the Moscow Slavophile Society.[568] Pan-Slav propaganda spread among the Southern and Western Slavs. Many pamphlets, some written in German, others translated into it. Fear among the Pan-Germanic public. *Bohemia—Russian!* Spoilt their appetite and ruined their sleep (p. 99). The greatest hatred of Russia from this time; for their part the Russians have no love for the Germans. Under these circumstances what possibility is there for the All-Russian[a] and Pan-Germanic Empires to live as neighbours? (p. 100). But there were and still are grounds for them both to keep the peace. *First*: *Poland* (l.c.). Austria opposed to partition, etc. For Austria, Poland a bulwark against Russia and Prussia. *Second*: *Austria*, which they wish to dismember. The partition of Austria will divide them, but until then nothing can separate them (pp. 100-102). *Third: the new German Empire*, hated by all and with no ally apart from Russia, and perhaps the *United States*. Still has much to do before it can achieve the idea of Pan-Germanic Empire; would have to take the whole of Lorraine away from France; to devour Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula; the Russian Baltic provinces, so as to achieve sole control of the Baltic. It would leave Hungary to the Magyars, Galicia with the Austrian Bukovina to the Russians; it would reserve its rights to the whole of Austria up to and including Trieste and also Bohemia, which the Russian Cabinet would not even dream of contesting... "*We*" (Bakunin) "*have certain knowledge that secret negotiations about the partition of the Austrian Empire in the shorter or longer term have long since been in train between the Petersburg and the German courts*", in the course of which each side naturally tries to dupe the other. On its own, the Prussian-German Empire [is] not capable of carrying out these great plans; "*hence an alliance with Russia is and will for a long time remain an «urgent necessity»*"... The same true of *Russia*. "*Conquest in every direction and at any price is the normal condition of life for the Russian Empire.*" In which direction then? To west or east? The western route is that of *Pan-Slavism* and *an alliance with France* against *the united military might of Prussia and Austria* and with the probable neutrality of *England and the United States*. The other, eastern, route leads to *India*, *Persia*, *Constantinople*. The enemies there [are] Austria and England, probably joined by France; allies—*Germany and the United States* (pp. 102-104).

The *first route* (*Pan-Slavism*, *against the German Empire*). The assistance of France worthless, her unity shattered forever, etc.; this route is revolutionary; it leads to an uprising of the peoples, the Slavs especially, against their legitimate «rulers», both Austrian and Prussian-German. Nicholas rejected this course of action from instinct, principle, etc. (!) But over and above that «it must not be forgotten that the liberation of Poland is absolutely impossible to All-Russian statehood». Centuries of struggle between two opposing forms of the «state»: the «will of the Sczlachta» and the Tsarist knout. The Poles often seemed on the verge of victory. But as soon as the people rose up—in Moscow in 1612,[569] and then the insurrection of the Ukrainians and the Lithuanian «serfs» under Bogdan Khmelnitsky[570]—it was at an end. "*The Russian knout triumphed thanks to the people.*"

This admission on p. 110.

The All-Russian knout-Empire built on the ruins of the Sczlachta Polish «state». "*Take these supports away from it*, i.e. the provinces which «formed part» of the Polish «state» up to 1772, and the All-Russian Empire will vanish" (p. 110).

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[a] Here Marx has: "Bcerussische", a word coined from Russian and German.—*Ed.*

These are the wealthiest, most fertile and best populated provinces; if they were lost the wealth and might of the Russian Empire would be halved. This loss would be followed by that of the «Baltic provinces» and, on the assumption that the Polish state were really invested with new life, it would wrest from Russia control of the whole of the Ukraine, which would become either a Polish province or an «independent state». Russia would thereby forfeit her frontier on the Black Sea; she would be cut off from Europe on every side and be forced into Asia. Some imagine that the Russian Empire could at least cede Lithuania to Poland. «No». The proximity of «Moscow» and Poland necessarily leads Polish patriotism to the conquest of the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine. Were the present Kingdom of Poland once freed, Warsaw would immediately unite with Vilna, Grodno, «Minsk» and Kiev, to say nothing of Podolia and Volhyniya. The Poles such a restless people that it cannot be given an inch of free space; it instantly becomes the focal point of general revolutionary resistance.[a] In 1841 there remained only one free city, Cracow, and Cracow became the focal point of general revolutionary resistance. The Russian Empire can only prolong its existence by *using the Muravyovian system «to keep» the Poles «down»* [571]... The Russian people has nothing in common with the Russian Empire; [their] interests are opposed.

At this point Bakunin puts forward the following proposition, a nonsensical one from the standpoint of his own system:

"As soon as the Russian Empire collapses and the Great Russians, Ukrainians and other peoples have established their freedom, the ambitious intentions of the Polish «state»-patriots will cease to hold any «terrors» for them" (*comment donc!*[b]). "They can be fatal only to the Empire" (p. 111). This is why the Tsar will not voluntarily give up the least patch of Polish territory. "And without liberating the Poles, can he call on the Slavs «to rebel»?" (pp. 104-111).

And in Nicholas' day the Pan-Slav way was more promising than today. At that time an uprising of the Magyars and the Italians against Austria was still to be counted on. At present Italy probably[c] neutral, since (in such an event) Austria would just hand over the few remaining Italian enclaves in her possession voluntarily. As for the Magyars, in view of their own «state»[d] position vis-à-vis the Slavs, they would vigorously support the Germans against Russia. The Russian Emperor could only rely on limited support from among the *Austrian* Slavs; if he tried to induce the *Turkish* Slavs to rise up too, then [he would face a] new enemy: *England*. But in the Austrian Empire there are no more than 17 million Slavs; of these 5 million are in *Galicia*, where the Poles would paralyse the Ruthenians; this leaves *12 million*, minus those serving in the Austrian army, who would fight against anyone their superiors commanded them to, as is the fashion in any army. These 12 million

(who, *according to Bakunin, are exclusively male and adult*)

are not concentrated in one or a few places; scattered over the whole expanse of the Austrian Empire, speaking very different dialects, mixed with Germans, Magyars, Italians and Romanians.

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[a] In Bakunin this part of the sentence reads: "people in it will instantly conspire and establish secret contacts with all the conquered regions so as to restore the Polish state".—*Ed.*

[b] To be sure!—*Ed.*

[c] Bakunin has: "undoubtedly".—*Ed.*

[d] Bakunin has: "dominating".—*Ed.*

"This is a huge number with which to keep the Austrian authorities and the Germans in general in a state of constant uneasiness, but it is very little to give the Russian armies serious support against the combined forces of Prussian Germany and Austria." The Russian government knows this and so does not even contemplate a Pan-Slav war against Austria, which would inevitably turn into war against the whole of Germany. Nevertheless, it does employ agents to disseminate actual Pan-Slav propaganda in the Austrian territories. It is very useful for it to have such blind, etc., supporters in all the Austrian provinces. "*This paralyses, impedes and alarms the Austrian government and strengthens the influence of Russia not just on Austria, but on the whole of Germany.* Imperial Russia incites the Austrian Slavs against Magyars and Germans, knowing full well that in the last analysis it would abandon them to the mercies of those Germans and Magyars" (pp. 112, 113).

By taking the western, Pan-Slav course of action Russia has to fight against all the Germans, both Prussian and Austrian, against the Magyars and against the Poles. Could Russia defeat even *Prussian Germany* alone in an *offensive war* (which she would have to conduct under the pretext of liberating the Slavs)? The Russian nation would have no interest in a war; for peoples in general have no interest in purely political wars conducted by governments; the only instance [of a popular war] in recent history [was] *Napoleon I,* but he was regarded rather as continuing the Revolution; the only genuine example [was] the *last Prussian war against the Second Empire.* At that time Pan-Germanic interest outweighed all others in the hearts and minds of all Germans without distinction, and at the present moment this is what constitutes the special strength of Germany... Russians displayed no interest in their government even in the *Crimean War,* "*which was a defensive war, not a war of conquest*".

This on p. 117; by contrast the war against Napoleon III was evidently a mere *offensive war*?[572]

The Russian peasant is not even aware that he is a Slav ... for the Slav peoples there must be war against all «states», to begin with in alliance with the Latin nations, who like the Slavs are threatened by the German policy of conquest... And then with the Germans, but only when they too have become opposed to the «state»... But until then an alliance of the Slavs and the Latin nations against the German politicians bent on conquest remains a necessity... "*Étrange*[a] vocation for the German tribe! By stirring up (arousing) universal alarm and universal hate against themselves, they unite the nations"... "In this sense the Russian people too [is] completely Slav." But its hostility does not extend to the point of declaring war against them on their own initiative; it will only reveal itself if the Germans invade Russia and try to set up their own rule there,—but it would take no part in an offensive war against the Germans... But do the government resources, both financial and military, suffice [for a war] against Germany?... In the situation postulated here (a Russian offensive) the Germans would be fighting on their own soil and «this time» there would be a truly «universal» uprising of all classes and of the entire population of Germany (pp. 114-120).

The Russian officer a better human being than the German... the latter a civilised wild animal... Germans, especially officers and officials, combine education with barbarism, erudition with servility... But for a *regular army* there is nothing more perfect than the German officer—his entire life: receiving and giving orders... Ditto the German soldier—ideal for the regular army both by nature and training... First break the soldier's body in and thereby the spirit... Discipline, etc.... The superiority of the German officers over those of other nations lies in their knowledge, their theoretical and practical grasp of military affairs, their ardent and *completely pedantic devotion to soldiering, their precision, their methodicalness,* «self-control», inexhaustible stamina (терпѢніе) and, on top of it all, a relative probity (честность). The organisation and equipment of the German army are genuine and not merely something that exists on paper, as with Napoleon III and as it will be with us. And then [there is] the administrative, civil and above all military control, so that widespread deception is impossible. "With us by contrast there is nothing but back-scratching *from bottom to top* and *from top to bottom,* so that it is almost impossible to discover the truth" (pp. 121-128).

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[a] Strange.— *Ed.*

(Last sentence p. 128.)

Even if Russia maintains a million troops, half of them are needed domestically to keep an eye on the beloved people. How many needed then for the Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland (p. 128).

Germany will have a real «million»-strong army, which in organisation, «drilling», morale, knowledge and equipment will be the best in the world. And behind it the entire people in arms "which in all probability would not have risen up against the French if Napoleon III rather than the Prussian Fritz[a] had been the victor in the last war, but which would rise up as one man against a Russian «invasion» "... But where will the Russian million be? On paper... Where the officers and the equipment?... No money... The Germans received 5 thousand million from the French.[573] At least 2 went on armaments... "Indeed at the moment the whole of Germany is transformed into a menacing arsenal, bristling on every side." At your very first step on German soil you will be utterly defeated and your offensive war will be turned into a defensive war at a stroke; the German army will cross the frontiers of the All-Russian Empire. Then a general uprising of the Russian people? "*Yes, if the Germans occupy Russian «regions» and march e.g. directly to Moscow*; but if they do not commit this act of folly, but march northwards towards Petersburg, through the Baltic provinces, there they will find many friends, not just among the bourgeois, the Protestant parsons and Jews, disaffected barons and their children, and students, but also among our countless Baltic generals, officers, officials both high and low who congregate in Petersburg but are also scattered throughout the whole of Russia; even more, they will lead Poland and the Ukraine to rise up against the Russian Empire" (pp. 128-131).

The Poles have no more dangerous or insidious enemy than Bismarck. "It appears as if he has made it his life's task to wipe (стереть) them from the face of the earth. And this does not prevent him from exhorting the Poles to rise up against Russia when German interests require it. And despite the fact that the Poles loathe him and Prussia, not to say *Germany as a whole, which the Poles «will not admit even to themselves, although in the depths of their souls there burns the same historical hatred of the Germans that is to be found among all the other Slav peoples»* ... the Poles will doubtless rise up at Bismarck's summons" (p. 133).

"In Germany and in Prussia herself a numerous and serious political party has existed for a very long time; even three parties: a liberal-progressive party, a purely democratic one and a Social-Democratic party,[574] which taken together have an undoubted majority in the German and Prussian parliaments, and an even more decisive one in society itself; these parties, which have foreseen and in part desire and, as it were, call forth a German war with Russia, have realised that the uprising and the restoration of Poland «*within certain limits*»[a] will be the necessary precondition of that war" (p. 133). Neither Bismarck nor any of these parties has any wish to restore to Poland all the territories taken from her by Prussia: neither Königsberg nor Danzig, nor even the smallest portion of West Prussia; and only a very little of the Duchy of Posen. But they will give the Poles the whole of Galicia together with «Lvov» and Cracow since all this is *Austrian* at present, and as much of the Russian territory as they can seize. In addition, money, weapons and military aid, in the form of a Polish loan on German security of course... The Poles will jump at it... With a few exceptions the Poles do not concern themselves with the «*Slav* question»; they «find the Magyars much closer and more comprehensible»... Numerous parties among the Poles; in the background always the restoration of the Polish «state» within the frontiers of 1772. The only difference between the parties is that some favour one means and others another to achieve this end... Bismarck will demand that they formally renounce their claims to the greater part of the old Polish territories which are now Prussian... It is true, it will be a strange Poland that will have been restored under the aegis of Count Bismarck. But better a «strange» Poland than none at all; besides the Poles envisage the possibility of freeing themselves from Bismarck's protection at a later date... Poland will rise; Lithuania ditto, and, given a little bit of a squall, the Ukraine as well... The Polish patriots are poor socialists and at home they would not concern themselves with socialist revolutionary propaganda; even if they wished to do so, Bismarck would not permit it—«too close to Germany»... but it could be done in Russia and against Russia. A peasant «revolt» in Russia useful for the Germans and the Poles and not difficult to them; so many Poles and Germans scattered through Russia; all allies of Bismarck and the Poles: "Just picture our situation: our armies utterly defeated and in headlong flight; at their heels the Germans are marching on Petersburg, and in the south and west, the Poles are marching towards «Smolensk» and the Ukraine,—and at the same time, fired by foreign and home propaganda, a general, victorious peasants' revolt in Russia and the Ukraine."

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[a] William I.—*Ed.*

(This sentence on p. 138.)

...In this way the German «state» would cut the Russian state off from Europe. "We are speaking, of course, of the Empire" (Russian) "and *not of the Russian people,* which, when *it needs to,* will find or «*make a path for itself*» (пробиться, clear, force its way, *percer, se faire jour*) *всюду дорогу* (everywhere, on all sides)."

(This sentence pp. 138-139.)

So, while the Russian people is *acting as a whole* and *forcing its way through* so as to prevent itself from being cut off from Europe, these anarchists conduct a *political war.* And what does Bakunin want? The Germans and Poles lay the Russian Empire in ruins but, at the same time, they trigger off a *general, victorious peasants' revolt* in Russia. Bismarck and the Poles will do nothing to prevent these peasants from asserting themselves as "anarchists". On the contrary, they make more effective propaganda among them than the "world-famous" Alliance; and once this anarchistic state of affairs has been established on such a giant scale, their Latin and Slav brethren will also catch fire. And it can change nothing about the matter whether this takes place as the result of a war started by Russia against Germany, or vice versa. Incidentally, since according to Bakunin there is nothing but a "*class of officials*" in *Serbia*, apart from the people, what shall the Serbian social revolution consist in, if not in the elimination of the class of officials, since it is this class which alone constitutes the «state» there? (pp. 138, 139)

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[a] Emphasis in Bakunin.—*Ed.*

Hence for the All-Russian Empire the road to Europe is now blocked; Count Bismarck holds the keys to its gates and nothing in the whole wide world could induce him to hand them over to Prince Gorchakov. But if the *north-western* route is blocked, then there remain the *southern* and the *south-eastern* routes—*Bokhara, Persia, Afghanistan, East India* and finally *Constantinople*. Russian politicians have long raised the question as to whether the capital and the centre of gravity of the Empire should not be transferred from Petersburg to Constantinople. It is true that these insatiable patriots wanted both, the Baltic and Constantinople. But they are getting used to the idea of giving that up; their eyes were opened above all by events of recent years, in particular the "union *of Schleswig-Holstein and Hanover with the Prussian Kingdom,*[575] *which was thereby transformed into a North Sea power*" (p. 139).

"All are familiar with the axiom that no «state» can lay claim to a place in the first rank without extensive frontiers to the sea which ensure it direct communication with the whole world and allow it direct participation in world communication, material and social, political and moral (политически-нравственном)" ... without that soon stagnation... China ... *A host of conditions must be fulfilled for a people* consolidated (замкнутый) into a «state» to participate in world communication; nowadays they include (принадлежитъ) «natural common sense and innate energy», education, the capacity for productive labour «and the *most extensive inner freedom*, impossible as this may be for the masses within a state». "But these conditions necessarily include also navigation, sea trade, because the sea as a form of transport surpasses all others—the railways included—in relative cheapness, speed and also freedom in the sense that the sea belongs to nobody. It may be that *air travel* will prove to be even more serviceable in every respect and will be particularly important because it will finally *level out* (уравняетъ) *the conditions of development and life of all countries*."

This is the central issue for Bakunin—*levelling out*, e.g. the whole of Europe to the level of Slovak mouse-trap sellers. ... "For the present, navigation remains the *chief instrument* for bringing about the well-being (the great progress, «the prosperity») of the peoples." This [is] the only point at which Mr. Bakunin speaks of *economic* conditions and understands that they create conditions and differences among peoples independent of the «state»...

Once states (государства) cease to exist and "a free, fraternal union of free productive associations, communities and «regional» federations" arises from the ruins of all states "in complete freedom and organising themselves from below, embracing, without distinctions of any kind, because free, peoples of all languages and nationalities,—once this is done, the way to the sea will be open to all in equal measure: directly for coastal dwellers and, for those living further from the sea, with the aid of the railways, which will be completely liberated from all «г-ных попеченій» ([state] concern, welfare, care), «взиманій» (levies), taxes, restrictions, harassment, prohibitions, authorisations and interference. *But even then the coastal dwellers will enjoy a number of natural advantages, of an intellectual and ethical as well as a material kind.* Direct contact with the world market and world communication in general is extraordinarily conducive to development, including that of relations not thus levelled out, those living in the interior, denied these advantages, will *live and develop at a slower and more indolent pace than the coastal inhabitants. This is why air travel will be of such immense significance* ... but until then ... *the coastal inhabitants will form the vanguard in all respects and will constitute a sort of aristocracy of mankind.*"

As in Britanny, for example!

And the distinction between plains and highlands, river valleys, climate, soil, coal, iron, *acquired productive forces,* material and intellectual, language, literature, technical skills, etc. etc. Fourier tackles the problem of levelling out in a much more heroic manner (pp. 139-142).

In this connection Bakunin makes the discovery that Germany (as a non-maritime nation) *is inferior to Holland in trade* and *to Belgium in industry* (p. 143).

Prussia is now the embodiment, the head and hands of Germany, she has established (based) herself firmly on the *Baltic* and the *North Sea* (p. 145). Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein—all Prussian; Prussia is building two large fleets with French money, one in the Baltic, the other in the North Sea, and with the aid of the ship-canal[576] now being dug to join the two seas, the two fleets will soon become one. Will soon be much stronger than the Russian Baltic fleet. Then to the devil with Riga, Reval, Finland, Petersburg, Kronstadt. To the devil with the significance of Petersburg. *Gorchakov* had to admit this to himself on the day when his ally Prussia plundered our confederate Denmark with impunity and as if with our consent.

The Polish insurrection, «Mr.» Bakunin![577]

"He should have grasped the fact that from the day on which Prussia, basing herself now on the whole of Germany and constituting in indissoluble unity with the latter the strongest continental power; since the time, in a word, when under the Prussian sceptre the new German Empire took up its present position on the Baltic and became such a threat to all neighbouring powers, the supremacy of Petersburgian Russia over that sea was at an end, Peter's great political creation lay in ruins, and with it the power of the All-Russian «state» was destroyed, *if it is not compensated for the loss of the open sea route in the north by the opening up of a new route in the south*" (pp. 145-147).

But how far open, *s'il vous plait*? As far as the English are concerned, [it was] "open" to the ramparts of Kronstadt.

"The approaches still in the hands of Denmark; but, after first federating with Germany of her own free will, Denmark will then find herself swallowed up by the Pan-Germanic Empire. Hence the entire Baltic soon an exclusively German sea and hence Petersburg's loss of political significance. Gorchakov must have realised this when he agreed to the dismemberment of Denmark and the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Prussia. Either he betrayed Russia or he received a formal guarantee from Bismarck to help Russia establish a new power in the south-east.

For Bakunin it is an established fact that an *offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and Russia was concluded after the Paris Treaty*[578] *or at least at the period of the Polish insurrection of 1863.*

Hence Bismarck's nonchalance in launching the war with Austria and the greater part of Germany in the face of the threat of French intervention, and hence the even more decisive war with France. The slightest show of force by Russia on the frontier in either war, especially in the last one, would have put a stop to the victorious advance of the Prussian army. The whole of Germany, particularly the north of Germany, was completely denuded of troops in the last war; Austria only remained inactive because of Russian threats; Italy and England only refrained from intervening because Russia did not want them to. If she had not shown herself to be such a determined ally of Prussia, the Germans would never have taken Paris. But Bismarck was obviously convinced that Russia would not let him down. On what did this conviction rest? Bismarck knows that Russian and Prussian interests are entirely antagonistic, apart from on the Polish question. War between them inevitable. But there may be grounds for delaying it since each hopes to derive greater benefit from their enforced alliance until the day of crisis arrives. The German Empire far from secure either internally or externally. Internally, still a host of petty princes. Externally, Austria and France. Obeying an inner necessity, it contemplates new adventures,[579] new wars. Restoration of the mediaeval Empire with its original frontiers, based on the patriotic Pan-Germanic feeling that fills the whole of German society; [dreams of] annexing the whole of Austria with the exception of Hungary, but including Trieste as well as Bohemia, the whole of German-speaking Switzerland, a part of Belgium, the whole of Holland and Denmark, essential for the establishment of its naval power: plans stirring up a considerable section of western and southern Europe against it and their implementation not feasible without Russian agreement. Hence the Russian alliance still necessary for the new German Empire (pp. 148-151).

The All-Russian Empire, for its part, cannot dispense with the Prusso-Germanic alliance. It must advance towards the south-east—the Black Sea instead of the Baltic; otherwise [it will be] cut off from Europe; and for that *Constantinople* essential; otherwise can always be denied access to the Mediterranean, as was the case during the Crimean War. Hence Constantinople the great goal. This in conflict with the interests of the whole of southern Europe, France included; in conflict with English interests and even those of Germany, since if Russia had absolute control over the Black Sea, the entire Danube «basin» would be made directly dependent upon Russia. Despite this Prussia has formally promised Russia to assist her in her south-eastern policy; it is no less certain that she will break her promise at the first opportunity. But such a breach of the agreement not to be expected now, at the very beginning of its fulfilment. Prussia helped Russia to nullify the clauses of the Paris Peace Treaty; will support her just as strongly on the issue of Khiva. It is of benefit to the Germans that Russia should be engaged as far to the east as possible. What is the purpose of the Russian war against Khiva?... India? Not at all. *China* would be much simpler; and the Russian government is indeed planning something of the sort. "It is striving quite openly to detach Mongolia and Manchuria from China"; "one fine day we shall hear of a victory of Russian forces on the *western frontier* (!) of China... The Chinese feel themselves constricted within their own territory, too numerous; hence emigration to Australia, California; other masses may move to the north and north-west. And then in a trice Siberia, the whole area stretching from the Gulf of Tartary to the

Urals and the Caspian Sea, will cease to be Russian. In this giant territory, 12,200,000 square kilometres, more than 20 times as large as France (528,600 square kilometres), there are at present only 6 million inhabitants, of whom only about 2,600,000 are Russian, all others are natives of Tartar or Finnish origin, and the number of troops there is quite negligible... The Chinese will be able to cross the Urals and penetrate as far as the Volga... The increase in population makes it almost impossible for the Chinese to maintain an existence within the frontiers of China. In the Chinese interior there are vigorous, warlike people, reared amidst constant civil wars in which tens and hundreds of thousands have been annihilated at a stroke... In recent times they have become acquainted with European weapons and discipline, in short, with the «state» civilisation of Europe. At the same time, great barbarity; no instinct for freedom or humanity. At present they band together under the leadership of a crowd of military adventurers, American and European, who have made their way to China since the last Anglo-French expedition (1860),[580] this is the great threat from the East... And our Russian authorities are playing with this threat with all the naivety of a child... They want to extend their frontiers; and yet Russia neither has been to this day, nor will she ever be able, to populate the newly acquired Amur region where in a territory of 2,100,000 square kilometres, almost four times the size of France, there are a mere 65,000 inhabitants including the army and navy; and with all this there is the wretched condition of the Russian people driving it to a general «revolt»; and despite this the Russian government hopes to extend its sway over the whole of the Asiatic East. It would have to turn its back on Europe, as Bismarck wishes, and hurl its whole army into Siberia and Central Asia, and conquer the East like Tamerlane. But Tamerlane, unlike the Russian government, was followed by his own people"... As far as India is concerned, the Russians cannot help themselves to her in the face of English opposition... "But if we cannot conquer India, we can destroy or at least weaken the hold of the English there, provoke native «rebellions» against England, assist them, maintain them, if need be even with the aid of military intervention." "It will cost us very dear in terms of both money and men... What for?... To alarm the English to no purpose? «No», but because the English are in our way. Where are they in our way? *In Constantinople.*[a] As long as the English retain their power they will never and at no price in the world agree to Constantinople falling into our hands, becoming the new capital not just of the All-Russian Empire, but of a Slav and Eastern Empire too." This is why the Russian government is waging war in Khiva; this is the reason for its long-standing wish to move closer to India. "It is on the lookout for the spot where England is vulnerable, and, not finding one anywhere else, threatens her in India. In this way it attempts to reconcile England to the idea that Constantinople must become a Russian city"... Its supremacy in the Baltic irretrievably lost... The Russian Empire, built on the bayonet and the knout, hated by the mass of all the peoples, including the Slavs and starting with the Great Russians themselves, demoralised, disorganised, etc. ... is incapable of waging a war against the newly risen German Empire. Hence, "it is necessary to renounce the Baltic and to await the moment when the entire Baltic «region» will become a German province. *This can be prevented only by a «popular revolution»*. But such a revolution would be death to the «state», and our government will not look to it for its salvation".

(*This last sentence* p. 160.)

For our government the only solution lies in an alliance with Germany. Sacrificing the Baltic, it must look to the Black Sea for compensation and even for its political survival; and this can only be achieved with German aid. "The Germans have committed themselves to assist us. We have no doubt that a formal treaty has been agreed between Bismarck and Gorchakov." Naturally, the Germans have no intention of implementing it. They cannot abandon the mouth of the Danube and their Danube trade to the arbitrary will of the Russians; to set up a great Pan-Slav Empire in southern Europe would be suicidal for the Pan-Germanic Empire. But "to guide and push the Russian armies towards Central Asia, towards Khiva, on the pretext that this is the most direct way to Constantinople, that is quite another matter.".Gorchakov and Alexander II tricked by Bismarck, as Napoleon III had been before them.[581] But this is what has happened, and there is no use crying over spilt milk. It is impossible for the feeble Russian forces (дряблымъ силам) to overturn the new Germanic Empire; only the revolution could do that, and as long as it is not victorious in Russia or Europe the victor will be «statist» Germany which will carry all before her, and the Russian government, like all continental governments in Europe, will survive only with her permission and by her «favour»... "More than ever before the Germans have become our masters, and it is not for nothing that all the Germans in Russia celebrated the victory of the German armies over France with such noise and enthusiasm; it is not for nothing that all the Petersburg Germans gave such a triumphant welcome to the new Pan-Germanic Emperor." "At the present time, on the whole continent of Europe, only one truly independent «state» survives: Germany... The *chief reason* for this the *«community instinct»* which is the characteristic feature of the German people. The instinct on the one hand, for blind obedience towards the more powerful, [on the other,] for ruthless suppression of the weaker" (pp. 151-163).

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[a] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

There now follows a survey of the recent history of Germany (especially since 1815) as proof of her instinct for *servility* and suppression...

The Slavs in particular have had to suffer from the latter. The "*historic mission*" of the Germans at least in the north and east consisted, in their own view, in the extermination, enslavement and "forcible Germanisation" of the Slav tribes. "This long and «melancholy» history the memory of which is deeply rooted in every Slav heart will doubtless resound in the last inevitable struggle [of the Slavs] against the Germans unless the social revolution pacifies them first" (p. 164).

This is followed by a history of German patriotism since 1815. (His *material* from *Professor Müller's History from 1816 to 1866.*)[a]

"The political existence of the Prussian monarchy (in 1807) was only preserved thanks to the intercession of Alexander I" (pp. 168-169).[582]

Fichte's Speeches to the German Nation[583]: «But contemporary Germans, while retaining all the outsized pretentions of their patriotic philosopher, have renounced his humanism... The patriotism of Prince Bismarck or Mr. Marx is more accessible to them» (p. 171).

After Napoleon's flight from Russia, Bakunin maintains, "Frederick William III embraced his saviour, the Emperor of all the Russias, in Berlin with tears of «emotion and gratitude»" (l.c.).

"Only one course remained open to Austria: to avoid stifling Germany" by entering the German Confederation with all her possessions as she originally wanted, "while at the same time preventing Prussia from seizing the leadership of the German Confederation. Following this policy, she could reckon on the active help of France and Russia. *Russian policy until recent times*, i.e. up to the Crimean War, consisted above all in systematically encouraging the mutual rivalry between Austria and Prussia so that neither might gain the upper hand over the other, and at the same time, in sowing the seeds of mistrust and fear in the smaller and medium principalities of Germany, whilst protecting them from both Austria and Prussia" (p. 183). Prussia's influence chiefly moral; much expected of her (after 1815). Hence it was vital for Metternich to ensure that the (promised) constitution should not be granted and that Prussia should join Austria at the head of the reaction. "In his pursuit of this plan he discovered the most enthusiastic «support» in France which was ruled by the Bourbons and in Tsar Alexander who was manipulated by «Arakcheyev»" (p. 184).

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[a] W. Müller, *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit 1816-1866 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Deutschlands,* Stuttgart, 1867.— *Ed.*

"The Germans have no need of freedom. Life for them is simply unthinkable without authority, i.e. without a supreme will, a supreme idea and an iron hand «to drive them on». The stronger this hand, the prouder they are and life is more congenial to them" (p. 192).

1830-1840. Blind imitation of the French. "The Germans stopped devouring the Gauls and instead turned all their hatred towards the Russians" (p. 196). "Everything hinged on the outcome of the Polish revolution. If it had been victorious, the Prussian monarchy, cut off (separated) from its north-east rampart and compelled" to surrender if not all then at least a considerable part of its Polish possessions, "would have been forced to seek new bases in Germany herself, and since at the time it could not achieve this by conquest... it would have had to do so by means of liberal reforms" (p. 199). Following the defeat of the Poles, Frederick William III, who had performed such important services for his son-in-law Tsar Nicholas,[584] "cast off his mask and pursued the Pan-Germanic patriots even more vehemently than before" (p. 200).

"In the conviction that the mass of the people harbour all the elements of their future normal organisation in their *instincts*, as these have been developed to a greater or lesser extent by history, in their daily needs and their conscious or unconscious aspirations, we seek that ideal" (the ideal of social organisation) "in the people itself; and since every «state» power, every authority is by its very nature and its position placed outside the people and above it, and since it must necessarily strive to force the people to submit to rules and objectives alien to it, this is why we declare ourselves the enemies of all power vested in authority, the «state», the enemies of all «state» organisation in general and believe that the people can only be happy and free when «it creates its own life» by organising itself «from below», by means of autonomous and completely free associations (соединеній) and «without» any official tutelage «but not independently of various and equally free influences, both of people and parties»" (p. 213). These are "the convictions of the social revolutionaries, and this is why we are called anarchists" (p. 213). "Idealists of every kind, metaphysicians, positivists, advocates of the primacy of science over life, doctrinaire revolutionaries, all together, with the same zeal (жаромъ), although with differing arguments, defend (отстаиваютъ) the idea of the «state» and of «state» power, seeing in it, and *very logically*[a] in their way, the only salvation for society. *Very logically*[a] because, starting from the «assumption» that the *idea precedes life*, that *abstract theory takes precedence over social practice* and that therefore *the science of sociology must form the starting-point for social revolutions and transformations*, they necessarily arrive at the conclusion that since the idea, theory, science, at the present time at least, is everywhere the province of a very few people, this small number of people must therefore be entrusted with the management of society, and that they should provide not merely the inspiration, but also the leadership of every popular movement and that on the day after the revolution a new social organisation should be established not by the free association of popular organisations, communities, «districts, regions from below» in accordance with the people's requirements and instincts, but solely through the dictatorial authority of that learned minority, albeit a minority elected by the «will of the whole people»" (p. 214).

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[a] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

Hence the "doctrinaire revolutionaries" are never enemies of the «state», but only of existing governments whose place they wish to occupy as dictators (p. 215).

"And this is so true that at the present time when reaction is triumphant throughout Europe, when all the governments, etc., are making preparations under the leadership of Count Bismarck for a desperate struggle against the social revolution; at a time when it would seem that all sincere revolutionaries should join forces to resist the desperate onslaught of international reaction, we see the opposite, namely that under the leadership of Mr. *Marx* the doctrinaire revolutionaries everywhere take up the cudgels on behalf of «statehood» and the «worshippers of the state» and against the *«popular revolution»* (p. 216). In France they stood on the side of the «state» republican-reactionary Gambetta against the revolutionary *Ligue du Midi*[585] which alone could have saved France both from the German yoke and from the much more dangerous and now victorious coalition of clerics, Legitimists, Bonapartists and Orleanists; *in Spain they openly sided with Castelar, Pi y Margall and the Madrid Constituent Assembly*; lastly, in Germany and around her, in *Austria, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark*, they serve Count Bismarck whom *on their own admission they regard as an extremely useful revolutionary «statesman»* and assist him in the Pan-Germanisation[586] of all these countries" (pp. 216, 217).

(Feuerbach was still a metaphysician: "he had to make way for his «legitimate» successors, the leaders of the school of materialists or realists, most of whom, such as, for instance, Messrs. *Büchner, Marx* and others" have not yet succeeded in liberating themselves "from the dominance of metaphysical abstract thought") (p. 207).

"But the principal propagandist of socialism in Germany, at first in secret and not long afterwards in public, was *Karl Marx*. Mr. Marx played and still plays too important a role in the socialist movement of the German proletariat for it to be possible to overlook this remarkable personality without having made the attempt to describe some of his true characteristics. By origin Mr. Marx is a Jew. It may be said that he combines in himself all the virtues and defects of this gifted race. Nervous (нервный), as some say, to the point of cowardice, he is extraordinarily ambitious and vain, quarrelsome, intolerant and absolute like Jehovah, the God of his forefathers, and like Him, vindictive to the point of insanity. There is no lie, slander, which he would be incapable of inventing against anyone who had the misfortune to arouse his jealousy, or, what amounts to the same thing, his hatred. And he stops short at no intrigue, however «infamous», if only in his opinion (which incidentally is mostly mistaken) this intrigue can serve to strengthen his position, his influence or his power. In this respect he is a political «man» through and through. These are his negative characteristics. But he has also a great many positive qualities. He is very «clever» and extraordinarily versatile and «learned». A doctor of philosophy, it can be said that, as early as 1840 in Cologne he was the heart and soul of a very important circle of leading Hegelians[587] with whom he began to publish an oppositional journal[a] which was soon suppressed on ministerial orders. To this circle belonged the brothers Edgar and Bruno Bauer, Marx, Stirner and later in Berlin the first circle of German nihilists[588] whose cynical logic far surpassed that of the most ferocious Russian nihilists. In 1843 or 1844 Marx moved to Paris. There *for the first time* he *made contact* with the society of French and German communists[589] and with his compatriot, Moritz Hess,[a] another German Jew, who had been a learned economist and socialist even before him and who at this period exerted an important influence on the intellectual development of Mr. Marx. It is rare that one comes across a man who «knows» as much and has read «*as intelligently*» as Mr. Marx. Even at this early date the economy was the sole object of his concern. He studied the English economists with particular zeal since they excel all others in the positive character of their «knowledge» and in their practical sense, nourished by the facts of the English economy, their vigorous criticism and the scrupulous boldness of their conclusions. But to all this Mr. Marx added two new features of his own: the most abstract, «most ingenious» dialectics which he had acquired in the Hegelian school and which he frequently «pushed to mischievous, not to say perverted lengths», and the communist point of view. Mr. Marx read, it goes without saying, all the French socialists from St. Simon to Proudhon inclusively, the last named being someone he hated, as is well known, and there is no doubt that the merciless criticism that he directed against Proudhon contains more than a grain of truth[b]; Proudhon, despite all his efforts to stand on the firm ground of reality, remained an idealist and a metaphysician. His point of departure was the abstract idea of law; he proceeds from law to the economic fact, while Mr. Marx, on the other hand, has stated and proved the indubitable truth, which is confirmed by the entire history of human society, of peoples and of states, both past and present, that the economic fact everywhere took and takes precedence over juridical and political law. The «exposition» and proof of this truth is one of the principal scientific achievements of Mr. Marx. But the most remarkable fact, and one which Mr. Marx has never acknowledged, is that in the political sphere Mr. Marx is a direct disciple of M. Louis Blanc. Mr. Marx is incomparably «more intelligent» and incomparably more erudite than that «little unsuccessful» revolutionary and statesman; but as a German and despite «his respectable height», he served his apprenticeship with the diminutive Frenchman. And there is a simple explanation for this singular fact: the rhetorical Frenchman, as a bourgeois politician and a self-confessed follower of Robespierre, and the learned German in his threefold character as Hegelian, Jew and German, are both ferocious «worshippers of the state» and preachers of «state» communism, only with the difference that the one rests content with rhetorical declamations instead of arguments, and the other, as befits a learned and PAINSTAKING German, supported the principle which was equally dear to him with every subtlety of Hegelian dialectics and the whole wealth of his vast erudition. In around 1845 Mr. Marx became the leader of the German communists and subsequently, together with *Mr. Engels*, his devoted (неизмѣннымъ) friend, who was just as «intelligent», though less learned, albeit much more practical and no less capable of political slander, lies and intrigue, he founded a secret society of German communists or «state» socialists.[590] Their central committee, which was—of course—led by himself and Mr. Engels, was transferred to Brussels when both were expelled from Paris in 1846,[591] and it remained there until 1848. Incidentally, until that year their propaganda, although it had made some headway in Germany, remained secret and «therefore did not penetrate to the outside world»" (pp. 221-225).

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[a] *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe.—Ed.*

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[a] Moses Hess.— *Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.— Ed.*

At the time (of the revolution of 1848) the urban proletariat in Germany, at least in its vast majority, was still beyond the reach of Marx's propaganda and beyond the organisation of his communist party. The latter was concentrated chiefly in the industrial towns of Rhenish Prussia, especially in Cologne; branches in Berlin, Breslau and, «finally», in Vienna, but very weak. Instinctively the German proletariat was naturally in favour of socialist aspirations, but no conscious demands for social revolution in 1848-49 even though the *Communist Manifesto* had been published as early as March 1848. It made almost no impression at all on the German people. The urban revolutionary proletariat still under the direct influence of the political party of radicals or at best the democrats (p. 230). At that time there was one more element in Germany, which now does not exist there, the revolutionary peasantry, or a peasantry at least ready to become revolutionary ... at that time it was ready for anything, even for a «general revolt». "In 1848 as in 1830 the German liberals and radicals feared nothing so much as such a «revolt»; nor do socialists of Marx's school like it any better. It is a well-known fact that Ferdinand Lassalle who confessed to being a direct disciple of the supreme leader of the communist party in Germany, which did not prevent his teacher from giving vent, after Lassalle's death, to his jealous and envious (malevolent—завистливое) dissatisfaction with his brilliant pupil, who had left his teacher far behind him in terms of practical politics; it is a well-known fact ... that Lassalle more than once gave it as his opinion that the defeat of the peasants' uprising in the 16th century and the subsequent strengthening and blossoming of the bureaucratic «state» in Germany was a real victory for the revolution. For the communist or socialist democrats of Germany, the peasantry, any peasantry, is reactionary; and the «state», every «state», even the Bismarckian one, revolutionary. And let no one imagine that we are slandering them. As proof that they actually think in this way we shall point to their speeches, their pamphlets, journalistic STATEMENTS and *lastly their letters*—all these things will be made available (представлено) to the Russian public in due course. Moreover, the Marxists cannot in fact think in any other way; «state worshippers» at any price, they must inevitably abominate every popular revolution, especially peasant ones, peasant[a] by their very nature and directly aiming at the destruction of the «state». As all-devouring Pan-Germanisers they must repudiate peasant revolution if only because that is the specific form of the Slav revolution" (pp. 230-232).

"Not only in 1848, but even now the German workers blindly submit to their leaders, while the leaders, the organisers of the *German Social-Democratic*[b] Party, lead them neither to liberty nor to international fraternity, but beneath the yoke of the Pan-Germanic «state»" (p. 254).

Bakunin recounts how *Frederick William IV* was afraid of Nicholas (reply to the Polish deputation in March 1848 and *Olmütz*, November 1850)[592] (pp. 254-257).

1849-1858: The German Confederation counted for less than nothing among the other great powers. "*Prussia was more than ever the slave of Russia*.. Her subservience to the interests of the Petersburg court went so far that the Prussian Minister of War and the Prussian ambassador to the English court, a friend of the

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[a] "Anarchic" in Bakunin's text.—*Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

King's, were both dismissed because they had revealed their pro-western sympathies." Nicholas furious about Schwarzenberg's and Austria's ingratitude. "Austria, the natural enemy of Russia on account of her interests in the east, openly took sides with England and France against her. To the great indignation of the whole of Germany, Prussia remained «true to the last»" (p. 259). "Manteuffel became Prime Minister in November 1850 to put his signature to all the conditions of the Olmütz conference, which were humiliating in the extreme for Prussia, and to put the finishing touches to subjecting both Prussia and the whole of Germany to the hegemony of Austria. Such was the will of Nicholas ... such too were the aspirations of the major part of the Prussian Junkers or nobles who could not even bear to talk of merging Prussia into Germany and who were even more devoted to the Austrian" (?) "and All-Russian Emperors than to their own king" (p. 261).

"At this time (1866 et seq.) the so-called *People's Party* came into existence. Its centre Stuttgart. A group wanting federation with republican Switzerland was the main impetus behind the founding of the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté*[593] (p. 271).

"Lassalle founded a mainly political party of German workers, organised it hierarchically and subjected it to strict discipline and to his dictatorship; in a word he did what Mr. Marx intended to do in the International in the next three years. Marx's attempt failed, but Lassalle's was completely successful" (p. 275).

"*The first act of the people's «state»*" (according to Lassalle) "will be the granting of unlimited credit to the workers' production and consumption associations, for only then will these be able to fight bourgeois capital and to defeat and absorb it in the not too distant future. When the process of absorbing it is completed, then the period of the radical transformation of society will commence. This is Lassalle's programme and this is the programme of the Social-Democratic Party. In actual fact it belongs not to Lassalle, but to Marx, who gave a complete «exposition» of it in the celebrated *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published by him and Engels in 1848. And there is a «definite pointer to it» in the first *Manifesto of the International Association*[a] written by Marx in 1864, in the words: 'the great duty of the working classes', etc., or, as it is put in the *Communist Manifesto*, 'the first step in the revolution', etc., and ending with 'to concentrate all instruments of production in the hands of the «state»', i.e. of the proletariat «raised to the level of the *ruling estate*»"[b] (pp. 275, 276). "But is it not «clear» that Lassalle's programme is indistinguishable from that of Marx whom he ackhowledged as his teacher? In the pamphlet directed against Schulze-Delitzsch, Lassalle ... having explained his basic conception of the social and political development of modern society, says explicitly that the ideas themselves and even the terminology he uses belong not to him but to Mr. Marx[c]... All the «stranger» is it, therefore, to see the protest printed by Mr. Marx *after the death*[b] *of Lassalle* in the Preface to *Capital*. Marx complains bitterly that Lassalle has robbed him by appropriating his ideas.[594] This protest, a very «strange» one from a communist who preaches collective ownership but who does not comprehend the fact that an idea, once uttered, ceases to be the property of an individual. It would be another matter if Lassalle had «copied one or more pages»..." (p. 276). "In contrast to his teacher Marx, who is strong on theory and on intrigue behind the scenes or under cover, but loses all importance and force in the public arena, Lassalle was made by nature for open struggle in practical politics" (p. 277). "The entire liberal and democratic bourgeoisie deeply detested him; «like-minded comrades», socialists, Marxists and Marx himself, concentrated on him all the force of their malevolent envy (зависти). Indeed, their loathing of him equalled that felt by the bourgeoisie; during his life they did not venture to express their hatred because he was too strong for them" (pp. 277, 278).

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[a] K. Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association".— *Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.— *Ed.*

[c] F. Lassalle, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch der ökonomische Julian, oder: Capital und Arbeit*, Berlin, 1864.— *Ed.*

"We have already expressed our deep aversion to the theory of Lassalle and Marx which recommends to the workers, if not as an ultimate ideal, at least as the principal immediate objective, the *establishment of a people's state* (народнаго государства), which, as they put it, will be nothing other than 'the proletariat *«raised to the level of the ruling estate»*'. The question is, if the proletariat is to be the ruling class, over whom will it rule? This means (this implies—значитъ) that another proletariat will remain which will be subject to this new domination, this new state (государству)."

It implies that as long as the other classes, above all the capitalist class, still exist, and as long as the proletariat is still fighting against it (for when the proletariat obtains control of the government its enemies and the old organisation of society will not yet have disappeared), it must use *forcible* means, that is to say, governmental means; as long as it remains a class itself, and the economic conditions which give rise to the class struggle and the existence of classes have not vanished they must be removed or transformed by force, and the process of transforming them must be accelerated by force.

"For example, the «крестьянская чернь», the vulgar peasants, the peasant rabble, who, as is well known, do not enjoy the goodwill of the Marxists and who, standing on the lowest rung of civilisation, will probably be governed by the urban and factory proletariat" [p. 278].

That is to say, where peasants en masse exist as owners of private property, where they even form a more or less considerable majority, as in all the states of the West European continent, where they have not yet disappeared and have not been replaced by agricultural day labourers, as in England, there the following may happen: either the peasants prevent or bring about the downfall of every workers' revolution, as they have done hitherto in France; or else the proletariat (for the peasant proprietor does not belong to the proletariat, and even if he does belong to it in terms of his actual position, he does not think of himself as belonging to it) must, as the government, take the measures needed to enable the peasant to directly improve his condition, i.e. to win him over to the revolution; these measures, however, contain the seeds which will facilitate the transition from the private ownership of the land to collective ownership, so that the peasant arrives at this economically of his own accord; but it is important not to antagonise the peasant, e.g. by proclaiming the abolition of the right of inheritance or the abolition of his property; the latter is possible only where the capitalist tenant farmer has ousted the peasants, so that the actual farmer is as much a proletarian, a wage-labourer, as the urban worker, so that he has the same interests as the latter *directly* and not indirectly. Still less should smallholdings be strengthened by increasing the size of allotments simply by dividing up the large estates among the peasantry, as in Bakunin's revolutionary campaign.

> "Or, if this question is considered from the national point of view, then it must be assumed that for the Germans the Slavs will, for the same reason, be placed in the same relationship of slavish dependency on the victorious German proletariat as that in which the latter finds itself vis-à-vis its own bourgeoisie" (p. 278).

Schoolboyish rot! A radical social revolution is bound up with definite historical conditions of economic development; these are its premisses. It is only possible, therefore, where alongside capitalist production the industrial proletariat accounts for at least a significant portion of the mass of the people. And for it to have any chance of victory, it must be able *mutatis mutandis*[a] at the very least to do as much directly for the peasants as the French bourgeoisie did in its revolution for the French peasantry at that time. A fine idea to imagine that the rule of the workers implies the oppression of rural labour! But this is where we glimpse Mr. Bakunin's innermost thought. He understands absolutely nothing of social revolution, only its political rhetoric; its economic conditions simply do not exist for him. Now since all previous economic formations, whether developed or undeveloped, have entailed the enslavement of the worker (whether as wage labourer, peasant, etc.), he imagines that *radical revolution* is equally possible in all these formations. What is more, he wants the European social revolution, whose economic basis is capitalist production, to be carried out on the level of the Russian or Slav agricultural and pastoral peoples, and that it should not surpass this level, even though he can see that *navigation* creates distinctions among brethren; but of course he only thinks of *navigation* because this distinction is familiar to all politicians! *Willpower,* not economic conditions, is the basis of his social revolution.

> "Where there is a state (государство), there is inevitably domination (господство) and consequently there is also «slavery»; domination without slavery, hidden[b] or masked, is unthinkable—that is why we are enemies of the «state»" (p. 278).
>
> "What does it mean to talk of the proletariat «raised to the level of the ruling estate»"?

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[a] With the necessary changes having been made.—*Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has: "open".—*Ed.*

It means that the proletariat, instead of fighting in individual instances against the economically privileged classes, has gained sufficient strength and organisation to use general means of coercion in its struggle against them; but it can only make use of such economic means as abolish its own character as wage labourer and hence as a class; when its victory is complete, its rule too is therefore at an end, since its class character will have disappeared.

"Will perhaps the entire proletariat stand at the head of the government?"

In a TRADES UNION, for example, does the entire union form its executive committee? Will all division of labour in the factory come to an end as well as the various functions arising from it? And with Bakunin's constitution «from below», will everyone be «at the top»? If so, there will be no one «at the bottom». Will all the members of the community at the same time administer the common interests of the «region»? If so, there will be no distinction between community and «region».

"There are about 40 million Germans. Does this mean that all 40 million will be members of the government?"

CERTAINLY! For the system starts with the self-government of the communities.

"The entire people will rule, and no one will be ruled."

When a person rules himself, he does not do so according to this principle; for he is only himself and not another.

"Then there will be no government, no state, but if there is a state, there will be both rulers and slaves."

That just means when class rule has disappeared there [will] be no state in the present political sense (p. 279).

"The dilemma in the theory of the Marxists is easily resolved. By people's government they" (i.e. Bakunin) "understand the government of the people by means of a small number of representatives chosen (elected) by the people."

Asine![a] This is democratic twaddle, political claptrap! Elections—a political form found in the tiniest Russian commune and in the artel. The character of an election does not depend on this name but on the economic foundation, the economic interrelations of the voters, and as soon as the functions have ceased to be political, 1) government functions no longer exist; 2) the distribution of general functions has become a routine matter which entails no domination; 3) elections lose their present political character.

"The universal suffrage of the whole people"—

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[a] Ass.—*Ed.*

such a thing as the whole people, in the present meaning of the word, is an illusion—

"to elect its representatives and «rulers of state»—that is the last word of the Marxists and also of the democratic school—is a lie which conceals the despotism of the *ruling minority*, a lie that is all the more dangerous as it appears as the expression of the so-called will of the people."

With collective ownership the so-called will of the people disappears and makes way for the genuine will of the cooperative.

"So the result is the control of the vast majority of the people by a privileged minority. But this minority, the Marxists say,"

Where?

"will consist of workers. Yes, quite possibly of former workers, but, as soon as they have become the representatives or rulers of the people, *they cease to be workers*"—

no more than a factory owner today ceases to be a capitalist when he becomes a municipal councillor—

"and will gaze down upon the whole world of the common workers from the eminence of «statehood»; they will no longer represent the people, but only themselves and their «claims» to govern the people. Anyone who can doubt this knows nothing of human nature" (p. 279).

If Mr. Bakunin were familiar even with the position of a manager in a workers' co-operative factory, all his fantasies about domination would go to the devil. He should have asked himself: what forms could management functions assume within such a workers' state, if he wants to call it that? (p. 279).

"But these chosen people will become passionately convinced as well as learned socialists. The words '*learned socialism*'"—

never used—

"'*scientific socialism*'"—

used only in contrast to utopian socialism which wishes to foist new illusions onto the people instead of confining its scientific investigations to the social movement created by the people itself; see my book against Proudhon[a]—

"which recur repeatedly in the writings and speeches of the Lassalleans and Marxists, prove themselves that the so-called people's state will be nothing more than the highly despotic direction of the masses of the people by a new and very small aristocracy of genuinely or supposedly learned men. The people is not scientific; that means it will be wholly liberated from the cares of government, it will be completely incorporated into the herd that is to be governed. A fine liberation!" (pp. 279, 280).

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[a] K. Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy. Answer to the "Philosophy of Poverty" by M. Proudhon.*—*Ed.*

"The Marxists perceive this" (!) "contradiction and, recognising that a government of scholars" (*quelle rêverie*!)[a] "will be the most oppressive, most hated and most despicable in the world, and that for all its democratic forms it will actually be a dictatorship, they console themselves with the thought that this dictatorship will be provisional and brief" [p. 280].

Non, mon cher!—The *class rule* of the workers over the strata of the old world who are struggling against them can only last as long as the economic basis of class society has not been destroyed.

"They say that their sole concern and objective will be *to educate and uplift the people*" (ale-house politician!) "both economically and politically to such a level that all government will soon become unnecessary and the state will completely lose its political, i.e. its «dominating» character, and will change of its own accord into the free organisation of economic interests and communities. This is an evident contradiction. If their state is truly a people's state, why destroy it, and if its abolition is necessary for the real liberation of the people, then how dare they call it a people's state?" (p. 280).

Apart from his harping on Liebknecht's *people's state*, which is nonsense directed against the *Communist Manifesto*, etc., it only means that, as the proletariat in the period of struggle leading to the overthrow of the old society still acts on the basis of the old society and hence still moves within political forms which more or less correspond to it, it has at that stage not yet arrived at its final organisation, and hence to achieve its liberation has recourse to methods which will be discarded once that liberation has been attained. Hence Mr. Bakunin deduces that the proletariat should rather do nothing at all... and just wait for the *day of universal liquidation*—the Last Judgement.

"By *our polemics* against them"

(which appeared, of course, before my book against Proudhon and the *Communist Manifesto*, and even before St. Simon) (a beautiful υστερον πρότερον[b])

"*we* have forced them to *admit* that freedom or anarchy"

(Mr. Bakunin has only translated Proudhon's and Stirner's anarchy into the barbaric idiom of the Tartars),

"i.e. the free organisation of the working masses from below" (nonsense!) "is the ultimate goal of social development and that every «state», the people's state included, is a yoke which engenders despotism, on the one hand, and slavery, on the other" (p. 280).

"They assert that this authoritarian yoke, dictatorship, is a transitional phase essential to the attainment of the complete liberation of the people: anarchy or freedom—the end; domination or dictatorship—the means. Hence in order to liberate the mass of the people, it is first necessary to enslave them. It is on this contradiction that our polemics rest. They assure us that only a dictatorship, their own of course, can form the basis of the people's freedom; we reply that no dictatorship can ever have any goal but to «perpetuate *itself*» and that it is «capable only of breeding and nurturing slavery in the people that is forced to endure it»; freedom can only be created by freedom" ([the freedom] of the permanent *citoyen* Bakunin), "i.e. by the «rebellion of the whole people» and the free organisation of the masses from below" (p. 281).

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[a] What a fantastic idea!—*Ed.*

[b] *Hysteron proteron*: a figure of speech in which what should come last (*hysteron*) is put first (*proteron*); inversion of natural order.—*Ed.*

"Whereas the political and social theory of the anti-state socialists or anarchists leads «inexorably» and directly to a complete break with all governments, with all modes of bourgeois politics, leaving no alternative but social revolution,"

(leaving nothing of the social revolution but *phrases*),

"the opposite theory, the theory of the state communists and of scientific authority, on the pretext of political tactics, lures its supporters no less «inexorably» and ensnares them in an incessant process of «horsetrading» with governments and the various bourgeois political parties; that is to say, it drives them directly into the arms of the reaction" (p. 281). "The best proof of this is *Lassalle*. Who is ignorant of his relations and his deals with Bismarck? The liberals and democrats [...] used this to accuse him of venality. The same, though not so openly, has been «whispered» among various[a] followers of Mr. Marx in Germany" (p. 282).

Lassalle's attitude towards the mass of common workers was more like that of a doctor towards his patients than one brother to another. He would not have betrayed the people for anything in the world (l.c.). Lassalle had openly declared war on the liberals and democrats; he detested and despised them. Bismarck's attitude to them was the same. This was the first reason for their rapprochement. "The chief basis for this «rapprochement» was implicit in Lassalle's political and social programme, in the theory of communism founded by Mr. Marx" (p. 283).

"The principal point of this programme: the (supposed) liberation of the proletariat by means of the «state alone»... Two means ... the proletariat must carry out revolution in order to subject the state to it—this the heroic method ... according to the theory of Mr. Marx" ... the people must then put all power into his own hands and the hands of his friends... "They will found a single state bank, concentrating in their hands all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production, and divide the population into two armies, industrial and agricultural, under the direct command of engineers of the state who will form a new privileged scientific and political estate" (pp. 283, 284).

As for making a revolution, Germans themselves do not believe in it.—"It is necessary for another people to make a start or for some external «force» to drag them along or «give» them «a push»." Hence some other means required to obtain control of the state. Necessary to gain the sympathy of people who stand or can stand at the head of the state. In Lassalle's day, as today, Bismarck stood at the head of the state... Lassalle chiefly endowed with practical instinct and «intelligence», which are missing in Mr. Marx and his followers. Like all theoreticians, Marx a lifelong and «incorrigible» dreamer in practice. He demonstrated this by his hapless campaign in the International Association, whose goal was to set up his dictatorship in the International and to extend it through the International to the entire revolutionary movement of the proletariat in Europe and America. To set yourself such a goal you must be either a madman or a completely abstract theoretician. This year Mr. Marx suffered a complete and thoroughly merited defeat, but it "is unlikely to rid (избавитъ) him of his ambitious dreaming" (pp. 284, 285). "Such dreams, together with his desire to gain admirers and adherents among the bourgeoisie, led and lead Marx again and again to drive the proletariat into negotiations with the bourgeois radicals. Gambetta and Castelar—those are his «true» ideals" (pp. 284, 285). "These attempts, which have intensified in Marx in recent years, to make deals (сделкам) with the radical bourgeoisie, testify to two different dreams: first, if the radical bourgeoisie attains power, it will perhaps be in a position to «want» to use that power to the advantage of the proletariat, and second, it will be able to hold out against the reaction whose roots are hidden within itself" (p. 285).

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[a] Bakunin has: "personal".—*Ed.*

As a practical man Lassalle realised this (i.e. that the radical bourgeoisie is neither willing nor able to liberate the people, but wishes only to exploit it); moreover he detested the German bourgeoisie; Lassalle also knew his fellow countrymen too well to expect any revolutionary initiative from them. Only Bismarck remained to him. "What brought them together was provided to him by Marxian theory itself: a unified, forcibly centralised state. Lassalle wanted this and Bismarck created it. How could they not come together?" Bismarck the enemy (!) of the bourgeois. His present activities prove that he is no fanatic and no slave of the aristocratic-feudal party... "His chief purpose, like that of Lassalle and Marx—the state. And therefore Lassalle proved himself to be incomparably more logical and practical than Marx, who ackhowledges Bismarck as a revolutionary, «albeit in his own way», and who dreams of his overthrow, probably because he occupies the first place in the state, a position which in Mr. Marx's opinion ought to be his." Lassalle lacked such vanity; therefore he did not recoil from the idea of forming an alliance with Bismarck. "In complete conformity with the political programme propounded by Messrs. Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, Lassalle put only one demand to Bismarck: that he should make government credit available to workers' production associations." And at the same time, "in agreement with the programme, he began peaceful and legal agitation among the workers to achieve the introduction of the franchise" (pp. 288-289).

After Lassalle's death, alongside the *workers' educational societies* and Lassalle's *General Association of German Workers*, "a third party—the *Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers*—was formed under the direct influence of the friends and followers of Mr. Marx. At its head were Bebel, полуработникъ (a semi-worker), and Liebknecht, a complete theorist[a] and agent of Mr. Marx" (p. 289).

We have already referred to Liebknecht's activities in Vienna in 1868. These resulted in the *Nuremberg Congress*[b] (August 1868) at which the Social-Democratic Party was finally organised. "The desire (intention) of its founders, *acting under the direct leadership of Marx*, was to make it the Pan-Germanic section of the International Working Men's Association." But the German and, above all, the Prussian laws were opposed to such a union. Hence it was only touched on indirectly: "The Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers enters into relations with the International Working Men's Association within the limits permitted by German laws." "*There can be no doubt that this new party was founded in Germany with the secret hope and intention* of making use of it to introduce into the International the entire programme of Marx which the first Geneva Congress (of 1866) had rejected."[595] "Marx's programme became the programme of the Social-Democratic Party", the «conquest» of "political power" became the "first and immediate objective", a recommendation followed by this significant phrase: "The conquest of political power (universal suffrage, freedom of the press, freedom of association and meetings, etc.) as the indispensable preliminary (предварительное) condition of the economic emancipation of the workers." "This phrase means: before advancing towards social revolution, the workers must carry out the political revolution, or, as better befits the German character, conquer, or, better still, acquire, political rights by means of peaceful agitation. But since *every* political movement *preceding* or, what *amounts* to the same thing, occurring *outside the social one* can be none other than a bourgeois movement, it follows that this programme recommends the German workers *first and foremost to acquire bourgeois interests and objectives* and *to carry out the political movement for the benefit of the radical bourgeoisie* which then in gratitude will not liberate the people, but will subject it to a new rule and new exploitation" (pp. 289-291).

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[a] "Direct disciple" in Bakunin.—*Ed.*

[b] Italicised in Bakunin too.—*Ed.*

"On the basis of this programme a moving reconciliation took place between the German and Austrian workers and the bourgeois radicals of the People's Party." On the basis of "the Nuremberg Congress delegates nominated by the Congress for the purpose went to *Stuttgart* where a formal defensive and offensive alliance was concluded[596] between the elders of the deceived workers and the ring-leaders of the bourgeois radical party. As a consequence of this alliance both groups appeared *together* at the second Congress of the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté, which opened in September in Berne.* But a very remarkable fact. There was a split between the bourgeois socialists and the radicals on the one hand—and the social revolutionaries belonging to the party of the *Alliance* on the other" (pp. 291, 292).[597] "Marx's school has provided us with many examples of this (ability to call oneself a socialist and a friend of the people while remaining opposed to popular socialism); and the German dictator is very hospitable under the indispensable condition that people bow down to him, so that his banner covers a very large number of people who are bourgeois socialists and democrats from top to toe; even the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté* could find refuge there if it were only prepared to acknowledge him as the top man (человекъ). If the bourgeois congress had proceeded in this fashion, the position of the Alliancists would have been incomparably more difficult; it would have led to the same struggle between the League and the Alliance that now rages between the Alliance and Marx. However, the League showed itself to be more stupid, but also more honest than the Marxists; it denied *equality*" (nonsense!) "in the economic sphere. It thereby cut itself off from the proletariat, died and left behind it only two shades who roam around uttering lamentations: Amand Goegg and the St. Simonist millionaire, Lemonier... Another FACT about this Congress: *the delegates who came from Nuremberg and Stuttgart, i.e. the workers mandated by the Nuremberg Congress of the new Social-Democratic Party of the German Workers* and the bourgeois Swabian *'People's Party', together with the majority of the League, voted unanimously against equality...* And a further remarkable FACT is that the *Brussels Congress of the International,* which concluded its deliberations some days before the one in Berne, repudiated all solidarity with the latter, and all the Marxists who took part in the Brussels Congress spoke and voted along those lines.[598] How could it come about then that *other Marxists,* acting like the first *under the direct influence* of Marx, should have gone along in such touching harmony with the majority at the Berne Congress? All that remained an enigma which has still not been resolved to the present day. The same contradiction became manifest throughout 1868 and even into 1869 in the *Volksstaat...* At times very powerful articles were printed in it against the bourgeois League; these were then followed by unmistakable «declarations» of affection, and at other times friendly remonstrances. The paper as it were implored the League to «moderate» its over-enthusiastic proclamations of bourgeois instincts which compromised its defenders in the eyes of the workers. This indecision persisted in Mr. Marx's party up to September 1869, i.e. up to the Basle Congress. This Congress is epoch-making in the history of the International" (pp. 293-296).

For the first time the Germans appeared at an international congress, and they came as a party organised around a bourgeois political programme rather than a national people's[a] one. Under the leadership of Liebknecht they voted as one man. His first concern, understandably in view of his programme, was to put the political question before everything else. The Germans decisively defeated. The Basle Congress retained the programme of the International in all its purity; it refused to allow the Germans to mutilate it by introducing their bourgeois policies. It was in this way that the split in the International came about, and it was the Germans who were responsible for it. They wished to impose their narrowly bourgeois, national-political, exclusively German and Pan-Germanic programme on an association which was first and foremost international. "They were squarely defeated and the League of Social Revolutionaries, the Alliancists, were not slow to make use of this defeat.[b] Hence the bitter hatred of the Germans for the Alliance. The end of 1869 and first half of 1870 were filled with venomous attacks and even more insidious and not infrequently base intrigues by the Marxists against the Alliance people" (p. 296).

A victory by Napoleon III would not have had such long-lasting adverse effects as the German one (p. 297).

All Germans *without exception* rejoiced at the victory, even though they knew that it would set the seal on the predominance of the military; "not a single German, or scarcely one, was dismayed, all joined together in unanimous jubilation". Their passion: domination and slavery (p. 298). "*And what about the German workers? Well, the German workers did nothing at all, not a single vigorous demonstration of sympathy, of compassion for the workers of France.* A few MEETINGS where a few phrases were mouthed in which victorious national pride fell silent, so to speak, before the demonstration of international solidarity. But no one went beyond phrases, even though in Germany cleaned of all troops at the time it would have been possible to start and do something. It is true that a majority of workers had been drafted into the army where they distinguished themselves in carrying out their duty as soldiers, killed everyone, etc., at the command of their superiors and even took part in plundering. Some of them, while carrying out their warlike duty in this way, at the same time wrote heart-rending letters to the *Volksstaat* with vivid accounts of the barbarous crimes committed by the German armies in France" (pp. 298, 299). Meanwhile there were a few instances of bolder opposition: the protests of Jacoby, Liebknecht and Bebel; these were isolated and also very rare cases.

"We cannot forget the article published in the *Volksstaat* in *September 1870* in which Pan-Germanic victory jubilation is openly expressed. It begins with the words: 'Thanks to the victories gained by the German armies, the historical initiative has finally passed from France to Germany: we Germans, etc.'" (p. 299).

"In a word, we can say without any exception that the triumphant feeling of national military and political victory predominated and still predominates among all Germans. It is upon this that the power of the Pan-Germanic Empire and its great Chancellor, Count Bismarck, may be said chiefly to be founded" (p. 299).

"And do you know what ambition now predominates in the mind or the instinct of every German? The desire to expand (распространить) «far, wide» the German Empire" (p. 303). This passion is "now also the entire activity of the Social-Democratic Party. And do not imagine that Bismarck is such an ardent enemy of that party as he pretends (прикидывается). He is too «cunning» not to perceive that it serves him as an advance guard, spreading the idea of the Germanic state in Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The dissemination of this Germanic idea is at present the principal aspiration of Mr. Marx who, as we have already remarked, has attempted to *renew* (возобновить) to his own advantage within the International the exploits and the victories of Count Bismarck. Bismarck holds all parties in his hand and is hardly likely to hand them over to Mr. Marx" (p. 304).

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[a] Bakunin has: "social people's".— *Ed.*

[b] Bakunin has: "made no small contribution to this defeat".— *Ed.*

"Through the voice of its great Chancellor, this" (Pan-Germanic) "Empire has declared a war to the death on social revolution. Count Bismarck uttered this death sentence in the name of 40 million Germans who stand behind him and support him. Marx too, his envious rival, and behind him all the [ring-]leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, for their part declared the same desperate war on social revolution. We shall discuss all this in depth in the next section" (pp. 307, 308). "Hitherto, it" (the social revolution) "has concentrated its forces in Southern Europe: Italy, Spain, France; but soon, we hope, the peoples of the north-west will rise up beneath its banner: Belgium, Holland and, above all, England, and then at last the Slav tribes too" (p. 308).

APPENDIX

"The main features of the ideal" of the Russian people: 1. "the universal conviction, shared by the entire people, that the earth, the whole earth watered by their sweat and fertilised by the labour of their own hands, belongs to the people; 2. that the right to use it belongs not to the individual, but to the «community», to the «communal assembly» which shares it out among individuals for «a fixed period»; 3. quasi-absolute autonomy, communal self-administration and in consequence the resolutely hostile attitude of the «community» towards the state" (p. 10).

"The three negative features are: 1. the patriarchal state; 2. the engulfing of the individual by the «communal assembly»; 3. faith in the Tsar. One could add 4. the Christian faith, whether of the established church or the sects (p. 10); but this plays a less significant part in Russia than in Western Europe" (l.c.).

Points 2 and 3 are "natural consequences" of point 1, the «patriarchal state». Father, «communal assembly», the Tsar (p. 15). "The «community» is his world. It is nothing but the natural extension of his family, his clan. It is for this reason that the patriarchal principle dominates in it, the same odious despotism and the same general submissiveness and hence too the коренная (quintessential, deeply rooted) injustice and the same radical denial of every right of the individual, as in the family too. The decisions of the «communal assembly», whatever they may be, are law. «Who dares to go against the communal assembly?» enthuses the peasant with «amazement»... In the «communal assembly» only the «elders», the heads of the family, have the right to vote... But above the «community», above all the communities, stands the Tsar, the «universal» patriarch and progenitor, the father of all Russia. Hence his power is without limit" (p. 15). "Every community forms a «closed whole», and in consequence no community has, or feels the need for, any independent organic bonds with other communities. They are only joined to each other through the «Tsar, the Father», and only by virtue of the supreme, fatherly power which he wields" (pp. 15, 16).

Frederick Engels

NOTE ON PAGE 29 OF THE *HISTOIRE DE LA COMMUNE*[599]

(M. THIERS' CEASEFIRE OF OCTOBER 30, 1870)[600]

It took all the stupidity and deceitfulness of the men of September 4[601] to call the news of this ceasefire "good news". Good indeed—for the Prussians.

The capitulation of Metz had just restored freedom of action to 6 Prussian army corps—120,000 men. Nobody but Trochu and Jules Favre could have failed to see that the imminent arrival of this new army in the centre of France would make any attempt to relieve Paris almost impossible, that this was not the moment for concluding ceasefires but for mounting a supreme military effort. Only a fortnight remained to do this; but this fortnight was precious, it was the critical phase of the war.

This was the situation.

In order to effect the blockade of Paris, the Germans had had to employ all their troops, with the exception of 3 divisions of infantry. They had *no reserves*, for these 3 divisions had, by occupying Orléans and Châteaudun forfeited this capacity, being held in check by the army of the Loire. To the west, north and east there was nothing but cavalry which, despite observing and covering a wide expanse of country, was incapable of holding it against infantry.

By the end of October the German line encircling Paris was already very heavily fortified towards the city; but any attack coming from outside would of necessity encounter the Prussians in open country. The appearance of 50,000 men, even young troops such as those which France then had at its disposal, would have been sufficient to break the blockade and restore communications between Paris and the rest of the country. But we have seen that it was necessary to act swiftly, and this is what happened:

The Paris government accepted a ceasefire which, although of short duration, gave relief to the German troops exhausted by the labours and sleepless nights of the blockade (October 30).

For his part, d'Aurelle de Paladines concentrated his army on November 2 at Vierzon with the intention of marching on Beaugency, of crossing the Loire there and advancing between the Prussians (22nd Division) occupying Châteaudun and the Bavarians who were holding Orléans. The march from Vierzon to Beaugency was about 45 kilometres and could easily be accomplished in two days. But if we are to believe a German source (*Militärische Gedanken und Betrachtungen* etc.[a]), Gambetta was simple enough to believe that an army of 40,000 men could travel by railway at the same speed as an ordinary person. So he ordered the general—instead of making his army march—to transport it by railway from Vierzon to Tours and from there to Beaugency. The general protested; Gambetta insisted. So instead of a march of *two days* and 45 kilometres, the army of the Loire made a railway journey of 180 kilometres which took it *five days* and which, moreover, could not remain hidden from enemy reconnaissance. Not until the 7th was it once again concentrated at Beaugency and ready for action. But three precious days had been lost, and the enemy had knowledge of the movement carried out.

And what days! November 3 was the most critical day: the Prussian cavalry, a whole brigade, was forced to abandon Mantes and to retire to Vert in the face of numerous *francs-tireurs*[602]; on the other hand, considerable French forces of all the arms were observed marching from Courville in the direction of Chartres. If the army of the Loire, instead of riding around in railway carriages, had attacked on the 4th, which it could have done; if it had pushed on between the Bavarians and the 22nd Prussian Division, which was an easy matter; if it had used its great numerical superiority to inflict a comprehensive defeat on them in turn and then to advance on Paris—then Paris would almost certainly have been liberated.

Moltke was by no means oblivious to the danger and had decided, if need be, to act as Napoleon had acted at Mantua[603]: to lift the blockade, to sacrifice the siege park under formation at Villacoublay, to concentrate his army for action in open country and not to restore the blockade until victory was won, that is, after the arrival of the Metz army. The baggage of the Versailles headquarters had already been loaded on to waggons; all was ready for departure, all that remained was to harness the horses (according to the Swiss colonel von Erlach, an eye-witness[a]).

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[a] [H. von Hannecken,] *Militärische Gedanken und Betrachtungen über den deutsch-französischen Krieg der Jahre 1870 und 1871 vom Verfasser des "Krieges um Metz"*, Mainz, 1871, pp. 185-86.—*Ed.*

If the Prussians had been forced to lift the blockade of Paris, this might have given rise to pressure from the rest of Europe and an honourable peace.[b] In any event, the moral effect of such a feat would have been immense, first on Europe and then particularly on France and finally, in the opposite sense, on the Germans. And the material effects of such a feat! Paris would have had fifteen to twenty days at least to take in fresh supplies by all the railway lines from the south and the west, which would have enabled it to prolong its defence by one or two months. Moreover, an equivalent respite would have been obtained to organise the armies of the provinces; it would then no longer have been necessary to send them into battle without discipline, without training, without equipment, almost without arms. To give France a chance of success all that was needed was time; the opportunity to obtain it occurred on November 3 and 4; we have seen how this opportunity was missed.

Let us, however, follow the course of events.

Paris did not even make a sortie.

For a week the forces approaching Paris from the west made no attempt to attack. This is not surprising. These forces must have been rather weak; Gambetta's decree instructing M. de Kératry to organise the army of the west is dated October 22!

There remained the army of the Loire, which had come into the line on November 7 at Beaugency. Not until the 9th did d'Aurelle attack the Bavarians at Coulmiers; as soon as the latter saw that the retreat of the 22nd Prussian Division, which was marching towards them from the direction of Chartres, was assured, they retired to Tours, where this division joined them the following day, November 10. D'Aurelle *moved no more.* Meanwhile, three corps, 60,000 men, of the Metz army were approaching from the Seine by forced marches. Two more Prussian divisions (the 3rd and the 4th), which had been sent by rail from Metz, had already arrived outside Paris. Moltke could therefore afford to direct the 17th Prussian Division to Tours, where it arrived on the 12th. There were thus 4 German divisions, about 35,000 men, in the line against the army of the Loire, which henceforth ceased to cause them any anxiety.

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[a] Franz von Erlach, *Aus dem französisch-deutschen Kriege 1870-1871. Beobachtungen und Betrachtungen eines Schweizer-Wehrmanns*, Leipzig-Bern, 1874, p. 230.— *Ed.*

[b] For details, see F. Engels, "Fortified Capitals" (present edition, Vol. 22).— *Ed.*

However, on November 14 considerable French forces moved from Dreux towards Houblon, two days' march from Versailles. Moltke, who still had nothing but his cavalry in this direction, was unable to conduct sufficient reconnaissance to discover what forces might lie behind this advance guard. On that day he was once again about to abandon Versailles and to lift the blockade (Blume[a]). This time, however, it was not a matter of days but of hours only. The first corps of the Metz army (IXth) reached Fontainebleau the same day; the IIIrd was due at Nemours between the 16th and the 18th; and the Xth on the 19th at Joigny sur Yonne. Moltke directed the 17th Division to Rambouillet, the 22nd to Chartres, the Bavarians to Auneau, that is between the army of the Loire, to which he left open the road to Paris, and the troops who were threatening Versailles from the west. This time d'Aurelle's inactivity was his salvation; if he had advanced into the gap that had opened up in front of him he would have been crushed between the two German forces ready to fall on his flanks. On November 19 the three corps of the 2nd Prussian army occupied Fontainebleau and Nemours, with their reserves on the Yonne; on November 20 the Ist army under Manteuffel had assembled on the line of the Oise from Compiègne to Noyon; the Metz army was protecting the blockade of Paris to the north and the south; the last chance of lifting the blockade had been lost, thanks to Trochu, Gambetta and d'Aurelle, whose mutual failings complemented one another, one might say, with the much-vaunted precision of the Prussian battalions.

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[a] W. Blume, *Die Operationen der deutschen Heere von der Schlacht bei Sedan bis zum Ende des Krieges...*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 69-71.— *Ed.*

Karl Marx

[MARGINAL NOTES ON ADOLPH WAGNER'S *LEHRBUCH DER POLITISCHEN OEKONOMIE*

(SECOND EDITION), VOLUME I, 1879] 604

1. Mr. Wagner's conception, the "*socio-legal conception*" (p. 2).[a] Thereby finds itself "*in accord with Rodbertus, Lange and Schäffle*" 605 (p. 2). For the "*main points of the foundation*" he refers to *Rodbertus and Schäffle.* Mr. Wagner says even of *piracy* as "unlawful acquisition" by *entire peoples,* that it is only robbery if "*a true jus gentium*[b] is presumed to obtain" (p. 18, Note 3).

His research is primarily devoted to the "*conditions of economic life in a community*" and he "*determines from them the sphere of the economic freedom of the individual*" (p. 2).

"The 'instinct to satisfy one's needs'" "does *not* function, and is not meant to function, as a *pure force of nature,* but, like every human instinct, it is subject to the guidance of reason and conscience. Every act resulting from it is therefore an *answerable* one, and is always governed by a *moral judgement,* though this is admittedly" (!) "itself liable to *historical change*" (p. 9).

As for "*Labour*" (p. 9, § 2), Mr. Wagner does not distinguish between the *concrete character of each kind of labour* and the *expenditure of labour power* common to all these concrete types of labour (pp. 9, 10).

"Even the *mere management of wealth* for the *purpose of procuring revenue* always necessitates activities which belong *to the concept of labour,* and likewise the *employment* of the income thus acquired for the satisfaction of needs" (p. 10, Note 6).

According to Wagner the *historico-legal* are the "*social categories*" (Note 6, p. 13).

"In particular *natural monopolies of location* have the effect, especially in *urban*" (!natural monopoly of the location in the City of London!) "conditions, then under the influence of the *climate* for the *agricultural production* of entire countries, further, *natural monopolies of the specific fertility of the land*, e.g. with especially good vineyards, and indeed even between different peoples, e.g. in the *sale of tropical products* to countries of the temperate zone". //"One example are the *export duties* on products of a kind of natural monopoly, which are imposed in some countries (Southern Europe, tropical countries) on the safe assumption that they will be passed on to the foreign consumers" (Note 11, p. 15). In deducing export duties in the Southern countries from this, Mr. Wagner shows that he knows nothing of the "*history*" of these duties//[a]—"that goods at least partially free in nature become purely economic ones, sold as a matter of business to the highest bidder" (p. 15).

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[a] Here and below Marx gave in brackets pages of Adolph Wagner's book.—*Ed.*

[b] International law.—*Ed.*

The sphere of *regular* exchange (*sale*) of goods is their *market* (p. 21).

Among economic goods: "Relations to persons and things (*res incorporales*) whose material completeness is based on an abstraction: a) *from absolutely free commerce*: the cases of *customers, firms*, etc., when advantageous relations with other people, which have been formed through human activity, may be granted and acquired *for payment*; b) due to certain *legal limitations of commerce*: exclusive manufacturing rights, real equities, privileges, monopolies, patents, etc." (pp. 22, 23).

Mr. Wagner subsumes "*services*" under "*economic goods*" (p. 23, Note 2 and p. 28). His real motive in doing so is his desire to portray Privy Councillor Wagner as a "*productive worker*"; for, he says

"the answer is prejudicial to an assessment of all of those classes which *professionally* perform *personal services*, such as *servants*, the members of the *liberal professions*, and hence also of the *state*. Only if services are reckoned in with economic goods, are the aforesaid classes *productive* in the economic sense" (p. 24).

The following is highly characteristic of the way of thinking of Wagner and company:

Rau had observed: it depends on the "*definition of wealth* and also of economic goods" whether "*services* also belong to them or not"[b]. Whereupon *Wagner* states: "*such a definition*" of "*wealth*" must be "*undertaken* which *includes services among economic goods*" (p. 28).

"*The decisive reason*" is, however,

"that the *means of satisfaction* cannot possibly consist solely of material goods, because *needs are not only related to the latter, but also to personal services* (in particular those of the state, such as *legal protection*, etc.)" (p. 28).

Wealth:

1. *purely economic* ... "*the supply of economic goods available* at a given time *as the real stock for the satisfaction of needs*" is "*wealth as such*", "parts of the total or people's or national wealth".

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[a] Square brackets encountered in Marx's actual manuscript have been replaced with two oblique lines.—*Ed.*

[b] K. H. Rau, *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre*, 5th ed., Heidelberg, 1847, p. 63.—*Ed.*

2. "As *an historico-legal concept ... the stock of economic goods in the possession or property of an entity*", "*possession of wealth*" (p. 32). The latter is an *historico-legal relative concept of property*. Property conveys only *certain powers of disposal* and certain *powers of exclusion* vis-à-vis others. The *extent* of these powers *varies*" //i.e. historically// (p. 34). "All wealth in the second sense is *individual wealth*, the wealth of a physical or a legal entity" (l.c.).

Public wealth,

> "in particular the wealth of *compulsory communal economies*, thus especially the wealth of *states, regions and communities*. This wealth is designated for *public use* (such as roads, rivers, etc.) and ownership thereof is assigned to the state etc., as the *legal representative of the public* (nation, local population, etc.) or it is *actual state and communal wealth*, namely, *administrative wealth*, which also goes to make possible the fulfilment of public services, or *finance wealth*, employed by the state to acquire revenues as the means for the fulfilment of its services" (p. 35).

Capital, *capitale*, is a translation of κεφάλειον signifying the claim in respect of a sum of money, as opposed to the *interest* (τόκος). In the Middle Ages there emerged *capitale, caput pecuniae* for the main thing, the essential, the original (p. 37). In German the word *Hauptgeld* was used (p. 37).

> "*Capital, source of earnings, stock of goods bearing interest: a supply of mobile means of acquisition.*" As opposed to: "*stock for use*: a quantity of mobile consumable wares put together in any respect at all" (p. 38, Note 2).

Circulating and standing capital (p. 38, 2(a) and 2(b)).

Value. According to Mr. Wagner, Marx's theory of value is the "*cornerstone of his socialist system*" (p. 45). As I have never established a "*socialist system*", this is a fantasy of Wagner, Schäffle *e tutti quanti*.[a]

Further: according to which Marx

> "finds the *common social substance of exchange-value*, the only thing he is here concerned with, in *labour*, the *magnitude of exchange-value* in the socially necessary labour time", etc. [p. 45].

Nowhere do I speak of "*the common social substance of exchange-value*"; I rather say that exchange-values (*exchange-value*, without at least two of them, does not exist) represent something *common to them*, which "is quite independent of their use-values" //i.e. here their natural form//, namely "*value*". This is what I write: "Therefore, the common substance that manifests itself in the exchange-value of commodities, whenever they are exchanged, is *their value*. The progress of our investigation will lead us back to exchange-value as the only form in which the value of commodities can manifest itself or be expressed. For the present, however, we have to consider the nature of value *independently of this, its form*" (p. 13).[a]

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[a] And all such people.—*Ed.*

Thus I do not say "the common social substance of exchange-value" is "labour", and as I deal with the *form of value*, i.e. the development of exchange-value, at some length in a separate section, it would be curious if I were to reduce this "form" to a "common social substance", labour. Mr. Wagner also forgets that for me neither "value" nor "exchange-value" are subjects, but *the commodity.*

Further:

> "This" (Marxian) "theory is, however, not so much a general theory of value as a *theory of cost*, related to *Ricardo*" (loc. cit.).

Mr. Wagner could have familiarised himself with the difference between me and Ricardo both from *Capital* and from *Sieber's work*[b] (if he knew Russian). Ricardo did indeed concern himself with labour solely as a *measure of the magnitude of value*, and was therefore unable to find any link between his theory of value and the nature of money.

When Mr. Wagner says that it is not a "general theory of value", he is quite right in his own sense, since he means by a general theory of value the hair-splitting over the word "value", which enables him to adhere to the traditional German professorial confusion between "use-value" and "value", since both have the word "value" in common. But when he goes on to say that it is a "*theory of cost*", then either it amounts to a tautology: commodities, as values, only represent something *social*, labour, and as far as the *magnitude of value* of a commodity is determined, according to me, by the *quantity of the labour-time contained*, etc., *in it*, in other words the normal amount of labour which the production of an article costs, etc.; and Mr. Wagner proves the contrary by declaring that this, etc., theory of value is not the "general" one, because it does not correspond with Mr. Wagner's view of the "general theory of value". Or else he says *something incorrect*: *Ricardo* (following Smith) lumps value and production costs together; I have already expressly pointed out in *A Contribution to the Critique of Political*

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872, p. 13. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 1: "The Two Factors of a Commodity: Use-Value and Value (the Substance of Value and the Magnitude of Value)" (present edition, Vol. 35).— *Ed.*

[b] Н. Зиберъ, *Теорія цѣнности и капитала Д. Рикардо въ связи съ позднѣйшими дополненіями и разъясненіями. Опытъ критико-экономическаго изслѣдованія*, Kiev, 1871.— *Ed.*

Economy as well as in the notes in *Capital*[a] that *values* and *production prices* (which merely express in money the costs of production) do *not* coincide. Why not? That I have *not* told Mr. Wagner.

Furthermore, I "proceed arbitrarily" when I

> "attribute these costs solely to what is termed labour output in the narrowest sense of the term. That always presupposes proof which is hitherto lacking, namely that the production process is possible entirely without the mediation of the activity of *private capitalists* in amassing and employing capital" (p. 45).

Quite the reverse: instead of foisting such future proofs on me, Mr. Wagner first ought to have proved that *a social production process*, not to mention the production process in general, *did not exist* in the very numerous communities which *existed before the appearance of private capitalists* (the Old Indian community, the South Slav family community, etc.). Besides, Wagner could only say: the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, in short, the character of capitalist production as depicted by Marx, is correct, but he is mistaken in regarding this economy as transitory, while Aristotle, on the contrary, was mistaken in *not* regarding the *slave economy* as transitory.

> "As long as such proof has *not* been furnished" //in other words, as long as the capitalist economy exists//, "Then *profit on capital* is *also in fact* //the club-foot or ass's ear reveals itself here// "a '*constitutive*' element of value, *not*, as in the socialist view, simply a *deduction from*, or '*robbery*' *of*, the worker" (pp. 45, 46).

What "*a deduction from the worker*" is, deduction from his skin, etc., is not evident. At any rate, in my presentation even, "profit on capital" is in actual fact *not* "a *deduction* from, or robbery of, the worker". On the contrary, I depict the capitalist as the necessary functionary of capitalist production and demonstrate at great length that he not only "deducts" or "*robs*" but enforces the *production of surplus value*, thus first helping to create what is to be deducted; what is more, I demonstrate in detail that even if *only equivalents* were exchanged in the exchange of commodities, the capitalist—as soon as he pays the worker the real value of his labour-power—would have every right, i.e. such right as corresponds to this mode of production, to *surplus-value*. But all this does not make "profit on capital" the "*constitutive*" *element* of value but only proves that the value not "*constituted*" by the labour of the capitalist conceals a portion which he can appropriate

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[a] See present edition, Vol. 29 and Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter V and Part III, Chapter IX, Section 1: "The Degree of Exploitation of Labour-Power" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

"legally", i.e. without infringing the law corresponding to the exchange of commodities.

> "That theory is unduly preoccupied with this single value-determining element"

//1. Tautology. The theory is false because Wagner has a "general theory of value" which does not agree with it; his "value" is thus determined by "use-value", as is actually proved by the professorial salary; 2. Mr. Wagner substitutes for value the "market-price" at a given time, or the commodity-price diverging from it, which is something very different from value//, "[it considers] the *costs*, not the other, usefulness, *utility*, the *demand* element" //i.e. it does not lump together "value" and *use-value*, which is, after all, such a desirable thing for a born Confusius[a] like Wagner//.

> "Not only does it not correspond to the *formation of exchange-value* in *present-day commerce*"

//he means *price formation*, which does not affect the *determination of value* in any way: moreover, the *formation of exchange-value* CERTAINLY does *take place in present-day commerce*, as any speculator, adulterater of goods, etc., knows, and this has nothing in common with *value formation*, but has a keen eye for formed values; what is more, in, e.g., the determination of the *value of labour power* I proceed from the assumption that it is really paid at its full value, which is *in fact not the case*. Mr. Schäffle is of the opinion in *Capitalismus*, etc., that that is "magnanimous" or some such thing. He simply means a scientifically necessary procedure//,

> "but neither, as *Schäffle* excellently and *indeed conclusively*" (!) "demonstrates in the *Quintessenz* and especially in the *Socialer Körper*,[b] does it correspond to conditions as they are *bound to take shape in the Marxian hypothetical social state*".

//That is the social state, which Mr. Schäffle was courteous enough to "shape" for me, is transformed into "*the Marxian*" (not the "social state" foisted on to Marx in Schäffle's hypothesis).//

> "This may be *strikingly* demonstrated with the example of grain and such like, whose *exchange-value* would—owing to the influence of fluctuating harvests when demand is fairly constant—of necessity have to be regulated *in some other way* than *simply according to costs even* in a system of '*social taxes*,'" [p. 45].

//So many words, so much nonsense. First, I have nowhere spoken of "*social taxes*", and in my *investigation of value* I have dealt with bourgeois relations, not with the application of this theory of *value* to a "social state" not even constructed by me but by Mr. Schäffle for me. Second, if the price of grain rises after a bad harvest, then its *value* rises, for one thing, because a given amount of labour is *contained in a smaller product*; for another thing, its *selling price* rises by much more still. What has this to do with my theory of value? The more the grain is *sold over its value*, the more other commodities, whether in their natural form or in money form, will be sold *under their value* by exactly the same amount, even if their own money price does *not* fall. The *total value* remains the same, even if the expression of this *total value* in its entirety were to increase in money, in other words, if the sum total of "exchange-value" according to Mr. Wagner were to rise. This is the case if we assume that the *drop in price* of the total of the other commodities does not cover the *over-value price* (excess price) of the grain. But in this case, the exchange-value of money has fallen *pro tanto*[a] beneath its value; the total value of all commodities does not only remain the *same*, but even remains the same *expressed in money*, if money is included among the commodities. Further: the rise in price of grain beyond the increase in its value determined by the bad harvest will in any case be smaller in the "social state" than it is with present-day profiteering in grain. But then the "social state" will organise production from the outset in such a way that the annual supply of grain is only minimally dependent on changes in the weather. The volume of production—including supply and consumption—will be rationally regulated. Finally, supposing Schäffle's fantasies about it come true, what is the "social tax" meant to prove for or against my theory of value? Just as little as the coercive measures taken during a food shortage on a ship or in a fortress or during the French Revolution, etc., which pay no regard to *value*; and how terrible for the "social state" to infringe the *laws of value* of the "capitalist (bourgeois) state", hence, too, the theory of value! Nothing but infantile rot!//

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[a] A pun on Confucius and confusion.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*.—*Ed.*

The same Wagner graciously quotes from Rau:

> "In order to avoid misunderstandings, it is necessary to establish what is meant by *value pure and simple*, and *it is in conformity with German usage* to choose *use-value* for this purpose"[b] (p. 46).

Derivation of the concept of value (p. 46 ff.)

It is from the *value-concept* that *use-value* and *exchange-value* are supposed to be derived d'abord[a] by Mr. Wagner, not as with me from a *concretum, the commodity*, and it is interesting to follow this *scholasticism* in its latest *Grundlegung*.[b]

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[a] Accordingly.—*Ed.*

[b] K. H. Rau, *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre*, I. Abt., Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1868, p. 88.—*Ed.*

> "It is a *natural* striving of man to arrive at a *clear awareness* and *understanding* of the *relationship* which inner and outer *goods* bear to his *needs*. This is done through the *appreciation* (*valuation*) by which *value is attributed* to goods or things of the outside world and this value is *measured*" (p. 46), and he says, *p. 12*: "All means of satisfying one's needs are called *goods*."

Thus, if in the first sentence we replace the word "goods" with its Wagnerian *conceptual content*, then the first sentence of the passage quoted becomes:

"It is a *natural striving of 'man' to arrive at a clear awareness and understanding* of the *relationship* which 'the inner and outer means of satisfying his needs' bear to *his needs*." We may simplify this sentence somewhat by dropping "the *inner* means", etc., as Mr. Wagner happens to do immediately in the very next sentence by means of the word "or".

"*Man*"? If the category "man" is meant here, then he has "no" needs at all; if man in isolated juxtaposition with nature, then each individual must be considered a non-gregarious animal; if a man already existing in some kind of society—and this is what Mr. Wagner implies, since his "man" does have a language, even though he lacks a university education—then as a starting-point the specific character of this social man must be presented, i.e. the specific character of the community in which he lives, since in that case production, i.e. *the process by which he makes his living*, already has some kind of social character.

But for a professorial schoolmaster the relations between men and nature are a priori not *practical*, that is, relations rooted in action, but *theoretical*, and two relations of this kind are packed up together in the first sentence.

First: as the "*outer means of satisfying his needs*" or "*outer goods*" become transformed into "*things of the outside world*" in the next sentence, the first interlocked relation assumes the following form: man finds himself *in relation to the things of the outside world* as means of satisfying his needs. But men do not by any means begin by "finding themselves in this theoretical relationship to the *things of the outside world*". They begin, like every animal, by *eating, drinking*, etc., that is not by "finding themselves" in a relationship, but *actively behaving*, availing themselves of certain things of the outside world by action, and thus satisfying their needs. (They start, then, with production.) By the repetition of this process the capacity of these things to "satisfy their needs" becomes imprinted on their brains; men, like animals, also learn "theoretically" to distinguish the outer things which serve to satisfy their needs from all other. At a certain stage of evolution after their needs, and the activities by which they are satisfied, have, in the meanwhile, increased and further developed, they will linguistically christen entire classes of these things which they distinguished by experience from the rest of the outside world. This is bound to occur, as in the production process—i.e. the process of appropriating these things—they are continually engaged in active contact amongst themselves and with these things, and will soon also have to struggle against others for these things. But this linguistic label purely and simply expresses as a concept what repeated activity has turned into an experience, namely that certain outer things serve to satisfy the needs of human beings already living in certain social context //this being an essential prerequisite on account of the language//. Human beings only give a special (generic) name to these things because they already know that they serve to satisfy their needs, because they seek to acquire them by more or less frequently repeated activity, and therefore also to keep them in their possession; they call them "goods" or something else which expresses the fact that they use these things in practice, that these things are useful to them, and they give the thing this character of utility as if it possessed it, although it would hardly occur to a sheep that one of its "useful" qualities is that it can be eaten by human beings.

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[a] first of all.—*Ed.*

[b] *Grundlegung* (Foundation)—the title of Part One of Wagner's work.—*Ed.*

Thus: human beings actually started by appropriating certain things of the outside world as means of satisfying their own needs, etc. etc.; later they reached a point where they *also* denoted *them linguistically* as what they are for them in their practical experience, namely as *means of satisfying their needs*, as things which "satisfy" them. Now, if one terms the fact that human beings not only treat such things practically, as means of satisfying their needs, but also denote them in their thoughts and then linguistically as things which "*satisfy*" their needs, and hence *themselves* //as long as the need of man is not satisfied he is at *variance* with his needs and thus with himself//; if one terms this, "according to German linguistic usage", "attributing *value*" to them, then one has proved that the general concept "*value*" stems from the behaviour of human beings towards the things found in the outside world which satisfy their needs, and consequently that this is the *generic concept* of "*value*", and that all other kinds of value, such as the chemical value [valency][a] of the elements, are no more than variations of it.[b]

It is "the natural striving" of a German economics professor to derive the economic category "value" from a "*concept*", and this he achieves by simply renaming what is *vulgo*[c] called "use-value" in political economy as "*value*" pure and simple, "according to German linguistic usage". And as soon as "value" pure and simple has been found, it serves in turn to *derive* "*use-value*" from "value pure and simple". To do this, one merely has to replace the "use" fragment, which one dropped earlier, in front of "value" pure and simple.

In fact it is Rau (see p. 88[d]) who tells us plainly that it "is necessary" (for the German professorial schoolmasters) "to lay down what is meant by *value pure and simple*", naively adding: "and it is *in accordance with German linguistic usage to select use-value* to this end". //In chemistry the *chemical* valency of an element is the number at which one of its atoms is able to combine with the atoms of other elements. But the combining weight of the atoms is also called "equivalency", the equal value of different elements, etc., etc. Therefore one must first define the concept "value pure and simple", etc., etc.//

If man relates to *things as* "*means of satisfying his needs*", then he relates *to them as* "*goods*", *according to Wagner.* He grants them the attribute of being "goods"; the *content of this operation* is in no way altered by the fact that Mr. Wagner renames this "*attributing value*". His own lazy consciousness immediately arrives at "an understanding" in the following sentence:

> "This is done through the *appreciation* (*valu*ation) by which *value is attributed to goods or things of the outside world* and this value is *measured*" [p. 46].

We shall waste no words on the fact that Mr. Wagner derives *value* from *valu*ation (he himself adds "*valu*ation" in brackets after the word *appreciation* in order to arrive "at a clear awareness and understanding" of the matter). "*Man*" has the "natural striving" to do this, to "appreciate" goods as "*values*", and thus permits Mr. Wagner to *derive* the promised achievement of the "concept of *value* in general". Not for nothing does Wagner smuggle in with the word "goods" the phrase "*or the things of the outside world*". His starting point was that man "relates" to the "things of the outside world", which are means of satisfying his needs, as to "*goods*". So he *appreciates* these things by the very fact that he relates to them as "goods". And we have already had an earlier "paraphrase" for this appreciation, to the effect that, e.g.:

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[a] A play on *Wert* meaning "value" and also "valency".— *Ed.*

[b] Deleted in the manuscript: "In the case of Mr. Wagner, however, this 'deduction' becomes even more splendid, since he deals with '*man*' not with '*men*'. This very simple deduction is expressed by Mr. Wagner like this: '"It is a *natural striving* of man" (read: of the German economics professor), "the relationship" whereby things of the outside world are not only means of satisfying human needs, but are acknowledged linguistically as such, and therefore also serve...'"— *Ed.*

[c] Commonly.— *Ed.*

[d] The page reference is to Rau's *Grundsätze der Volkswirthschaftslehre.*— *Ed.*

> "As a *needy* being, man is in constant contact with the *outside world surrounding* him and *acknowledges that therein* lie *many of the conditions for his life and well-being*" (p. 8).

This, however, means no more than that he "*appreciates* the things of the outside world" insofar as they satisfy his "needy being", being means of satisfying his needs and therefore, as we have already heard, relates to them as "goods".

Now it is possible, particularly if one feels the "natural" professorial "striving" to derive the *concept of value in general*, to do this: to give "the things of the outside world" the attribute of "goods" and *dub* it "*attributing value*" to them. One might also have said: Since man relates to the things of the outside world which satisfy his needs as to "goods", he "prizes" them, thus attributing "*price*" to them, and thus the derivation of the concept "*price* pure and simple" by "*man*"'s own methods is supplied READY CUT to the German professor. Everything that the professor is unable to do himself, he makes "man" do; but this man is himself nothing more than the *professorial man* who claims to have understood the world once he has arranged it under abstract headings. But in so far as "attributing *value*" to the things of the outside world is simply another way of phrasing the expression of giving them the attribute of "*goods*", this is far from being the same, as Wagner wishes to make out, as attributing "*value*" *to the* "*goods*" *themselves* as a designation distinct from their "being goods". It is simply substituting the word "value" for the word "goods". //As we have seen, the word "*price*" could also be substituted. Even the word "*treasure*" could be substituted; since "*man*" labels certain "things of the outside world" "*goods*", he "treasures" them, and therefore relates to them as to a "*treasure*". Thus it can be seen how the three economic categories *value, price and treasure* could be conjured up by Mr. Wagner at a stroke out of "man's natural striving" to provide the professor with his bone-headed system of concepts (fancies).// But Mr. Wagner has the dim instinct to step out of his labyrinth of tautology and worm his way into a "further something" or a "something further". Hence the phrase: "by which *value is attributed* to goods *or* things of the outside world, etc." Since the labelling of "things of the outside world" as *goods*, i.e., the distinguishing and fixing of these (in the mind) as *means of satisfying* human needs, is also dubbed by Mr. Wagner "attributing *value* to things", he can no more call this attributing *value* to "the *goods*" themselves than he could talk about *attributing value* to the "value" of the things of the outside world. But the salto mortale is performed with the words "*attributing value* to *goods or* the things of the outside world". Wagner should have said: the dubbing of certain things of the outside world "*goods*" may also be *called* "*attributing value*" to these things, and this is the Wagnerian *derivation* of the "*concept of value*" pure and simple or in general. The *content* is not altered by this *change* of linguistic expression. It is still only the *distinguishing* or *fixing in the mind* of the things of the outside world which are means of satisfying human needs; in fact, simply the *perception and acknowledgement of certain things of the outside world as means of satisfying the needs of* "*man*" (who as such, however, is actually suffering from a "need of concepts").

But Mr. Wagner wishes to make us, or himself, believe that instead of giving two names to the same content he has progressed from the designation "goods" to a further developed *designation* "value", distinct from the first, and he does this simply by substituting the word "goods" for "things of the outside world", a process which is further "obscured" by the fact that he *rather* substitutes the "things of the outside world" for "the goods". His own confusion thus achieves the certain effect of confusing his readers. He might also have reversed this splendid "derivation" as follows. By *differentiating* the things of the outside world, which are means of satisfying his needs, as such means of satisfaction, from the other things of the outside world, and therefore *according them special distinction*, he *pays tribute to them, attributes value to them*, or gives them the *attribute of "value"*. This can also be expressed by saying that he grants them the attribute of "*goods*" as a characteristic, or respects or values them as "goods". Thereby the concept "*goods*" is *attributed* to the "*values*" *or* to the things of the outside world. And thus the concept of "*goods*" in general is "derived" from the concept of "value". All *derivations* of this kind are simply concerned with *diverting* attention from a problem which one is not capable of solving.

But in the same breath Mr. Wagner proceeds in all haste from the "value" *of goods* to the "*measurement*" of this value.

The content would remain exactly the same if the word "value" had not been smuggled in at all. It might be said: By dubbing certain things of the outside world which, etc., as "*goods*", man will eventually come to compare these "goods" with one another, and according to the hierarchy of his needs will arrange them in a certain order, i.e. if one likes to call it so, "*measure*" them. Wagner may not speak at all of the development of the *real measure of these goods* here, i.e. of the development of their *measure of quantity*, as this would remind the reader too sharply how little what is otherwise meant by "*measure of value*" is dealt with here.

//That the *distinguishing* of (reference to) things of the outside world which are means of satisfying human needs as "*goods*" may be *dubbed* "attributing value to these things"—this Wagner was able to prove not only by means of "German linguistic usage", as Rau did, but also: there is the Latin word *dignitas* = *dignity, merit, rank*, etc., which when applied to things also means "*value*"; *dignitas* is derived from *dignus*, and this from *dic*, *POINT OUT, SHOW*, *auszeichnen*, *zeigen*; *dignus* thus means "*POINTED OUT*"; hence, too, *digitus*, the finger with which one points out a thing, refers to it; Greek δείϰ-νυμι, δάϰ-τυλος (finger); Gothic: *ga-tecta* (dico); German: *zeigen*; and we could arrive at a lot more "derivations" bearing in mind that δείϰνυμι (or δειϰνύω) (to make visible, to bring to light, *to refer to*) has the same basic stem as δέχομαι—that is δέϰ (to hold out, to *take*).//

What a lot of banality, tautological confusion, hair-splitting and underhand manoeuvring Mr. Wagner manages to pack into not quite 7 lines.

No wonder that after this feat, the obscure man (*vir obscurus*) continues with great self-assurance:

> "The much disputed *concept of value*, still *obscured* by many *investigations* frequently *of merely apparent depth*, resolves itself" (INDEED) //RATHER—"involves" itself// "if, as has been done hitherto" //namely by Wagner//, "we take the needs and the *economic nature* of man as our starting-point and on arriving at the *concept of goods—tie it up with the concept of value*" (p. 46).

Here we have the *concept* juggling, whose supposed *development* according to the *vir obscurus* boils down to "*tying up*", and to a certain extent "*tying on*".

Further derivation of the concept of value:

Subjective and objective value. Subjective and, in the *most general sense*, the *value of goods* = *importance* which "is attributed *to the goods on account of their usefulness* ... *not* a quality of the things in themselves, even if it objectively presupposes the usefulness of a thing" //thus presupposing "*objective*" *value*//. In the *objective* sense one also understands by "*value*" and "*values*" the *value-possessing goods*, in which (!) good and value, goods and values *become* essentially "identical concepts" (pp. 46, 47).

After taking what is usually termed "*use-value*" and dubbing it "*value in general*" and then the "*concept of value*" pure and simple, Wagner can surely not fail to recall that the "value" "derived" (!) "in this way" (well, well!) is "*use-value*". After dubbing "use-value" the "concept of value" in general, or "value pure and simple", he discovers, on second thought, that he has simply been drivelling on about "use-value", and has thus "derived" it, drivelling and deriving now being for him "essentially" identical mental operations. But at this juncture we discover how subjective the hitherto "objective" confusion of ideas of the aforesaid Mr. Wagner really is. For he reveals a secret to us. Rodbertus had written a letter to him which may be read in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift*[a] of 1878, in which he, Rodbertus, expounds why there is "only one kind of value", use-value.

> "I" (Wagner) "have come to support this view, the importance of which I have already emphasised in the first edition" [p. 48].

Of what Rodbertus says, Wagner says:

> "This is quite correct and necessitates an alteration of the usual illogical '*division*' of '*value*' into *use-value and exchange-value*, which I had still undertaken in § 3 [in Wagner § 35] of the first edition" (p. 48, Note 4),

and the same Wagner places me (p. 49, Note) amongst those according to whom "use-value" should be entirely "removed" "from the science".

All this is "drivel". *De prime abord*,[b] I do not proceed from "concepts", hence neither from the "concept of value", and am therefore in no way concerned to "divide" it. What I proceed from is the simplest social form in which the product of labour presents itself in contemporary society, and this is the "*commodity*". This I analyse, initially in the *form in which it appears*. Here I find that on the one hand in its natural form it is a *thing for use*, alias a *use-value*; on the other hand, a *bearer of exchange-value*, and from this point of view it is itself an "exchange-value". Further analysis of the latter shows me that exchange-value is merely a "*form* of expression", an independent way of presenting the *value* contained in the commodity, and then I start on the analysis of the latter. I therefore state explicitly, p. 36, 2nd ed.[a]: "When, at the beginning of this chapter, we said, in common parlance, that a commodity is both a use-value and an exchange-value, we were, precisely speaking, wrong. A commodity is a use-value or object of utility, and a 'value'. It manifests itself as this two-fold thing which it is, as soon as *its value* assumes an independent *form of expression distinct* from its natural form—the form of *exchange-value*", etc. Thus I do not divide *value* into use-value and exchange-value as opposites into which the abstraction "value" splits up, but the *concrete social form* of the product of labour, the "*commodity*", is on the one hand, use-value and on the other, "value", not exchange-value, since the mere *form* of expression is not its own *content.*

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[a] A. Wagner, "Einiges von und über Rodbertus-Jagetzow", *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. XXXIV, Tübingen, pp. 199-237.—*Ed.*

[b] To begin with.—*Ed.*

Second: only a *vir obscurus* who has not understood a word of *Capital* can conclude: Because Marx in a note in the first edition of *Capital*[606] rejects all the German professorial twaddle about "use-value" in general, and refers readers who want to know something about real use-values to "manuals dealing with merchandise"—for this reason *use-value* plays no part in his work. Naturally it does not play the part of its opposite, of "value", which has nothing in common with it, except that "value" occurs in the term "use-value". He might just as well have said that "exchange-value" is discarded by me because it is only the form of expression of value, and not "value" itself, since for me the "value" of a commodity is neither its use-value nor its exchange-value.

When one comes to analyse the "commodity"—the simplest concrete element of economics—one must exclude all relations which have nothing to do with the particular object of the analysis. Therefore I have said in a few lines what there is to say about the commodity in so far as it is a use-value, but on the other hand I have emphasised the *characteristic form* in which use-value—the product of labour—appears here, that is: "A thing can be useful, and the product of human labour, without being a commodity. Whoever [directly] satisfies his needs with the produce of his own labour, creates, indeed, use-values but not commodities. In order to produce commodities, *he must not only produce use-values, but use-values for others, social use-values*" (p. 15).[b] //This the root of

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[a] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 3, Point 4: "The Elementary Form of Value Considered as a Whole" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Bd. I, Hamburg, 1872. See K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter I, Section 1: "The Two Factors of a Commodity: Use-Value and Value (the Substance of Value and the Magnitude of Value)" (present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

Rodbertus' "*social use-value*".// Consequently use-value—as the use-value of a "commodity"—itself possesses a specific historical character. In primitive communities in which, e.g., means of livelihood are produced communally and distributed amongst the members of the community, the common product directly satisfies the vital needs of each community member, of each producer; the social character of the product, of the use-value, here lies in *its* (*common*) *communal character.* //Mr. Rodbertus on the other hand transforms the "social use-value" of the *commodity* into "social use-value" pure and simple, and is hence talking nonsense.//

As may be seen from the above, it would be sheer nonsense, in an analysis of the commodity—since it presents itself on the one hand as a use-value or goods, on the other hand as "value"—to "tie up" at this juncture all sorts of banal reflexions about use-values or goods which do not enter into the world of commodities, such as "state goods", "communal goods", etc. as Wagner and the German professor IN GENERAL does, or about goods like "health", etc. Where the state is itself a capitalist producer, as in the exploitation of mines, forests, etc., its product is a "commodity" and hence possesses the specific character of every other commodity.

On the other hand the *vir obscurus* has overlooked the fact that even in my analysis of the commodity I do not come to a halt with its dual way of presenting itself, but immediately proceed to show that in this duality of the commodity there presents itself the dual *character* of the *labour* whose product it is: of *useful* labour, i.e. the concrete modes of the labours which create use-values, and of abstract *labour*, of *labour as expenditure of labour power*, regardless of the "useful" way in which it is expended (on which the presentation of the production process later depends); that in the development of the *value form of the commodity*, in the final instance its money form, and thus of *money*, the *value* of a commodity presents itself in the *use-value* of the other commodity, i.e. in its natural form; that *surplus-value* itself is derived from a "specific" *use-value of labour power* belonging to it exclusively, etc., etc., that, in other words, for me use-value plays an important part quite different from its part in economics hitherto, but *note bene* it still only comes under consideration when such a consideration stems from the analysis with regard to economic formations, not from arguing hither and thither about the concepts or words "use-value" and "value".

For this reason when analysing the commodity I do not immediately drag in definitions of "capital", not even when dealing with the "use-value" of the commodity. Such definitions are bound to be sheer nonsense as long as we have advanced no further than the analysis of the elements of the commodity.

What annoys (shocks) Mr. Wagner about my presentation, though, is that I will not do him the favour of complying with the patriotic German professorial "striving" for confusing use-value with value. Although German society is very much *post festum*, it has nevertheless gradually emerged from the feudal subsistence economy, or at least its predominance, into capitalist society, but the professors are still standing with one foot in the old muck—naturally enough. From being the serfs of landowners they have turned into the serfs of the state, *vulgo* the government. Therefore our *vir obscurus* too, who has not even noticed that my *analytic* method, which does not proceed from *man* but from a given economic period of society, has nothing in common with the German-professorial association-of-concepts method ("words are excellent for fighting with, with words a system may be built"[a]), therefore he says:

> "In harmony with the view of *Rodbertus* and also of *Schäffle* I place the *use-value* character *of all value* in the fore, and emphasise the assessment of use-value all the more, *since* the assessment of exchange-value is simply not applicable to many of the most important economic goods",

what compels him to speak out? so, as a civil servant, he feels obliged to confuse use-value and value!

> "*neither to the state and its services*, nor to other social economic relations" (p. 49, Note).

//This reminds one of the old chemists before the science of chemistry: as cooking butter, which is simply called butter in everyday life (according to the Nordic custom), has a soft consistency, they called *chloride, butter of zinc, butter of antimony*, etc. butter juices, thus, to use the words of the *vir obscurus*, "firmly adhering to the *butter* character of all chlorides, zinc and antimony compounds".// The whole rigmarole boils down to this: Because certain goods, especially *the state* (goods!) and its "*services*" //particularly the services of its professors of political economy// are *not* "commodities", the opposing characteristics contained in the "commodities" themselves //which also appear *explicitly* in the *commodity form* of the product of labour// must therefore be confused with one another! In the case of Wagner and Co. it is anyway hard to maintain that they have more to gain if their "services" are determined according to their "use-value", according to their tangible "content" [*Gehalt*], rather than according to their "*salary*" [*Gehalt*] (through a "social tax", as Wagner expresses it [p. 45], i.e. are "assessed" according to their *payment*.[a]

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[a] W. Goethe, *Faust*, Erster Theil, "Studierzimmer."—*Ed.*

//The only thing which clearly lies at the bottom of the German stupidity is the fact that linguistically the words *value* [*Wert*] or *worth* [*Würde*] were first applied to the useful things themselves which existed for a long time, even as "products of labour", before becoming *commodities*. But this has as little to do with the scientific determination of the "value" of the commodity as the fact that the word *salt* was first used by the ancients for cooking salt, and consequently *sugar*, etc. also figure as *varieties of salt* from Pliny onwards (INDEED, all colourless solids soluble in water and with a peculiar taste), and therefore the chemical category "salt" includes sugar, etc.//

//As the commodity is bought by the purchaser not because it has value but because it is a "use-value", and is used for definite purposes, it goes without saying that 1. use-values are "assessed" i.e. their *quality* is investigated (just as their *quantity* is weighed, measured, etc.); 2. if different sorts of commodities can be substituted for one another for the same use, one or the other will be given preference, etc., etc.//

In Gothic there is only one word for *Wert* and *Würde*: *vairths*, τιμή, //τιμάω, *assess*, i.e. evaluate; to determine the *price* or *value*, *to rate*; *metaphorically*: *to appreciate, esteem, honour, distinguish.* Τιμή—*assessment, hence*: determination of value or price, evaluation, valuation. Then: estimation, also, *value, price itself* (Herodotus, Plato), αί τιμαί—*expenses* in *Demosthenes.* Then: *estimation, honour*, respect, place of honour, honorary post, etc., *Rost's Greek-German Dictionary*.[b]//

Value, price (*Schulze, Glossar*[c]) *Gothic*: *vairths*, adj., ἄξιος, ίϰανός.

Old Norse: *verdhr*, worthy, *verdh*, *value*, *price*; *Anglo-Saxon*: *veordh, vurdh*; English: *worth*, adj. and noun, *value* and *dignity*

("*Middle High German*: *wert*, genitive *werdes*, adj. *dignus* and likewise *pfenning-wert*; *wert*, gen. *werdes*, value, worth, splendour; *aestimatio, commodity of definite value*, e.g. *pfenwert*, *pennyworth*; *werde*: meritum, *aestimatio*, dignitas, precious character" (*Ziemann*: *Middle High German Dictionary*[d]).

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[a] German *Gehalt* means both content and salary.—*Tr.*

[b] V. Ch. Fr. Rost, *Deutsch-Griechisches Wörterbuch*, Zweite Abteilung, M-Z, Göttingen, 1829, p. 359.—*Ed.*

[c] E. Schulze, *Gottlisches Glossar*, Magdeburg, 1847, p. 411.—*Ed.*

[d] A. Ziemann, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch zum Handgebrauch*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1838, pp. 634-35.—*Ed.*

Wert and *Würde* [value and worth] are thus closely related in both etymology and meaning. What conceals the fact is the *inorganic* (incorrect) *inflexion* of *Wert* which has become customary in Modern High German: *Werth*, *Werthes* instead of *Werdes*, since Gothic *th* corresponds to High German *d*, not *th* = *t*, and this is indeed still the case in Middle High German (*wert*, gen. *werdes*, loc. cit.). According to the rule in Middle High German, *d* at the end of a word became *t*, giving *wert* instead of *werd*, but genitive *werdes*.

But all this has as much or as little to do with the economic category "value" as with the *chemical valency of the chemical elements* (atomicity) or with the chemical equivalents or equal values (combining weights of the chemical elements).

Furthermore it should be noted that—even in this linguistic connection—if it follows automatically, as if by the nature of the thing, from the original identity of *Würde* and *Wert* that this word also referred to things, products of labour in their natural form—it was later directly applied unchanged to *prices*, i.e. value in its developed value-form, i.e. exchange-value, which has so little to do with the matter that the same word continued to be used for worth in general, for honorary offices, etc. Thus, linguistically speaking, there is no distinction here between use-value and value.

Let us now turn to the authority quoted by the *vir obscurus*, to *Rodbertus* //whose essay may be scrutinised in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift*//. The passage by Rodbertus cited by the *vir obscurus* is as follows:

From the *text on page 48:*

> "There is only one *kind of value*, and that is use-value. This is either *individual* use-value or *social* use-value. The former stands in a relation to the individual and his needs, quite regardless of any social organisation."

//This is sheer nonsense (cf. *Capital*, p. 171[a]), where, however, it says that the *labour-process*, as a useful activity for the production of use-values, etc., is "*equally common* to all its" (human life's) "*forms of society*" and "*is independent of each of them*".// //First, it is not the word "use-value" which stands in relation to the individual, but *concrete use-values*, and *which of these* "stand in a relation" to him (for these people everything always "stands"; everything is a question of "standing"[b]) is entirely dependent on the level of the social production process, therefore also corresponding to "a social organisation". But if Rodbertus only wishes to make the trivial statement that use-value which really stands in relation to an individual as an object of utility, relates to him as an individual use-value for him—then this is either a trivial tautology or it is incorrect, since not to mention such things as rice, maize, wheat or meat //which does not stand in any relation to a Hindu as food//, an individual's need for the title of Professor or Privy Councillor or an order is possible only in quite a definite "social organisation"//.

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[a] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part III, Chapter VII, Section 1: "The Labour-Process or the Production of Use-Values" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

[b] A play on words: "steht"—stands and "ständisch"—of, or related to, the social estates.—*Ed.*

"The second is *use-value*, which a *social* organism consisting of many individual organisms (or individuals) has" (p. 48, text).

Lovely German! Is it the "use-value" of the "social organism" which is meant here, or is it a use-value in the possession of a "social organism" (as e.g. land in primitive communities), or is it the definite "social" form of use-value in a *social organism*, as e.g. in places where commodity production predominates, the use-value which a producer supplies must be a "use-value for others" and in this sense a "social use-value"? This is nothing but hot air and will lead us nowhere.

And so on to the second proposition of Wagner's Faust[a]:

"Exchange-value is simply the historical mantle and appendage of the social use-value from a particular period of history. By taking *an* exchange-value *as the logical opposite* of use-value, *one* is placing an historical concept in logical contrast to a logical concept, which is logically not admissible" (p. 48, Note 4). "That is quite correct!" crows Wagner ibidem.

Who is the "one" who is committing this? That Rodbertus means me, we may take for granted, since according to R. Meyer, his famulus, he has written a "big, fat manuscript" against *Capital*.[b] Who is placing things in logical contrast? Mr. Rodbertus, for whom "use-value" and "exchange-value" are both by nature mere "concepts". In fact in every price-list every individual sort of commodity undergoes this illogical process, distinguishing itself from the others as *goods*, *use-value*, as cotton, yarn, iron, grain, etc., and representing "goods" qualitatively different from the others *toto coelo*,[c] but simultaneously representing its *price* as qualitatively the same but quantitavely different of *the same essence*. It presents itself in its natural form for him who uses it, and in *value-form*, which is quite different from it and "common" to all other commodities, i.e. as *exchange-value*. The only "*logical*" contrast here is in Rodbertus and the German professorial schoolmasters related to him who proceed from the "concept" of value, not from the "social thing", the

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[a] I. e. Rodbertus.—*Ed.*

[b] R. Meyer, *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow*, Berlin [1881], Vol. I, p. 42.—*Ed.*

[c] In every respect.—*Ed.*

"commodity", who get this concept to split up into itself (duplicate itself), and then argue about which of these two phantoms of the mind is the real Jacob![a]

But what lurks in the gloomy background to these high-flown phrases is simply the immortal discovery that in all circumstances man must eat, drink, etc. //one cannot even continue: "clothe himself, or have a knife and fork or bed and dwelling", as this is not the case *in all circumstances//*; in short, that in all circumstances he must find external things already available in nature to satisfy his needs and appropriate them or fashion them out of what nature provides; in this actual procedure of his he thus always relates practically to certain external things as "use-values", i.e. he always treats them as objects for his use; hence according to Rodbertus use-value is a "logical" concept; thus, since man must also breathe, "breathing" is a "logical" concept, but not a "physiological" one at all. The entire shallowness of Rodbertus, however, emerges in his contrast between "logical" and "historical" concepts! He grasps "value" (the economic value, in contrast to the use-value of the commodity) only in its form of expression, in *exchange-value*, and since this only occurs when at least some part of the products of labour, the objects of utility, function as "*commodities*"—this not, however, happening from the outset, but only at a certain period of social development, in other words, at a definite stage of historical development—then *exchange-value* is a "historical" concept. Now if Rodbertus—and I will point out later why he did not see it—had gone on to analyse the exchange-value of commodities—for it only exists where *commodity* occurs in the plural, different sorts of commodities—then he would have found "value" behind this form of expression. If he had further gone on to investigate value, he would have further found that here the thing, the "use-value", amounts to a mere *concretisation* of human labour, as the *expenditure of equal human labour-power*, and therefore this content is presented as the *concrete* character of the *thing*, as a character appertaining essentially to *the thing itself*, although this objectivity does *not* appear in its natural form //which, however, necessitates a special *form of value//*. He would have found, then, that the "value" of the commodity merely expresses in a historically developed form something which also exists in all other historical forms of society, albeit *in a different form, namely the social character of labour*, insofar as it exists as *expenditure of "social" labour-power*. If, then, "the value" of the commodity is merely a particular historical form of something which exists in all forms of society, the same must be true of the "social use-value", as it characterises the "use-value" of the commodity. Mr. Rodbertus has the measure of the magnitude of value from Ricardo; but he himself has neither examined nor grasped the substance of value any more than Ricardo did; e.g. the "*communal*" character of the [labour process] in the primitive community as the common organism of the labour-powers belonging together, and hence that of *their labour*, i.e. the expenditure of these powers.

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[a] Genesis 25:26.—*Ed.*

Further treatment of Wagner's twaddle on this issue superfluous.

Measure of the magnitude of value. Mr. Wagner incorporates me here, but finds to his regret that I have "*eliminated*" the "*labour involved in capital formation*" (p. 58, Note 7).

> "In commerce regulated by social organs, the determination of *tariff values* or *tariff prices* must be carried out with due consideration to this *cost-element*" //his term for the quantum of labour expended in production, etc.//, "as used to happen in principle in the case of the former state and trade tariffs, and would again have to take effect under any *new tariff system*" //read "socialist"!//. "However, in free commerce the *costs* are *not* the *sole* basis for determining exchange-values and prices, and cannot be in *any conceivable social situation*. For regardless of costs, there must always occur *fluctuations in* use-*value* and *need*, whose *influence on exchange-value and prices* (both contract and tariff prices) then modifies the *influence of costs*, and is bound to do so", etc. (pp. 58, 59). "The" //i.e. this!// "astute correction of the socialist doctrine of value... we owe to *Schäffle*"(!), who says in *Soz. Körper*,[a] III, p. 278: "No matter what kind of social influence over needs and production exists, there is no avoiding the fact that *all needs* always remain in equilibrium qualitatively and quantitatively with production. But if this is so, *the social cost-value quotients cannot simultaneously* be considered *proportionally as social use-value quotients*" (p. 59, Note 9).

That this merely amounts to the triviality of *market-prices* rising and falling above or below value and to the assumption that the theory of value developed by him for *bourgeois* society *is* predominant in the "Marxian social state" is shown by Wagner's phrase:

> "They" (prices) "will occasionally deviate from them" [costs] to a lesser or greater extent, rising for goods whose use-value has become greater and falling for those whose use-value has become smaller. *Only in the long run* will costs continually assert themselves as the decisive regulator", etc. (p. 59).

Law. As for the fantasies of the *vir obscurus* about the economically creative influence of the *law*, one phrase will suffice, although he is forever dragging out the absurd point of view which it exemplifies:

> "Individual enterprise has at its head, as the organ of its technical and economic

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[a] A. E. Fr. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers*.—*Ed.*

activity..., a *person* as a legal and economic subject. Furthermore, this person is no purely economic entity but at the same time dependent on the arrangement of the *law*. For the latter determines who is to count as a person, and consequently who can stand at the head of a business", etc. (p. 65).

Communications and *transport* (pp. 75-76), *p. 80* (Note).

From *p. 82*: where the "*exchange in the* (*natural*) *constituents of the mass of goods*" //of an economy, alias dubbed "*exchange of goods*" by Wagner, is declared to be Schäffle's "*social exchange of matter*"—at least, one case of it; but I also used the word in the "natural" process of production for the exchange of matter between man and nature// *has been borrowed* from me, where exchange of matter first occurs in the analysis of C—M—C[a] and interruptions in the exchange of form, later also termed interruptions in the exchange of matter.

What Mr. Wagner goes on to say about the "*inner exchange*" of the goods in one branch of production (in his case an "individual enterprise"), partly with reference to their "use-value", partly with reference to their "value", is also discussed by me in the analysis of the first phase of *C—M—C*, namely *C—M*, in the example of the linen-weaver (*Capital*, pp. 85, 86-87), where I conclude by saying: "Our owners of commodities therefore find out that the same division of labour that turns them into independent private producers, [also] makes the social process of production and their relations within that process independent of them themselves, and that the seeming mutual independence of the individuals from one another is supplemented by a system of all-round material dependence" (*Capital*, p. 87).[b]

Contracts for the commercial acquisition of goods. Here the *vir obscurus* places mine and his on their heads. For him the law is first, and then comes commerce; in reality it is the other way round: first there is *commerce*, and then a *legal system* develops out of it. In the analysis of the circulation of commodities I have demonstrated that in developed bartering the participants tacitly acknowledge one another as equal persons and owners of the respective goods to be exchanged by them; they already *do* that while offering their goods to each other and agreeing to trade with each other. This *actual* relation, which only arises through and in the exchange, is later given *legal form* in the contract, etc.;

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[a] Commodity—money—commodity.—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Part I, Chapter III, Section 2: "The Medium of Circulation" (see present edition, Vol. 35).—*Ed.*

but this form neither creates its content, the exchange, nor the *relationship between the persons inherent in it*, but vice versa. Wagner, on the other hand:

> "*This acquisition*" //of goods through commerce// "necessarily presupposes a definite *legal system, on whose basis*" (!) "commerce takes place", etc. (p. 84).

Credit. Instead of giving the development of money as a *means of payment*, Wagner immediately turns the process of circulation, insofar as it occurs in such a form that the two equivalents do not confront each other as C—M at the same time, into a "*credit transaction*" (p. 85 ff.), which is "tied up" with the fact that this is frequently linked with the payment of "interest"; it also serves to "inspire confidence" and thus to depict "confidence" as a basis for "credit".

About *Puchta*'s,[a] etc., juridical conception of "*wealth*", according to which *debts*, too, belong to it as *negative components* (p. 86, Note 8).

Credit is "*consumptive credit*" or "productive credit" (p. 86). The former[b] predominating chiefly on a lower level of culture, the latter[c] on a "higher".

As for the *causes of debt* //causes of pauperism: fluctuations in the harvest, war service, slave competition// in Ancient Rome (Jhering, 3rd ed., p. 234, II, 2. *Geist des römischen Rechts*).[d]

According to Mr. Wagner, "consumptive credit" prevails on the "lower level" among "lower, distressed" and "higher, extravagant" classes. In fact, in England and America "*consumptive credit*" *is generally prevalent with the development of the deposit-bank system*!

> "In particular ... *productive credit* proves to be an economic factor of the economy based on *private ownership of land and movable capital* and allowing *free competition*. It is tied up with the *possession* of wealth, not with wealth as a purely economic category", and is therefore only a "historico-*legal category*" (!) (p. 87).

Dependence of individual enterprise and wealth on the effects of the outside world, especially the influence of the state of the economy.

1. *Changes in use-value*: improve in some cases with the *passage of time*, being the condition for certain processes in nature (*wine, cigars, violins*, etc.).

> "*Deteriorate* in the great *majority* of cases... dissolve into their material constituents, *coincidences* of every kind." Corresponds to "*change*" in exchange-value in the same direction, "*increase in value*" or "*decrease in value*" (pp. 96, 97). *Vid. concerning the house-rent agreement* in Berlin (p. 97, Note 2).

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[a] F. G. Puchta, *Pandekten*, Leipzig, 1877, §§ 34 and 219.—*Ed.*

[b] In the manuscript: "latter".—*Ed.*

[c] In the manuscript: "former".—*Ed.*

[d] Rudolph von Jhering, *Geist des römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 234-59.—*Ed.*

2. *Changes in human knowledge of the properties of the goods*: thereby "*increasing wealth*" in a *positive case.* //*Use of coal for the smelting of iron* in England around *1620*, when the decline in forests was already threatening the existence of the ironworks; chemical discoveries, such as that of iodine (utilisation of iodine-bearing salt springs). Phosphorite as a fertiliser, anthracite as a heating agent. Substances for gas-lighting, photography. Discovery of dyes and medicines. Gutta-percha, rubber. Vegetable ivory (from *Phytelephas macrocarpa*).[607] Creosote. Paraffin-wax candles. The use of *asphalt*, *of pine-needles* (pine-needle wool), of the gases in the blast-furnace, coal-tar for the preparation of aniline, woollen rags, sawdust, etc., etc.//. *In negative cases, a decrease in utility and therefore in value* (as following the discovery of trichinae in pork, poisons in dyes, plants, etc.) (pp. 97, 98). Discovery of *mining products* in the earth, of new useful properties of these products, discovery of a new application for them increases *fortune of the landowner* (p. 98).

3. *Economic situation.*

Influence of *all* of the external "conditions", which "essentially determine the *production of goods for commerce, demand and sale*" ... hence their "*exchange-value*", also that of "*the individual finished goods*" ... "entirely or mainly *independently*" of the "economic subject", "or proprietors" (p. 98). *The economic situation becomes a "crucial factor" in the "system of free competition"* (p. 99). Thus someone—"by means of the *principle of private property*"—gains "what he has not *earned*", and so someone else incurs a "*forfeit*", "*economically unwarranted losses*".

Concerning *speculation* (Note 10, p. 101). *Housing prices* (p. 102, Note 11). *Coal and iron industry* (p. 102, Note 12). *Innumerable changes in technology* reduce the value of industrial products as the instruments of production (pp. 102, 103).

> In "an economy progressing in population and prosperity, the *favourable chances* ...*preponderate*, albeit with occasional temporary and local setbacks and fluctuations, in the case of *landed property*, especially *in the case of urban* (city) property" (p. 102).
>
> "Thus the economic situation directs profits into the hands of the *landed proprietor*" (p. 103). "These, like most other *profits on value due to the state of the economy*... are simply *nothing but "gambling winnings"*, to which correspond "*gambling losses*" (p. 103).

Ditto about "Grain Trade" (p. 103, Note 15).

It must thus be

> "openly acknowledged: ... the economic situation of the individual or family" is "*essentially* another *product of the* economic situation" and this "necessarily undermines the significance of *personal economic responsibility*" (pp. [104,] 105).

If, therefore, "the *present organisation* of the economy and the *legal basis* for it" (!), "hence private ownership of ... land and capital" etc. is "for them mainly an *immutable institution*", then, after a good deal of prattle, there are no means "of combatting ... *the causes*" //of the ensuing evils, such as stagnation in sales, crises, the dismissal of workers, wage-cuts, etc.//, "hence *not* of the evil itself", whereas Mr. Wagner imagines he is combatting the "symptoms", the "consequences of the evil" by meeting "*profits arising from the state of the economy*" with "taxes"—the "*losses*", "economically unwarranted", the product of the state of the economy, by a "rational ... *system of insurance*" (p. 105).

This, says the obscure man, is the result of considering the present mode of production and its "legal basis" as "immutable"; but his research, going more deeply than socialism, will get to grips with the "issue itself". *Nous verrons*,[a] won't we?

Chief individual elements affecting the state of the economy.

1. *Fluctuations in the harvest yields of staple foods* under the *influence of the weather* and political conditions, such as disruptions in cultivation due to war. Producers and consumers affected by it (p. 106). //On *grain merchants*: *Tooke, History of Prices*[b]; for *Greece*: *Böckh, Staatshaushalt der Athener*, I, 1, § 15; for *Rome*: *Jhering, Geist*, p. 238.[c] *Increased mortality among the lower strata of the population* nowadays with every *slight* rise in prices, "*certainly a proof how little the average wage* of the mass of the working classes *exceeds the amount absolutely essential* for life" (p. 106, Note 19).// *Improvements in means of communication* //"at the same time", he adds in Note 20, "the most important condition for a speculative grain trade able to level out prices"//, *changes in cultivation methods* //"*crop rotation economy*", by means of "the cultivation of *various* products which are favoured or handicapped differently by varying weather conditions"//; hence *smaller fluctuations in grain prices within shorter periods of time* compared with "the Middle Ages and antiquity". But fluctuations still very great even now (see Note 22, p. 107; FACTS ibid.).

2. *Changes in technology. New production methods.* Bessemer steel in place of iron, etc., p. 107 (cf. Note 23). *Introduction of machines instead of manual labour.*

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[a] We'll see.—*Ed.*

[b] Th. Tooke and W. Newmarch, *A History of Prices, and of the State of the Circulation, during the Nine Years 1848-1856*, Vol. V, London, 1857, Part I: "On the Prices of Corn from 1847 to 1856".—*Ed.*

[c] Rudolph von Jhering, *Geist des römischen Rechts auf den verschiedenen Stufen seiner Entwicklung.*—*Ed.*

3. Changes in the means of communication and transport, influencing the *spatial* movement of men and goods. Thereby in particular... *the value of land* and the articles of *low specific value*; whole branches of production compelled to make a difficult transition to other working methods (p. 107).

//In addition Note 24, ib.

The increase in land value in the vicinity of good communications on account of the better sales of products made there; *the facilitation of population concentration* in towns, hence *enormous rise in value of urban land* and land-*value* in the vicinity of such places. *Transport made easier* from *areas with hitherto low prices for grain* and other agricultural and forestry raw materials, mining products to areas with higher prices; the result being a deterioration of the economic situation for all elements of the population with a more stable income in the former[a] areas, and on the other hand the favouring of the producers and particularly the landowners in the same places. The easier *transport* (*import!*) of grain and other substances of low specific value has the reverse effect. Favours the consumers but prejudicial to the producers in the country of origin; necessitating a transition to other kinds of production, as in England from grain cultivation to stock-raising in the forties, as a result of the competition from cheap East European corn in Germany. Difficult situation for *German farmers* (first) owing to *the climate*, then owing to the *recent large wage increases*, which they are not able to add on to the products as easily as the industrialists, and so on.//

4. *Changes in taste! Fashions*, etc., often occurring rapidly in a short space of time.

5. *Political changes* in the sphere of national and international commerce (war, revolution, etc.); insofar as *confidence and lack of confidence* [become] *more and more important* with increasing division of labour, the extension of international etc., commerce, the role of the credit factor, the monstrous dimensions of modern warfare, etc. (p. 108).

6. *Changes in agricultural, business and trade policy* (example: Reform of the British Corn Laws).

7. Changes in the *geographic distribution* and *overall economic situation of the whole population*, such as migration from the country into the towns (pp. 108, 109).

8. *Changes in the social and economic situation of individual strata of the population*, such as through granting the freedom of coalition, etc. (p. 109). //*The French 5 milliards*,[608] Note 29, ib.//

Costs in the individual enterprise. In the "value"-producing "labour", in which all costs resolve themselves, "labour" in the proper *broad* sense, in particular, must also be included, whereby it "embraces *everything* which is necessary by way of purposeful human activities for the creation of revenues", hence particularly "the *intellectual labour* of the leader and the activity whereby capital is created and employed", "therefore" the "*capital gain*" financing this activity also belongs to the "constitutive elements of costs". "This view stands in contradiction to the socialist theory of value and costs and critique of capital" (p. 111).

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[a] In the manuscript: "latter".—*Ed.*

The obscure man falsely attributes to me the view that "the *surplus-value* produced by the workers *alone* remains, *in an unwarranted manner,* in the hands of the capitalist entrepreneurs" (Note 3, p. 114). In fact I say the exact opposite: that the production of commodities must necessarily become "capitalist" production of commodities at a certain point, and that according to the *law of value* governing it, the "surplus-value" rightfully belongs to the capitalist and not the worker. Instead of engaging in such sophistry, the academic socialist character of the *vir obscurus* proves itself with the following banality, that the

> "uncompromising opponents of the socialists" "overlook the numerous actual *cases of exploitative relations* in which net profits are *not properly*" (!) "distributed, *and the individual enterprise production costs* of the companies are reduced far too much to the detriment of the workers (including the lenders of capital) and to the advantage of the employers" (l.c.).

National income in England and France (p. 120, χ—φ).

The annual gross income of a nation:

1. Sum total of goods *newly* produced that year. *Domestic raw materials* being included entirely according to their value; the *articles manufactured out of these and out of foreign materials* //to avoid a double assessment of raw products// at the *amount of increase in value attained by manufacturing labour*; *raw materials and semi-manufactured goods* sold and *transported in trade,* at the amount of the increase in value effected thereby.

2. *Import of money and commodities from abroad* in the form of interest from the *claims* of the country *arising from credit business,* or from *capital investments* by home nationals abroad.

3. *Freightage* actually paid to *domestic shipping companies* by means of the import of foreign goods *during the course of foreign trade and transit-trade.*

4. *Cash or commodities imported* from abroad *in the form of remittances to aliens staying in the country.*

5. *The import of non-repayable gifts,* such as *permanent tributes* to the country from abroad, or *continuing immigration and consequent regular immigration wealth.*

6. *Value surplus from the import of commodities and money resulting from international*[a] *trade* //but then deduct, 2. *export* abroad//.

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[a] Marx has mistakenly written "domestic" for "international".—*Ed.*

7. *Sum value of revenue from useful wealth* (as from dwelling-houses, etc.) (pp. 121, 122).

For the *net income* deduct, among other things, the "export of goods in payment for the *freightage of foreign shipping companies*" (p. 123). //The matter is not so simple: *the price of production* (*domestic*) + *freight* = *selling price.* If the country exports its own commodities in its own ships, then the foreign country pays the freight charges, if the market price prevailing there, etc.//

"Besides permanent tributes, regular payments to *foreign subjects abroad* (bribes and retainers, as paid by Persia to Greeks, *payments to foreign scholars* under Louis XIV, St. Peter's Money[609]) must be taken into account" (p. 123, Note 9).

Why not the *subsidies* which the German princes regularly used to receive from France and England?

Vid. the naive sorts of *income components of private individuals* consisting of "services performed by state and Church" (p. 125, Note 14).

Individual and national assessment of value.

The destruction of a part of a stock of goods in order to sell the rest at a higher price is called by *Cournot, Recherches sur les principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses, 1838,* "une véritable création de richesse dans le sens commercial du mot"[a] (p. 127, Note 3).

Cf. as regards the decline of private individuals' consumption *supplies,* or, *as Wagner terms it, of their "useful capital"*, in our cultural period, in *Berlin* in particular, p. 128, Note 5, p. 129, Notes 8 and 10; in addition, too little money or *working capital* proper *in the production enterprise* itself, p. 130 and ibid., Note 11.

Comparatively greater importance of foreign trade nowadays, p. 131, Note 13, p. 132, Note 3.

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[a] "A true creation of wealth in the commercial sense of the word".—*Ed.*

APPENDICES

[DECLARATION BY KARL MARX ON HIS NATURALISATION IN ENGLAND][610]

I Carl Marx
of No. 1 Maitland Park Road Haverstock Hill in the County of *Middlessex, Doctor of Philosophy,* do solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

That the statements contained in the paper writing now produced and shown to me marked with the letter "A" purporting to be a Memorial addressed by myself to *The Right Honourable Richard Assheton Cross, Esq., M.P.,* Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, praying for the Grant of a Certificate of Naturalisation under the provisions of the Act of Parliament made and passed in the 33rd year of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, Cap. 14 intituled "An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Legal Condition of Aliens and British Subjects", are true as therein set forth.

And I make this solemn Declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true and by virtue of the provisions of an Act made and passed in the 6th year of the Reign of His late Majesty King William IV intituled "An Act to repeal an Act of the present Session of Parliament intituled 'An Act for the more effectual Abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various Departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in law thereof and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and contra-judicial Oaths and Affidavits and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary Oaths'".

Declared *at Number 82 Saint Martin's Lane in the County of Middlessex* this *first day of August* One thousand eight hundred and *seventy four* }

[signed]
Karl Marx

Before me
Christ. R. Cuff,
A London Commissioner to administer oaths in Chancery.

METROPOLITAN POLICE OFFICE

Scotland Yard

Detective Officer's
Special Report

17th August 1874

Carl Marx.—Naturalisation.

With reference to the above I beg to report that he is the notorious German agitator, the head of the International Society, and an advocate of Communistic principles. This man has not been loyal to his own King and Country.

The referees Messrs Seton, Mathesen, Manning, and Adcock are all British born subjects, and respectable householders. The statements made by them with reference to the time they have known the applicant are correct.

W. Reimers—Sergeant
J. Williams—Sergeant

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Published in English for the first time

[SPEECHES BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS AT THE MEETING HELD TO CELEBRATE THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY IN LONDON, FEBRUARY 7, 1876][611]

Comrade *Carl Marx* then spoke about the work of the Society since its inception. The Society had been founded in 1840 by *Carl Schapper* in collaboration with 6 other like-minded persons. There existed an organisation within the Society, "The League of the Just",[612] which had its seat in various countries and opposed the oppression of the people. Four or five nationalities had been involved in the foundation of this Society. In 1845[613] a congress had been convened in London at which the Communist Manifesto had been worked out and whose motto was: "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" Marx then gave a most interesting account of the associations in those days, stating that the number of members had reached a level of 400-500. In March 1848 the Society was closed down by the British government,[614] which was otherwise not so swift to resort to police measures. The Chartist movement, which had received a great deal of support from the Society, may have been the cause of the closure. The organisation called "The League of the Just" was dissolved in 1849,[615] whereupon many members moved to America. In the fifties the Society worked more by itself, though it had always remained a refuge for the persecuted and oppressed. Marx then went on to discuss the present movement, stressing that the Society had contributed to its rise and he hoped that it would continue to do so.

Comrade *Frederick Engels* then recalled a faithful champion of truth and justice, *Wilhelm Weitling*. He was in fact the first person to try to spread the Communist idea in Germany. He was extradited by Switzerland to the Prussian government, which kept him in prison for a considerable time without any grounds. Weitling had died in America. His book *Garantien der Harmonie* *und Freiheit* had appeared at the advice of his friends. The speaker further recalled Comrade *Moll*, who had been one of the first members and had been killed in Southern Germany in the battle for freedom. The speaker then came to the movement in Germany, saying that in his view it had achieved a strength unmatched in any country hitherto. The speaker was of the opinion that the socialist movement was bound to go forward, since agitators such as Bismarck, Eulenburg and Tessendorf were active on its behalf. [...]

Comrade *Wroblewski*, speaking in French, said: As long as there are Poles alive, the great movement of workers will have defenders in them; they will show by word and deed that their place is wherever the cause of the proletariat is being fought for. Speaker pays tribute to the workers' movement in all countries.

Comrade *Engels* translates Wroblewski's speech into German and then provides information on his activities. Wroblewski was a general and in 1863, during the Polish revolution,[616] managed to keep 2 Russian armies in check with a small band; he was sentenced to death by the Russian government and succeeded at some risk in escaping to France, where he earned his daily bread as a worker. When the Paris Commune rose up, he took part in its battles and defended the southern part of Paris[617]; also condemned to death by the Versailles people, he was fortunate enough to escape; he was still suffering greatly from the wounds he had incurred. [...]

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Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[FREDERICK ENGELS' NOTICE ON THE DEATH OF HIS WIFE, LYDIA BURNS]

I herewith notify my friends in Germany that in the course of last night death deprived me of my wife *Lydia*, née *Burns*.

London, September 12, 1878

Frederick Engels

First published in *Vorwärts*, No. 110, September 18, 1878

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

[ACCOUNT OF KARL MARX'S INTERVIEW WITH THE *CHICAGO TRIBUNE* CORRESPONDENT][618]

KARL MARX

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF *THE TRIBUNE*

London, Dec. 18.—In a little villa at Haverstock Hill, in the northwest portion of London, lives Karl Marx, the corner-stone of modern Socialism. He was exiled from his native country—Germany—in 1844,[619] for propagating revolutionary theories. In 1848 he returned, but in a few months was again exiled. He then took up his abode in Paris, but his political theories procured his expulsion from that city in 1849, and since that year his headquarters have been in London. His convictions have caused him trouble from the beginning. Judging from the appearance of his home, they certainly have not brought him affluence. Persistently during all these years he has advocated his views with an earnestness which undoubtedly springs from a firm belief in them, and, however, much we may deprecate their propagation, we cannot but respect to a certain extent the self-denial of the now venerable exile.

OUR CORRESPONDENT HAS CALLED UPON HIM

twice or thrice, and each time the Doctor was found in his library, with a book in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He must be over 70 years of age. His physique is well-knit, massive, and erect. He has the head of a man of intellect, and the features of a cultivated Jew. His hair and beard are long, and iron-gray in color. His eyes are glittering black, shaded by a pair of bushy eyebrows. To a stranger he shows extreme caution. A foreigner can generally gain admission; but the ancient-looking German woman[a] who waits upon visitors has instructions to admit none who hail from the Fatherland, unless they bring letters of introduction. Once into his library, however, and, having fixed his one eye-glass in the corner of his eye, in order to take your intellectual breadth and depth, so to speak, he loses that self-restraint, and unfolds to you a knowledge of men and things throughout the world apt to interest one. And his conversation does not run in one groove, but is as varied as are the volumes upon his library shelves. A man can generally be judged by the books he reads, and you can form your own conclusions when I tell you a casual glance revealed Shakespeare, Dickens, Thackeray, Molière, Racine, Montaigne, Bacon, Goethe, Voltaire, Paine; English, American, French blue-books; works political and philosophical in Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, etc., etc. During my conversations I was struck with

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[a] Helene Demuth.—*Ed.*

HIS INTIMACY WITH AMERICAN QUESTIONS

which have been uppermost during the past twenty years. His knowledge of them, and the surprising accuracy with which he criticised our National and State legislation, impressed upon my mind the fact that he must have derived his information from inside sources. But, indeed, this knowledge is not confined to America, but is spread over the face of Europe. When speaking of his hobby,—Socialism,—he does not indulge in those melodramatic flights generally attributed to him, but dwells upon his utopian plans for "the emancipation of the human race" with a gravity and an earnestness indicating a firm conviction in the realization of his theories, if not in this century, at least in the next.

Perhaps Dr. Karl Marx is better known in America as the author of "Capital", and the founder of the International Society, or at least its most prominent pillar. In the interview which follows, you will see what he says of this Society as it at present exists. However, in the meantime, I will give you a few extracts from the printed general rules of

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY,

published in 1871, by order of the General Council, from which you can form an impartial judgment of its aims and ends. The preamble sets forth[a] "That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule; that the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor—that is, the sources of life—lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence; that all efforts aiming at the universal emancipation of the working classes have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country", and the preamble calls for "the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements". It goes on to say that the International Association acknowledge "no rights without duties, no duties without rights",—thus making every member a worker. The Association was formed at London "to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between the Workingmen's Societies in the different countries, aiming at the same end, namely: the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes". "Each member," the document further says, "of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the associated workingmen."

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[a] Further come quotations from the *General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association* which appeared in London in December 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 3-20).— *Ed.*

THE SOCIETY CONSISTS

of a General Congress, which meets annually; a General Council, which forms "an international agency between the different national and local groups of the Association, so that the workingmen in one country can be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country". This Council receives and acts upon applications of new Branches or Sections to join the International, decides differences arising between the Sections, and, in fact, to use an American phrase, "runs the machine". The expenses of the General Council are defrayed by an annual contribution of an English penny per member. Then come the Federal Councils or Committees, and local Sections, in the various countries. The Federal Councils are bound to send one report at least every month to the General Council, and every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches. Whenever attacks against the Internationals are published, the nearest Branch or Committee is bound to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council. The formation of Female Branches among the working classes is recommended.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

comprises the following: R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Frederick Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, V. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont (on mission), William Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Frederick Lessner, Lochner, Charles Longuet, C. Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston. The Corresponding Secretaries for the various countries are: Leo Frankel, for Austria and Hungary; A. Herman, Belgium; T. Mottershead, Denmark; A. Serraillier, France; Karl Marx, Germany and Russia; Charles Rochat, Holland; J. P. McDonnell, Ireland; Frederick Engels, Italy and Spain; Walery Wroblewski, Poland; Hermann Jung, Switzerland; J. G. Eccarius, United States; Le Moussu, for French branches of United States.

During my visit to Dr. Marx I alluded to the platform given by J. C. Bancroft Davis in his official report of 1877,[620] as the clearest and most concise exposition of Socialism that I had seen. He said it was taken from the report of the Socialist reunion at Gotha, Germany, in May, 1875.[621] The translation was incorrect, he said, and he

VOLUNTEERED A CORRECTION,

which I append as he dictated:

First—Universal, direct, and secret suffrage for all males over 20 years, for all elections, Municipal and State.

Second—Direct legislation by the people. War and peace to be made by direct popular vote.

Third—Universal obligation to militia duty. No standing army.

Fourth—Abolition of all special legislation regarding press-laws and public meetings.

Fifth—Legal remedies free of expense. Legal proceedings to be conducted by the people.

Sixth—Education to be by the State,—general, obligatory, and free. Freedom of science and religion.

Seventh—All indirect taxes to be abolished. Money to be raised for State and Municipal purposes by a direct progressive income tax.

Eighth—Freedom of combination among the working classes.

Ninth—The legal day of labor for men to be defined. The work of women to be limited, and that of children to be abolished.

Tenth—Sanitary laws for the protection of life and health of laborers, and regulation of their dwellings and places of labor, to be enforced by persons selected by them.

Eleventh—Suitable provision respecting prison-labor.

In Mr. Bancroft Davis' report there is

A TWELFTH CLAUSE,

the most important of all, which reads: "State aid and credit for industrial societies, under democratic direction." I asked the Doctor why he omitted this, and he replied:

"When the reunion took place at Gotha, in 1875, there existed a division among the Social Democrats. The one wing were partisans of Lassalle; the others, those who had accepted in general the programme of the International organization, and were called the Eisenach party. That twelfth point was not placed on the platform, but placed in the general introduction by way of concession to the Lassallians. Afterwards it was never spoken of. Mr. Davis does not say that it was placed in the programme as a compromise having no particular significance, but gravely puts it in as one of the cardinal principles of the programme."

"But," I said, "Socialists generally look upon the transformation of the means of labor into the common property of society as the grand climax of the movement."

"Yes; we say that this will be the outcome of the movement, but it will be a question of time, of education, and the institution of a higher social status."

"This platform," I remarked, "applies only to Germany and one or two other countries."

"Ah!" he returned, "if you draw your conclusions from nothing but this, you know nothing of the activity of the party. Many of its points have no significance outside of Germany. Spain, Russia, England, and America have platforms suited to their peculiar difficulties. The only similarity in them is the end to be attained."

"And that is the supremacy of labor?"

"That is the

EMANCIPATION OF LABOR."

"Do European Socialists look upon the movement in America as a serious one?"

"Yes; it is the natural outcome of the country's development. It has been said that the movement has been imported by foreigners.

When labor movements became disagreeable in England, fifty years ago, the same thing was said; and that was long before Socialism was spoken of. In America, only since 1857 has the labor movement become conspicuous. Then Trades Unions began to flourish; then Trades-Assemblies were formed, in which the workers in different industries united; and after that came National Labor Unions.[622] If you consider this chronological progress, you will see that Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers."

"Now," asked our correspondent, "what has Socialism done so far?"

"Two things," he returned. "Socialists have shown the general universal struggle between capital and labor,—

THE COSMOPOLITAN CHARACTER,

in one word,—and consequently tried to bring about an understanding between the workmen in the different countries, which became more necessary as the capitalists became more cosmopolitan in hiring labor, pitting foreign against native labor not only in America, but in England, France, and Germany. International relations sprang up at once between the workingmen in the different countries, showing that Socialism was not merely a local, but an international problem, to be solved by the international action of workmen. The working classes moved spontaneously, without knowing what the ends of the movement will be. The Socialists invent no movement, but merely tell the workmen what its character and its ends will be."

"Which means the overthrowing of the present social system," I interrupted.

"This system of land and capital in the hands of employers, on the one hand," he continued, "and the mere working power in the hands of the laborers to sell as a commodity, we claim is merely an historical phase, which will pass away and give place to

A HIGHER SOCIAL CONDITION.

We see everywhere a division of society. The antagonism of the two classes goes hand in hand with the development of the industrial resources of modern countries. From a Socialistic standpoint the means already exist to revolutionize the present historical phase. Upon Trades-Unions, in many countries, have been built political organizations. In America the need of an independent Workingmen's party has been made manifest. They can no longer trust politicians. Rings and cliques have seized upon the Legislature, and politics has been made a trade. But America is not alone in this, only its people are more decisive than Europeans. Things come to the surface quicker. There is less cant and hypocrisy than there is on this side of the ocean."

I asked him to give me a reason for the rapid growth of the Socialistic party in Germany, when he replied: "The present Socialistic party came last. Theirs was not the Utopian scheme which made some headway in France and England. The German mind is given to theorizing, more than that of other peoples. From previous experience the Germans evolved something practical. This modern capitalistic system, you must recollect, is quite new in Germany in comparison to other States. Questions were raised which had become almost antiquated in France and England, and political influences to which these States had yielded sprang into life when the working classes of Germany had become imbued with Socialistic theories. Therefore, from the beginning almost of modern industrial development, they have formed an

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY.

They had their own representatives in the German Parliament. There was no party to oppose the policy of the Government, and this devolved upon them. To trace the course of the party would take a long time; but I may say this: that, if the middle classes of Germany were not the greatest cowards, distinct from the middle classes of America and England, all the political work against the Government should have been done by them."

I asked him a question regarding the numerical strength of the Lassallians in the ranks of the Internationalists.

"The party of Lassalle," he replied, "does not exist. Of course there are some believers in our ranks, but the number is small. Lassalle anticipated our general principles. When he commenced to move after the reaction of 1848, he fancied that he could more successfully revive the movement by advocating co-operation of the workingmen in industrial enterprises.[623] It was to stir them into activity. He looked upon this merely as a means to the real end of the movement. I have letters from him to this effect."

"You would call it his nostrum?"

"Exactly. He called upon Bismarck, told him what he designed,[624] and Bismarck encouraged Lassalle's course at that time in every possible way."

"What was his object?"

"He wished to use the working classes as a set-off against the middle classes who instigated the troubles of 1848."

"It is said that you are the head and front of Socialism, Doctor, and from your villa here pull the wires of all the associations, revolutions, etc., now going on. What do you say about it?"

The old gentleman smiled: "I know it.

IT IS VERY ABSURD;

yet it has a comic side. For two months previous to the attempt of Hoedel,[625] Bismarck complained in his *North German Gazette* that I was in league with Father Beckx, the leader of the Jesuit movement, and that we were keeping the Socialist movement in such a condition that he could do nothing with it."[a]

"But your International Society in London directs the movement?"

"The International Society has outlived its usefulness and exists no longer. It did exist and direct the movement; but the growth of Socialism of late years has been so great that its existence has become unnecessary. Newspapers have been started in the various countries. These are interchanged. That is about the only connection the parties in the different countries have with one another. The International Society, in the first instance, was created to bring the workmen together, and show the advisability of effecting organization among their various nationalities. The interests of each party in the different countries have no similarity. This spectre of the Internationalist leaders sitting at London is a mere invention. It is true that we dictated to foreign societies when the Internationalist organization was first accomplished. We were forced to exclude some Sections in New York, among them one in which Madam Woodhull was conspicuous. That was in 1871.[b] There are several American politicians—I will not name them—who wish to trade in the movement. They are well known to American Socialists."

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[a] See the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 229, 234, 251 and 259, September 30, October 5 and 24, November 2, 1877 ("Politischer Tagesbericht").—*Ed.*

[b] K. Marx, "Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872" (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 124).—*Ed.*

"You and your followers, Dr. Marx, have been credited with all sorts of incendiary speeches against religion. Of course you would like to see the whole system destroyed, root and branch."

"We know," he replied after a moment's hesitation, "that violent measures against religion are nonsense; but this is an opinion: as Socialism grows,

RELIGION WILL DISAPPEAR.

Its disappearance must be done by social development, in which education must play a great part."

"The Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston,—you know him—"

"We heard of him; a very badly informed man upon the subject of Socialism."

"In a lecture lately upon the subject, he said: 'Karl Marx is credited now with saying that, in the United States, and in Great Britain, and perhaps in France, a reform of labor will occur without bloody revolution, but that blood must be shed in Germany, and in Russia, and in Italy, and in Austria.'"[a]

"No Socialist," remarked the Doctor, smiling, "need predict that there will be a bloody revolution in Russia, Germany, Austria, and possibly in Italy if the Italians keep on in the policy they are now pursuing. The deeds of the French Revolution may be enacted again in those countries. That is apparent to any political student. But those revolutions will be made by the majority. No revolution can be made by a party,

BUT BY A NATION."

"The reverend gentleman alluded to," I remarked, "gave an extract from a letter which he said you addressed to the Communists of Paris in 1871. Here it is: 'We are as yet but 3,000,000 at most. In twenty years we shall be 50,000,000-100,000,000 perhaps. Then the world will belong to us, for it will be not only Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, which will rise against odious capital, but Berlin, Munich, Dresden, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Brussels, St. Petersburg, New York,—in short, the whole world. And before this new insurrection, such as history has not yet known, the past will disappear like a hideous nightmare; for the popular conflagration, kindled at a hundred points at once, will destroy even its memory.'[a] Now, Doctor, I suppose you admit the authorship of that extract?"

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[a] F. J. Cook, "Secret Socialistic Societies". See Joseph Cook, *Boston Monday Lectures*, Vol. 2, London, 1893, p. 30.—*Ed.*

"I never wrote a word of it. I never write

SUCH MELODRAMATIC NONSENSE.

I am very careful what I do write. That was put in *Le Figaro*, over my signature, about that time. There were hundreds of the same kind of letters flying about then. I wrote to the London *Times* and declared they were forgeries[b]; but, if I denied everything that has been said and written of me, I would require a score of secretaries."

"But you have written in sympathy with the Paris Communists?"

"Certainly I have, in consideration of what was written of them in leading articles; but the correspondence from Paris in English papers is quite sufficient to refute the blunders propagated in editorials. The Commune killed only about sixty people; Marshal MacMahon and his slaughtering army killed over 60,000. There has never been a movement so slandered as that of the Commune."

"Well, then, to carry out the principles of Socialism do its believers advocate assassination and bloodshed?"

"No great movement," Karl Marx answered, "has ever been inaugurated

WITHOUT BLOODSHED.

The independence of America was won by bloodshed, Napoleon captured France through a bloody process, and he was overthrown by the same means. Italy, England, Germany, and every other country gives proof of this, and as for assassination," he went on to say, "it is not a new thing, I need scarcely say. Orsini tried to kill Napoleon; Kings have killed more than anybody else; the Jesuits have killed; the Puritans killed at the time of Cromwell. These deeds were all done or attempted before Socialism was known. Every attempt, however, now made upon a Royal or State individual is attributed to Socialism. The Socialists would regret very much the death of the German Emperor[c] at the present time.

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[a] Ibid.—*Ed.*

[b] See K. Marx and F. Engels, "To the Editor of *The Times*"; K. Marx, "To the Editorial Boards of the *Volksstaat* and the *Zukunft*" and "To the Editor of *De Werker*" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 285, 288-90 and 291).—*Ed.*

[c] William I.—*Ed.*

He is very useful where he is; and Bismarck has done more for the cause than any other statesman, by driving things to extremes."

I asked Dr. Marx

WHAT HE THOUGHT OF BISMARCK.

He replied that "Napoleon was considered a genius until he fell; then he was called a fool. Bismarck will follow in his wake. He began by building up a despotism under the plea of unification. His course has been plain to all. The last move is but an attempted imitation of a coup d'etat[626]; but it will fail. The Socialists of Germany, as of France, protested against the war of 1870 as merely dynastic. They issued manifestoes[627] foretelling the German people that, if they allowed the pretended war of defense to be turned into a war of conquest, they would be punished by the establishment of military despotism and the ruthless oppression of the productive masses.[628] The Social Democratic party in Germany, thereupon holding meetings and publishing manifestoes for an honorable peace with France, were at once prosecuted by the Prussian Government, and many of the leaders imprisoned.[629] Still their Deputies alone dared to protest, and very vigorously too, in the German Reichstag, against the forcible annexation of French provinces.[630] However, Bismarck carried his policy by force, and people spoke of the genius of a Bismarck. The war was fought, and, when he could make no more conquests, he was called upon for original ideas, and he has signally failed. The people began to lose faith in him. His popularity was on the wane. He needs money, and the State needs it. Under a sham Constitution he has taxed the people for his military and unification plans until he can tax them no longer, and now he seeks to do it with no Constitution at all. For the purpose of levying as he chooses, he has raised the ghost of Socialism, and has done everything in his power

TO CREATE AN EMEUTE."

"You have continual advices from Berlin?"

"Yes," he said, "my friends keep me well advised. It is in a perfectly quiet state, and Bismarck is disappoited. He has expelled forty-eight prominent men,—among them Deputies Hasselmann and Fritzsche, and Rackow, Baumann, and Auer, of the *Freie Presse.*[631] These men kept the workmen of Berlin quiet. Bismarck knew this. He also knew that there were 75,000 workmen in that city upon the verge of starvation. Once those leaders were gone, he was confident that the mob would rise, and that would be the cue for a carnival of slaughter. The screws would then be put upon the whole German Empire; his pet theory of blood and iron[a] would then have full sway, and taxation could be levied to any extent. So far no emeute has occurred, and he stands to-day confounded at the situation and the ridicule of all statesmen."

First published in *The Chicago Tribune*, No. 6, January 5, 1879

Reproduced from the newspaper

Signed: *H.*

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[a] An allusion to Bismarck's speech at the 94th session of the Budget Commission of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on September 30, 1862, *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 458, October 2, 1862 (morning issue).—*Ed.*

[SIR MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE GRANT DUFF'S ACCOUNT OF A TALK WITH KARL MARX

FROM A LETTER TO CROWN PRINCESS VICTORIA][632]

February 1, 1879

Madam,

Your Imperial Highness,[a] when I last had the honour of seeing you, chanced to express some curiosity about Carl Marx and to ask me if I knew him. I resolved accordingly to take the first opportunity of making his acquaintance; but that opportunity did not arise till yesterday when I met him at luncheon and spent three hours in his company.

He is a short, rather small man with grey hair and beard which contrast strangely with a still dark moustache. The face is somewhat round, the forehead well shaped and filled up—the eye rather hard but the whole expression rather pleasant than not, by no means that of a gentleman who is in the habit of eating babies in their cradles—which is I daresay the view which the Police takes of him.

His talk was that of a well-informed nay learned man—much interested in Comparative Grammar which had led him into the Old Slavonic and other out of the way studies and was varied by many quaint turns and little bits of dry humour, as when speaking of Hesekiel's life of Prince Bismarck he always referred to it, by way of contrast to Dr. Busch's book, as the *Old* Testament.[b]

It was all very *positif* slightly cynical—without any appearance of enthusiasm—interesting and often, as I thought, showing very correct ideas when he was conversing of the past or the present; but vague and unsatisfactory when he turned to the future.

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[a] Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa.—*Ed.*

[b] See G. Hesekiel, *Das Buch vom Grafen Bismarck*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1869; M. Busch, *Graf Bismarck und seine Leute während des Kriegs mit Frankreich*, Vols. 1-2, Leipzig, 1878.—*Ed.*

He looks, not unreasonably, for a great and not distant crash in Russia; thinks it will begin by reforms from above which the old bad edifice will not be able to bear and which will lead to its tumbling down altogether. As to what would take its place he had evidently no clear idea, except that for a long time Russia would be unable to exercise any influence in Europe.

Next he thinks that the movement will spread to Germany taking there the form of a revolt against the existing military system.

To my question "But how can you expect the army to rise against its commanders?" he replied—you forget that in Germany now the army and the Nation are nearly identical. These Socialists you hear about are trained soldiers like anybody else. You must not think of the standing army only. You must think of the Landwehr[633]—and even in the standing army there is much discontent. Never was an army in which the severity of the discipline led to so many suicides. The step from shooting oneself to shooting one's officer is not long and an example of the kind once set is soon followed.

But supposing I said the rulers of Europe came to an understanding amongst themselves for a reduction of armaments which might greatly relieve the burden on the people what would become of the Revolution which you expect it one day to bring about?

Ah was his answer they can't do that. All sorts of fears and jealousies will make that impossible. The burden will grow worse and worse as science advances for the improvements in the Art of Destruction will keep pace with its advance and every year more and more will have to be devoted to costly engines of war. It is a vicious circle—there is no escape from it. But I said you have never yet had a serious popular rising unless there was really great misery. You have no idea he rejoined how terrible has been the crisis through which Germany has been passing in these last five years.[634]

Well I said supposing that your Revolution has taken place and that you have your Republican form of Government—it is still a long long way to the realization of the special ideas of yourself and your friends. Doubtless he answered but all great movements are slow. It would merely be a step to better things as your Revolution of 1688 was—a mere stage on the road.[635]

The above will give Your Imperial Highness a fair idea of the kind of ideas about the near future of Europe which are working in his mind.

They are too dreamy to be dangerous except just in so far as the situation with its mad expenditure on armaments is obviously and undoubtedly dangerous.

If however within the next decade the rulers of Europe have not found means of dealing with this evil without any warning from attempted revolution I for one shall despair of the future of humanity at least on this continent.

In the course of conversation Carl Marx spoke several times both of Your Imperial Highness and of the Crown Prince[a] and invariably with due respect and propriety. Even in the case of eminent individuals of whom he by no means spoke with respect there was no trace of bitterness or savagery—plenty acrid and dissolvent criticism but nothing of the Marat tone.

Of the horrible things that have been connected with the International he spoke as any respectable man would have done.

One thing which he mentioned showed the dangers to which exiles who have got a revolutionary name are exposed. The wretched man Nobiling, he had learned, had when in England intended to come to see him. If he had done so he said I should certainly have admitted him for he would have sent in his card as an *employé* of the Dresden Bureau of Statistics and as I occupy myself with Statistics it would have interested me to talk with him—What a pleasant position I should have been in he added if he *had* come to see me!!"

Altogether my impression of Marx, allowing for his being at the opposite pole of opinion from oneself, was not at all unfavourable and I would gladly meet him again. It will not be he who whether he wishes it or not will turn the world upside down.

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[a] Frederick William.—*Ed.*

[ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW OF KARL MARX WITH JOHN SWINTON, CORRESPONDENT OF *THE SUN*][636]

KARL MARX

One of the most remarkable men of the day, who has played an inscrutable but puissant part in the revolutionary politics of the past forty years, is Karl Marx. A man without desire for show or fame, caring nothing for the fanfaronade of life or the pretence of power, without haste and without rest, a man of strong, broad, elevated mind, full of far-reaching projects, logical methods, and practical aims, he has stood and yet stands behind more of the earthquakes which have convulsed nations and destroyed thrones, and do now menace and appal crowned heads and established frauds, than any other man in Europe, not excepting Joseph Mazzini himself. The student of Berlin, the critic of Hegelianism, the editor of papers, and the old-time correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, he showed his qualities and his spirit; the founder and master spirit of the once dreaded International and the author of "Capital", he has been expelled from half the countries of Europe, proscribed in nearly all of them, and for thirty years past has found refuge in London. He was at Ramsgate,[637] the great seashore resort of the Londoners, while I was in London, and there I found him in his cottage, with his family of two generations. The saintly-faced, sweet-voiced, graceful woman of suavity who welcomed me at the door was evidently the mistress of the house and the wife of Karl Marx. And is this massive-headed, generous-featured, courtly, kindly man of 60, with the bushy masses of long revelling gray hair, Karl Marx? His dialogue reminded me of that of Socrates—so free, so sweeping, so creative, so incisive, so genuine—with its sardonic touches, its gleams of humor, and its sportive merriment. He spoke of the political forces and popular movements of the various countries of

Europe—the vast current of the spirit of Russia, the motions of the German mind, the action of France, the immobility of England. He spoke hopefully of Russia, philosophically of Germany, cheerfully of France, and sombrely of England—referring contemptuously to the "atomistic reforms" over which the Liberals of the British Parliament spend their time. Surveing the European world, country after country, indicating the features and the developments and the personages on the surface and under the surface, he showed that things were working toward ends which will assuredly be realized. I was often surprised as he spoke. It was evident that this man, of whom so little is seen or heard, is deep in the times, and that, from the Neva to the Seine, from the Urals to the Pyrenees, his hand is at work preparing the way for the new advent. Nor is his work wasted now any more than it has been in the past, during which so many desirable changes have been brought about, so many heroic struggles have been seen, and the French republic has been set up on the heights. As he spoke, the question I had put, "Why are you doing nothing now?" was seen to be a question of the unlearned, and one to which he could not make direct answer. Inquiring why his great work "Capital", the seed field of so many crops, had not been put into English as it has been put into Russian and French[a] from the original German, he seemed unable to tell, but said that a proposition for an English translation had come to him from New York.[638] He said that that book was but a fragment, a single part of a work in three parts, two of the parts being yet unpublished, the full trilogy being "Land", "Capital", "Credit",[639] the last part, he said, being largely illustrated from the United States, where credit has had such an amazing development. Mr. Marx is an observer of American action, and his remarks upon some of the formative and substantive forces of American life were full of suggestiveness. By the way, in referring to his "Capital", he said that any one who might desire to read it would find the French translation much superior in many ways to the German original.[640] Mr. Marx referred to Henri Rochefort the Frenchman, and in his talk of some of his dead disciples, the stormy Bakunin, the brilliant Lassalle, and others, I could see how his genius had taken hold of men who, under other circumstances, might have directed the course of history.

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[a] *Капиталъ. Критика политической экономіи.* Сочиненіе Карла Маркса. Переводъ съ нѣмецкаго. Томъ первый. Книга I. "Процессъ производства капитала", С.-Петербургъ, 1872; *Le Capital.* Par Karl Marx. Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur, [Vol. I,] Paris.—*Ed.*

The afternoon is waning toward the twilight of an English summer evening as Mr. Marx discourses, and he proposes a walk through the seaside town and along the shore to the beach, upon which we see many thousand people, largely children, disporting themselves. Here we find on the sands his family party—the wife, who had already welcomed me, his two daughters with their children, and his two sons-in-law,[a] one of whom is a Professor in King's College, London,[b] and the other, I believe, a man of letters.[c] It was a delightful party—about ten in all—the father of the two young wives, who were happy with their children, and the grandmother of the children, rich in the joysomeness and serenity of her wifely nature. Not less finely than Victor Hugo himself does Karl Marx understand the art of being a grandfather; but, more fortunate than Hugo, the married children of Marx live to cheer his years. Toward nightfall he and his sons-in-law part from their families to pass an hour with their American guest. And the talk was of the world, and of man, and of time, and of ideas, as our glasses tinkled over the sea. The railway train waits for no man, and night is at hand. Over the thought of the babblement and rack of the age and the ages, over the talk of the day and the scenes of the evening, arose in my mind one question touching upon the final law of being, for which I would seek answer from this sage. Going down to the depth of language, and rising to the height of emphasis, during an interspace of silence, I interrogated the revolutionist and philosopher in these fateful words, "*What is*?" And it seemed as though his mind were inverted for a moment while he looked upon the roaring sea in front and the restless multitude upon the beach. "*What is*?" I had inquired, to which, in deep and solemn tone, he replied: "*Struggle!*"

At first it seemed as though I had heard the echo of despair; but, peradventure, it was the law of life.

First published in *The Sun*, No. 6, September 6, 1880 — Reproduced from the newspaper

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[a] Jenny and Charles Longuet with their children—Jean, Henri and Edgar—and Laura and Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[b] Paul Lafargue.—*Ed.*

[c] Charles Longuet.—*Ed.*

[STATEMENT ON THE CLOSURE OF *L'ÉGALITÉ*][641]

The editorial board of *L'Égalité*[a] had concluded an agreement with a printer[b] for two years, under which the latter bore the expenses and shared the profits equally with the editorial board. A sale of 6,000 copies would cover the expenses. The first issue sold 3,800 copies straightaway. But by the third issue the printer already declared that he no longer wished to pay out money in order to disseminate ideas which he did not share; henceforth he would pay only for the setting and the paper, the editorial board would have to provide the rest. Reference to the contract did not help. Accept or the paper closes (*c'est à prendre ou à laisser*). In return, he finally allowed the editorial board to receive the income from advertisements and sales outside Paris. Four days later the printer declared that this also had to stop; the editorial board would have to take over the newspaper on its own account. Since the board lacked the resources to do this, the newspaper was thus doomed. The editorial board will sue the man for breach of contract, but the newspaper remains dead and buried. The whole secret is that the man is being given a large *Orleanist* paper to print and has evidently been told that he must first show the damned socialists the door; after all, they had committed the crime of advocating the confiscation of the Orleans fortune.

Sent by Engels to Zurich on March 1, 1883

First published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 8, 1883

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time

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[a] Gabriel Deville, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, Emile Massard.—*Ed.*

[b] A. Le Tailleur.—*Ed.*

NOTES
AND
INDEXES

NOTES

[1] Engels worked on the *Refugee Literature* series, with interruptions, from mid-May 1874 to April 1875. The articles were published as they were completed in the German Social-Democrats' newspaper, *Der Volksstaat.*

In 1875, Article V appeared as a separate pamphlet under the title *Soziales aus Rußland* (see Note 52).

Articles I, II and V were included by Engels in a collection of his works, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75),* Berlin, 1894.

Individual articles were published in English, in full or abridged, in a number of collections. p. 3

[2] This article from the *Refugee Literature* series was written by Engels in mid-May-early June 1874 and printed in *Der Volksstaat,* No. 69, June 17, 1874 under his signature. The subtitle, "A Polish Proclamation", was added by Engels when the article was reprinted in 1894 (see Note 1).

The article was prompted by the address of the society called "The Polish People" (see Note 4) to the English people on the occasion of Alexander II's visit to England in May 1874. The stated purpose of the visit was the Emperor's wish to see his daughter Maria, the Duke of Edinburgh's wife, but actually it was undertaken to relax the tensions between Russia and England engendered by their clash of interests in Central Asia and Iran. Alexander II, who resided in Windsor Castle during his visit, came to London on May 15 and 18. On the measures taken by the London police see also Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann of May 18, 1874 (present edition, Vol. 45).

This article was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Russian Menace to Europe,* London [1953], pp. 109-15, under the title "A Polish Proclamation". p. 5

[3] A reference to the assassination attempt on the Russian Emperor Alexander II made by Antoni Berezowski in Paris in 1867. Berezowski was sentenced to twenty years of hard labour. p. 5

[4] *The Polish People* (Związek Ludu Polskiego)—a revolutionary-democratic society set up in September 1872 on the initiative of Walery Wróblewski, Ludwik Oborski and Jan Kryński. The society included a number of Polish revolutionaries, members of the Paris Commune, and supported the line pursued by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. It drew

on the best traditions of the society Lud Polski of the 1840s, and linked the national and social emancipation of the Polish people with the international working-class movement. Its newspaper was the *Wici.* p. 5

[5] Engels is referring to the war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other, which lasted from April 29 to July 1859.

Before the war Russia and France signed a secret treaty in Paris (on March 3, 1859) whereby Russia undertook to observe benevolent neutrality in the case of a Franco-Italian war against Austria.

The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 for supremacy in Germany was a major stage in the unification of Germany "from above" under Prussian hegemony, while the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 between France, on the one hand, and Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony, on the other, completed Germany's national unification under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. p. 6

[6] Engels is referring to the invasions of the Huns in the 5th century, of the Avars in the 6th century, and of the Mongols and Tartars in 1241, 1259 and 1287. p. 6

[7] The reference is to the Polish-Turkish wars of the 17th century (1620-21, 1672-76 and 1683-99). On September 12, 1683, Polish troops led by Jan Sobieski, in collaboration with the Austrian army and the armies of the German principalities, smashed the Turkish army at Vienna. In 1699 the last war with Turkey ended with the Karlowitz Peace Treaty and the Turks' pledge to cease warring with Poland. p. 6

[8] Engels gives this quotation according to the *Address of the Polish Refugees to the English People,* p. 3, which differs from the corresponding passage in Pogodin's book (see М. П. Погодинъ, *Польской вопросъ,* Moscow, 1867, pp. 54-55). p. 7

[9] On February 6 (17), 1772, on the initiative of Prussia, a convention was signed in St. Petersburg, soon joined by Austria, defining preliminary terms for the partition of Poland. The final version was signed on July 25 (August 5) of the same year. This partition undermined the national independence of Poland, which was in a state of deep social and political crisis (see Note 72). By the fourth state, Engels probably meant Rzecz Pospolita, which was left with about two-thirds of its territory (on the role of the Polish nobility in these events, see this volume, p. 55). p. 7

[10] The *Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791* (Ustawa Rządowa. Prawo Uchwalone) conveyed the aspirations of the progressive sections of the nobility and the urban bourgeoisie. It abolished the *liberum veto* and the elective monarchy (see Note 72). To consolidate the central authority and put an end to anarchy, it introduced hereditary monarchy and granted the urban bourgeoisie certain political and economic rights. Having removed some of the drawbacks of the state system of Rzecz Pospolita and crippled the political position of the big feudal aristocracy, the Constitution left virtually intact the feudal mode of production. The peasantry was still in bondage to the feudal aristocracy and the szlachta. But the Constitution alleviated to some extent the position of peasant serfs by recognising the legal force of commutation agreements between landowners and peasants (see also Engels' article "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question", present edition, Vol. 7, p. 351). p. 7

[11] A reference to the opposition of the Polish magnates to the introduction of the Constitution of May 3, 1791. They summoned troops from Russia

which smashed the resistance of the Polish army and overthrew the government. Simultaneously, Prussia renounced its allied treaty with Poland under the pretext of its having been concluded prior to the Constitution of May 3. These events eventually led to a second partition of Poland between Russia and Prussia on January 12 (23), 1793. Soon after the second partition a resistance movement against the invaders gained strength in Poland, and in March 1794, an uprising headed by Tadeusz Kościuszko flared up. It led to the establishment of a provisional Polish government, on which Russia and Prussia declared war. The defeat of the uprising resulted in the third partition of Poland on the basis of the St. Petersburg Convention of October 13 (24), 1795, signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. This partition put an end to Polish statehood. p. 7

[12] The *Manifesto of December 4, 1836* was issued in Paris by the refugee organisation Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie. As a whole it was of a bourgeois-democratic character.

The *Manifesto*, drawn up in late 1845 and published on February 22, 1846, was issued by the revolutionary government in Cracow.

The *Manifesto of January 22, 1863* was a programme of action published by the provisional committee Rząd Narodowy (Komitet Centralny) on the day when the Polish uprising began (see Note 14). The Manifesto and the decrees published at the same time outlined the insurgents' programme and called on the Polish people to take up arms. They also demanded that the estates' privileges and distinctions be abolished, and land be turned over to the peasants. p. 7

[13] The *free city of Cracow* (the *Cracow Republic*) was set up in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-15). The formation of the Cracow Republic was a compromise reached by the governments of Russia, Austria and Prussia which laid claims to Cracow. This independence was purely nominal since in practice the Republic's constitution, which was determined by the above states or "guardians" and consolidated the rule of the landowners and bigger merchants, was limited by the residents of these states. After the suppression of the anti-feudal uprising of 1846 the Cracow Republic was abolished (see Note 25). p. 8

[14] A reference to the national uprising of 1863-64 in the Kingdom of Poland, the territory annexed to Russia by decision of the Vienna Congress of 1815. The uprising, which was directed against the tsarist autocracy, was provoked by the crisis of feudal relations within the Kingdom of Poland. The uprising began in January 1863. Its principal motive forces were the urban masses: artisans, workers and students. From the summer of 1863 a substantial part of the insurgent detachments was made up of peasants. However, the National Central Committee, which headed the uprising (see Note 12) and consisted mostly of the representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie and lesser nobility, did not dare encroach on the privileges of big landowners, and this isolated the movement from the majority of peasants. This was one of the main reasons for the defeat of the uprising. The governments of West European states, on whose interference the conservative leaders of the uprising pinned their hopes, did not go beyond diplomatic démarches and in fact betrayed the insurgents.

The uprising was, by and large, crushed by the Tsarist government by the autumn of 1863, though some units of the insurgents continued the struggle until the end of 1864.

The Polish uprising of 1863-64 met with warm support and sympathy in

Russian and European revolutionary-democratic quarters. The solidarity of the European workers with the Polish national liberation movement played a certain part in organising the International Working Men's Association (the First International). p. 8

[15] The *Peace of Teschen* was signed on May 13, 1779 on the conclusion of the war between Prussia and Austria for the Bavarian succession (1778-79). Russia was initially a mediator between the belligerents and after the signing of the treaty was, together with France, declared the guarantor state. p. 9

[16] On April 21, 1849, Francis Joseph of Austria appealed for help to Nicholas I, and in May 1849 the Russian army entered Hungary to take part in the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. The capitulation of the Hungarian revolutionary army at Világos on August 13, 1849 sealed the defeat of the revolution in the European countries. p. 9

[17] The reference is to the uprising of the Paris proletariat (June 23-26, 1848), which was brutally suppressed by the French bourgeoisie. It was the climax of the 1848 revolution in France and had an impact on revolutionary events in other European countries. Marx and Engels appraised the uprising and its historic significance in a series of articles published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, and in *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 130-49; Vol. 10, pp. 67-70). p. 9

[18] In May and October 1850 Warsaw was the scene of conferences in which representatives of Russia, Austria and Prussia were involved. They were convened on the initiative of the Russian Tsar in view of the mounting struggle between Austria and Prussia for mastery in Germany. The Tsar acted as arbiter in the dispute between Austria and Prussia and used his influence to make Prussia abandon its attempts to form a political confederation of German states under its own aegis.

On November 28, 1850 in Olmütz (Olomouc), an agreement was signed between Prussia and Austria under which Prussia was forced to temporarily renounce its claims to hegemony in Germany (see also this volume, p. 103). p. 9

[19] The *Crimean war* (1853-56), or the *Eastern war*, was waged by Russia against the allied forces of Britain, France, the Kingdom of Piedmont and Turkey for supremacy in the Near East. It ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty (1856). The war is described by Marx and Engels in the articles included in volumes 13-15 of the present edition. p. 9

[20] During the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859 (see Note 5), the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Gorchakov issued a circular on May 27, 1859, which effectively prevented the intervention of the small German states in the conflict. p. 9

[21] Engels is referring to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5). p. 9

[22] Probably a hint at the Declaration of Neutrality issued by the Russian government and carried by *Pravitelstvenniy vestnik* (The Government Herald), No. 148, July 11 (23), 1870. For Austria-Hungary, the Russian stand was virtually a warning not to get involved into the war between France and Prussia. p. 9

[23] Engels uses the term *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* (principal and spectacular actions), which has several meanings. In the 17th and the first half of the 18th century it meant plays performed by German touring companies. The plays,

which were rather formless, presented tragic historical events in a bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical way.

Secondly, the term can be used to denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as "objective historiography". Leopold Ranke was one of its chief representatives. He regarded *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* as the main subject-matter of history. p. 9

24 Engels is referring to the decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (see Note 5), which took place on July 3, 1866, at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové), near the village of Sadowa. The battle of Sadowa ended in a crushing defeat for the Austrian troops and decided the outcome of the war. p. 9

25 The reference is to the national liberation and anti-feudal uprising in the city of Cracow (Galicia). The insurgents seized power on February 22, 1846 and set up a National Government which issued a manifesto abolishing feudal services. The uprising was put down in early March 1846. In November 1846 Austria, Prussia and Russia signed a treaty incorporating Cracow in the Austrian Empire.

On the uprising of 1863-64 see Note 14. p. 10

26 In the days of the Paris Commune about 400 Polish revolutionary refugees fought side by side with the Paris workers. The best-known among them were Walery Wróblewski and Jarosław Dąbrowski. General Wróblewski commanded one of the three Commune's armies. In early May 1871 General Dąbrowski was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Commune's armed forces. p. 10

27 *Kulturkampf* (struggle for culture)—the name given by bourgeois liberals to a system of measures implemented in the 1870s by Bismarck's government under the banner of a campaign for secular culture. It was directed against the Catholic Church and the Party of the Centre (see Note 292). Under the pretext of the anti-Catholic struggle Bismarck's government also intensified the national oppression of the Polish lands which had fallen under Prussia's sway. With this end in view it passed laws restricting the rights of the Catholic clergy. The law of March 1872 stripped the clergy of the right to supervise school education, thus undermining the influence of the Polish clergy in this field. Education was now controlled by the Empire's officials. Additionally, by the edicts of October 26, 1872 and October 27, 1873, all schools in Posen were to use German. p. 10

28 Article II in Engels' *Refugee Literature* series was prompted by the pamphlet *Aux Communeux* (To Communards), which was published in London in June 1874 on behalf of a group of Paris Commune refugees. It was a kind of programme of the Blanquists, members of *La Commune révolutionnaire* (see Note 31).

Engels' article appeared in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 73, June 26, 1874, under the heading "Flüchtlings-Literatur". Engels changed it to "Programm der Blanquistischen Kommune-Flüchtlinge" when reprinting this article in 1894 in the collection *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-75)*.

It was published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx, *The Civil War in France*. Enlarged edition. Chicago, Kerr, 1934, pp. 133-44, under the title "The Program of the Blanquist Fugitives from the Paris Commune". p. 12

29 A reference to the emigration of royalists at the time of the French Revolution.

It grew sharply after the uprising of August 10, 1792 in Paris and the overthrow of Louis XVI. p. 12

[30] By the "secret Alliance" Engels calls here the *Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section* which was founded by Bakunin in Geneva in May 1869, and in fact guided the activities of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. It was dissolved in 1871 and in place of it the *Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Action* was founded in Geneva on September 6, 1871. The Section of Propaganda was organised by the former members of the Central Section, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron and others, and some French refugees, Jules Guesde and Benoit Malon in particular. On September 8, October 4 and 20, 1871, the section applied to the General Council with the request to be admitted to the International. The General Council refused to comply because it had received a negative opinion on the matter from the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva.

The *Alliance of Socialist Democracy* was founded by Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868 as an international organisation of the anarchists. In 1869 the Alliance approached the General Council of the International Working Men's Association with a request to be admitted to the International. The General Council agreed to admit individual sections of the Alliance provided the latter dissolved as an independent organisation. On entering the International Bakunin did not actually comply with this decision and incorporated the Alliance into it under the guise of a section (called the "Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section"). Marx, Engels and the General Council vigorously fought the Alliance exposing it as a sect hostile to the working-class movement (for details see present edition, Vol. 23). The Hague Congress of the International (1872) dealt a severe blow to the Bakuninists and expelled the Alliance's leaders from the International (see Note 38). p. 12

[31] Late in 1872 the French Blanquist refugees withdrew from the International as a protest against the decision of the Hague Congress to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York. They set out their position in the pamphlet *Internationale et Révolution. A propos du Congrès de la Haye par des Réfugiés de la Commune. Ex-membres du Conseil Général de l'Internationale,* London, 1872. The Blanquists also accused the International of "escaping from revolution". In 1873 they set up the society called *La Commune révolutionnaire.* p. 13

[32] Engels is referring to the uprising of May 12-13, 1839 in Paris prepared by the *Society of the Seasons* (La Société des Saisons), a secret republican socialist organisation that existed in Paris in 1837-39. It was founded by Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès for the purpose of overthrowing Louis Philippe's bourgeois monarchy, establishing a republic and implementing revolutionary egalitarian ideas. As a result of its conspiratorial tactics the society was suppressed when it attempted to stage the uprising. p. 13

[33] A reference to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the siege of Paris and the suppression of the Communards between May 21 and 28, 1871. p. 15

[34] The monarchists had an absolute majority in the French National Assembly which began its work in Versailles in 1871, but the supplementary elections of 1873 showed that the republicans' influence was increasing. p. 15

[35] An allusion to the "de-Christianisation" policy pursued with particular vigour in the autumn of 1793 by the Left Jacobins. The campaign was spearheaded against the counter-revolutionary sections of the clergy. However, the mass of the population, particularly the peasantry, opposed the closing down of

churches. In late November, the Jacobin leader Maximilien Robespierre condemned this policy, and on December 5-8, 1793, the Convention passed a decree on the freedom of worship. p. 16

[36] A reference to the former members of the International's General Council Arthur Arnaud, Édouard Vaillant, Frédéric Cournet, Constant Martin, Édouard Marguerittes and Gabriel Ranvier (see Note 31). Speaking about "those five", Engels probably excluded Ranvier from this group (see Engels' letter to Sorge of November 16, 1872, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 16

[37] Engels' third article in the *Refugee Literature* series was written in late July-September 1874 in connection with the publication, in a journal entitled *Vperyod!* (Forward!), of Pyotr Lavrov's article «Лѣтопись рабочаго движенія» (A Chronicle of the Labour Movement), and his polemic with the Russian revolutionary Pyotr Tkachov. Engels considers the following pamphlets: П. Н. Ткачевъ, *Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи. Письмо къ редактору журнала «Впередъ!»* (The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia. A Letter to the Editor of the *Forward!* Magazine), and [П. Л. Лавров,] *Русской соціально-революціонной молодежи. По поводу брошюры: «Задачи революціонной пропаганды въ Россіи»* (To the Russian Social-Revolutionary Youth. Apropos of the Pamphlet: *The Tasks of Revolutionary Propaganda in Russia*).

Engels' article was printed in *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 117 and 118, October 6 and 8, 1874. Italicisation in the quotations is by Engels. He does not always observe the authors' italics. This article is published in English for the first time. p. 19

[38] When discussing the mandates at the Hague Congress of the First International (September 2-7, 1872), the question arose of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30) as a secret sectarian organisation whose existence within the framework of the International went against its Rules. On the suggestion of Marx and some other delegates, a commission was set up to investigate the Alliance's clandestine activities. On September 5, 1872 it discussed Engels' report (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 228-38) and the reports of other Congress delegates concerning the Alliance. Having examined the materials, the commission arrived at the conclusion that the Alliance's activities were incompatible with the line of the International, and at the Congress meeting of September 7 it proposed that Bakunin and Guillaume, as well as a number of other members of the secret Alliance, be expelled from the International Association. The Congress approved as a whole the proposal of the commission and decided to make public the documents it had at its disposal which pertained to the Alliance. In pursuance of this decision, in April-July 1873, Marx and Engels in collaboration with Paul Lafargue wrote *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* which was published as a pamphlet in French in August 1873 (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 20

[39] The German translation of the work by Marx and Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see Note 38), appeared in 1874 under the title: "*Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association.* Im Auftrage des Haager Congresses verfaßter Bericht über das Treiben Bakunin's und der Allianz der socialistischen Demokratie. Deutsche Ausgabe von 'L'alliance de la démocratie socialiste et l'association internationale des travailleurs'. Uebersetzt von S. Kokosky. Braunschweig. Druck und Verlag von W. Bracke, 1874". Kokosky's translation was edited by Engels (see

Engels' letter to Friedrich Adolf Sorge, November 25, 1873, present edition, Vol. 44). p. 20

40 Sergei Nechayev, a Russian revolutionary, conspirator and anarchist, set up an underground organisation Narodnaya rasprava (People's Judgment) in Moscow in late 1869, consisting mostly of students of the Agricultural and Forestry Academy (see Note 527). Blackmail, mystification and deceit practised by Nechayev provoked a protest by student Ivan Ivanov, a member of the organisation. Fearing exposure, Nechayev staged his assassination and fled abroad. In Geneva, he tried to justify the assassination in the *People's Judgment* magazine, No. 2, 1870, and to print a programme of the organisation which, in Marx's and Engels' definition, was "a beautiful model of barrack-room communism" (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 543). With the exception of individual Bakuninists and Pyotr Tkachov, the various trends in the Russian liberation movement unanimously condemned Nechayev's methods. p. 22

41 Engels is referring to the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, the Greek leader in the Trojan War. It is described in Book I of Homer's *Iliad*. p. 24

42 *Mons veneris*—literally the Mountain of Venus. Situated between Sonabe and Thüringe the mountain was, according to medieval German legends, the place where Venus lived. There, she held her court with heathen splendour and revelry. None of those who, charmed by music and sensuous allurements, entered her abode ever returned except Tannhäuser. p. 25

43 Lavrov probably hints at the fictitious World Revolutionary Alliance, on behalf of which Bakunin and Nechayev published, in 1869, a number of leaflets and pamphlets urging immediate revolution. p. 26

44 Engels wrote the fourth article in the *Refugee Literature* series on the advice of Marx. Having acquainted himself with Tkachov's *Offener Brief an Herrn Friedrich Engels. Verfasser der Artikel "Flüchtlings-Literatur" in Nr. 117 und 118 des "Volksstaat"* (Zurich, 1874), Marx passed it on to Engels with the following note upon the cover: "Go to it, but in jovial fashion. So stupid, that Bakunin may have *contributed*. What Peter Tkachov is above all trying to tell his readers is that you had treated *him* as an enemy, and he therefore invents all manner of disputes that never occurred" (see Marx's letter to Engels, February-March 1875, present edition, Vol. 45).

The article was printed by *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 36 and 37, March 28 and April 2, 1875.

Excerpts from it were published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 114, 408-09. In full, it appears in English for the first time. p. 29

45 This story is ascribed to Canning. He mentions three London tailors from Tooley Street who addressed a petition to the House of Commons opening with the words "We, the people of England!" p. 30

46 An ironical allusion to the law of July 9, 1873, which introduced a single monetary system in Germany, including a 10-mark coin. p. 31

47 *Bashibazouks*—irregular detachments of the Turkish army in the 18th and 19th centuries; the name was also given to troops noted for cruelty, plunder and lack of discipline. p. 33

48 A hint at Nikolai Chernyshevsky's *What Is to Be Done?* written in 1862 at the time of his imprisonment at the Peter and Paul Fortress (St. Petersburg). The

novel was a kind of programme of action for the more aware sections of Russia's young people. It had great impact on public consciousness and an important formative influence upon many revolutionaries. p. 35

[49] The 1870s saw a new period in the development of Narodism (Russian populism), a movement of the intelligentsia, representatives of all strata of the population, at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the emancipation struggle in Russia (1861-95). Thousands of revolutionaries, as well as representatives of the democratic intelligentsia, began propaganda work in the countryside ("going into the thick of the people") in order to prepare a peasant revolution. In the spring and summer of 1874 the Narodniks launched large-scale mass action. In the autumn of 1874 mass arrests began, which Engels mentions in this article. He probably took the information about them, including the arrests of workers, from the editorial in *Vperyod!* headed "Panic in the Government" (written by Lavrov). "Going into the thick of the people" had been stopped by the government by late 1875. p. 37

[50] See Note 40. p. 37

[51] Marx believed that the *Revolutionary Catechism* was written by Bakunin in the summer of 1869 (see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,* present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 544-45). The real author of the *Catechism* was, most probably, Nechayev. The text was coded and several copies of it were printed in Geneva. p. 37

[52] Article V from Engels' *Refugee Literature* was printed by *Der Volksstaat,* Nos. 43, 44 and 45 on April 16, 18 and 21, 1875, and as a separate pamphlet in Leipzig in late June-early July 1875 under the title *Soziales aus Rußland* (On Social Relations in Russia). In the second half of May Engels wrote an introduction to the pamphlet (see this volume, pp. 100-04), which was reproduced together with the article in the 1894 edition: F. Engels, *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75).*

This article was printed in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Volume Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 387-98. p. 39

[53] The *corvée* (labour rent)—one of the forms of feudal land rent, unpaid forced labour of the serf peasant working on the estate of the feudal landowner and using his own tools. After the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861, part of the peasants that earlier belonged to the landowner (the so-called temporarily bound peasants) were obliged to perform gratuitous labour for the landowner or to pay quit-rent for the use of land. In 1881 a law was passed making the redemption of the peasants' plots obligatory, and abolishing the corvée in its overt form. However, it continued to exist as a statute labour up to the 1900s. p. 41

[54] On February 19, 1864 the Russian Tsar passed an edict introducing an agrarian reform in Poland: the land that was in the peasants' use was to become their own property. Some of landless peasants were returned plots taken away earlier by the landlords. The latter were compensated from the treasury for the land that passed to the peasants. Despite the tiny size of most of the new holdings, and the fact that their owners were compelled to work on the landed estates, the reform of 1864 cleared the way for the development of capitalism in Poland to a larger extent than the reform of 1861 did in Russia. p. 41

[55] A reference to the reform of 1864 in Russia, which introduced *Zemstvos*—

elective bodies for administering local matters (the building of roads and bridges, the organisation of schools, supplies of hospitals, expert agricultural assistance). p. 41

56 The *truck system*—a barter system introduced between employer and employed, which means the practice of paying wages otherwise than in cash (see F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 470, 471, 473, 539, 542). p. 42

57 Engels is referring to the sub-lease system in Ireland, under which middlemen, whose number could be up to a dozen, stood between the big landowner and the peasant working on the leased plot of land. p. 42

58 A reference to the Russian version of utopian socialism developed in the early 1850s by Alexander Herzen, a founder of revolutionary Narodism (see Note 49). Herzen believed that Russia would pass on to socialism in an "original" way thanks to the village commune, emancipation of peasants with land, peasant self-government, and the traditional right of the peasants to land. p. 43

59 *Samoyeds*—an old Russian name for a number of Siberian minor nationalities (Nentsi, Entsi, Nganasani and Selkups), which spoke Uralic languages. p. 43

60 Marx read Flerovsky's book in 1870. In a letter to the committee members of the Russian Section of the International of March 24, 1870 he expressed his appreciation of the book (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 110-11). Later Engels too read the book. p. 44

61 A reference to the Peasant War (1773-75) headed by Yemelyan Pugachov. p. 49

62 Engels is referring to the uprising which was launched in July 1873 by petty-bourgeois republicans and the Bakuninists in Andalusia and Valencia. It undermined the position of the left-republican government of Francisco Pi y Margall which came into office in 1873 as a result of the declaration of the first republic in Spain during the revolution of 1868-74. For more details, see Engels' *The Bakuninists at Work* (present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 585-95). p. 49

63 *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* is a forceful work in which Marx exposed the unseemly methods used by the Prussian police state against the communist movement. The pamphlet was published in Basle in January 1853, but in March almost the whole edition (2,000 copies) was confiscated by the police in the Baden frontier village of Weill on the way to Germany. In the USA the work was first published in instalments (on March 6 and April 2 and 28, 1853) in the Boston democratic newspaper *Neue-England-Zeitung* and at the end of April 1853 it was printed as a separate pamphlet by the same publishing house.

In 1874 this work was reprinted in 13 instalments in *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig), with Marx named as its author for the first time. Preparing a separate edition of the *Revelations*, Wilhelm Liebknecht, the editor of the newspaper, on October 29, 1874 requested Marx to write a preface for it. On January 27, 1875, *Der Volksstaat* published Marx's epilogue to the *Revelations* dated January 8, 1875. The *Revelations* appeared as a book in Leipzig in 1875, reproducing the text from *Der Volksstaat* with this epilogue. p. 51

64 Documents of which Marx was not aware, specifically the letter of Moses Hess to Joseph Weydemeyer of July 21, 1850, confirm that Hess was the author of

the *Red Catechism* (*Rother Kathechismus für das deutsche Volk*, New York and Boston [1849 or 1850]). The place of publication is fictitious; the pamphlet was published in Germany in 1850. p. 51

65 The *reptile funds*—special money funds at the disposal of Bismarck which he used to buy venal journalists, nicknamed reptiles. The nickname was current in Germany in the 1870s. Bismarck was the first to use it, although in a different sense, speaking in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies on January 30, 1869 (by reptiles, he referred to the circles hostile to the government). However, the Left-wing press began to apply the word to the semi-official press bribed by the government. Speaking in the Reichstag on February 9, 1876, Bismarck was forced to admit that the new meaning of the word "reptiles" had gained wide currency in Germany. p. 52

66 By the *State Inquisition* Marx means the Council of Ten set up in the Republic of Venice in the 14th century, and the Collegium of State Inquisitors formed by it in the 15th century. p. 52

67 A conference of Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Saxonian and other ministers held in Karlsbad in 1819 adopted decrees to fight opposition movements spearheaded against the reactionary customs and laws in the German states and advocating the unification of Germany. The Karlsbad Decrees in particular made it possible to prosecute participants in the political demonstration in Gambach (May 1832) and in the actions of revolutionary democrats, including members of the Burschenschaften (see Note 151) in Frankfurt am Main in April 1833. They were repealed by the Federal Diet (see Note 150) on April 2, 1848. p. 53

68 The Programme of the International Working Men's Association was set forth by Marx in the "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and in the preamble to the "Provisional Rules of the Association". These documents were published for the first time by the General Council of the International in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting Held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London* (see present edition, Vol. 20). p. 53

69 An allusion to the defeat of Prussia by Napoleonic France at Jena on October 14, 1806. The defeat led to Prussia's capitulation and revealed the instability of the social and political system of the Hohenzollern feudal monarchy. p. 54

70 Marx has "*inneres Düppel*", an expression first used in the meaning of "enemy within" ("Düppel im Innern") in a political survey published in the Bismarckian *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* on September 30, 1864. It became widely current later.

Düppel (Dybböl)—Danish fortification in Schleswig which the Prussians captured by storm on April 18, 1864, during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark. p. 54

71 This article reproduces Marx's and Engels' speeches at the meeting of January 23, 1875 in London organised by the Polish People society (see Note 4) to mark the 12th anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1863-64. It was written by Engels for *Der Volksstaat* and printed in it on March 24, 1875. The meeting was chaired by Walery Wróblewski. Speaking at it were members of the more advanced section of the revolutionary-democratic refugees from Poland, Russia, Germany, France and some other countries. Among them were members of the

Paris Commune Leo Frankel and Prosper Olivier Lissagaray. A report of the meeting, including the text of Marx's and Engels' speeches, was carried by the Polish magazine *Wici* (Zürich) on January 30, 1875, the Russian newspaper *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (February 15), and other periodicals. p. 55

[72] Engels is referring to the system of constitutional principles of Rzecz Pospolita introduced after the formation of this state in 1569. Rzech Pospolita was a limited monarchy headed by an elective Diet, the king and the Polish nobility enjoying unlimited rights. The most odious principle was that of *liberum veto,* the right of any member of the Diet to ban any of its decisions, which by the 18th century resulted in extreme political anarchy and social and economic crisis.

On the first partition of Poland, see Note 9. p. 55

[73] The reference is to the participation in the American War of Independence (1775-83) of Tadeusz Kościuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski, who were promoted to brigadier general for their service. p. 55

[74] It is the first French Constitution, passed on September 3, 1791 by the National Convention. It was based on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted by the French Constituent Assembly on August 26, 1789, during the French Revolution. It proclaimed the main principles of the revolution: sovereignty of the people and the natural rights of man, the right to freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression. p. 55

[75] The reference is to the military alliance concluded on February 7, 1792 by Austria and Prussia, supported by Russia,against the revolutionary France. On September 20, 1792, in the battle of Valmy, the French revolutionary army defeated the forces of the Austro-Prussian coalition. p. 55

[76] The Italian region Venice, part of the Austrian Empire in 1797-1805 and 1814-66, was a centre of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian oppression.

By "a threefold Venice" Engels implies the territories acquired by Prussia as a result of the three partitions of Poland (see notes 9 and 11) and the Vienna Treaty of 1815, as well as Schleswig-Holstein annexed by Prussia as a result of the Danish war of 1864 and Alsace-Lorraine annexed in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 56

[77] See Note 14. p. 56

[78] As is clear from the report in *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 3, February 15 (3), 1875, "The Anniversary of the Polish Uprising of 1863 in London", the secretary of the newspaper's editorial board, Valerian Smirnov, spoke at the meeting of January 23, 1875 (see Note 71). Stressing the identity of interests of the Russian and the Polish workers, he declared, on behalf of the Russian revolutionaries, that each of them was ready, "when the time of the Polish people's revolution would arrive", to join the ranks of the Poles in order to gain "*social* freedom for the Polish people". Also speaking at the meeting was another Russian refugee, Dmitry Solovyov, who warned against the possible compromise between the szlachta liberal party and the Tsarist government. p. 57

[79] The reference is to the amnesty of the Polish patriots kept prisoners in Prussia for an attempted uprising in Posen in 1846. The amnesty was declared by Frederick William IV in March 1848 under pressure of public opinion. p. 58

[80] On May 15, 1848, Paris workers led by Blanqui, Barbès and others took revolutionary action against the anti-labour and anti-democratic policy of the

bourgeois Constituent Assembly, which opened on May 4. The demonstrators forced their way into the assembly premises, demanded the formation of a Ministry of Labour and presented a number of other demands, e.g., that assistance be rendered to the insurgent Poles in Posen. An attempt was made to form a revolutionary government. National Guards from the bourgeois quarters and the regular troops succeeded, however, in restoring the power of the Constituent Assembly. The leaders of the movement were arrested and put on trial. p. 58

81 In the report on this meeting carried by *Vperyod!* (Forward!), No. 3, February 15 (3), 1875—"The Anniversary of the Polish Uprising of 1863 in London"—the following sentence was added: "It is therefore necessary to popularise the principles of the International Association among the Polish people." This sentence, which was not included in the reports printed by the Polish periodicals (see Note 71) or in Engels' text for *Der Volksstaat*, was written in by Valerian Smirnov, who prepared the report for *Vperyod!* and insisted that he had heard it from Marx himself. In a letter to Marx of February 15, 1875, Smirnov asked him to confirm this fact. Marx's reply has not been found. p. 58

82 Engels wrote this article at the moment when, in the spring of 1875, relations between the German Empire and France sharply deteriorated after the French National Assembly approved the *Projet de loi relatif à la constitution des cadres et des effectifs de l'armée active et de l'armée territoriale.* Resolute Russian diplomatic interference prevented a war in Europe. Attaching great importance to Engels' article, which contained a critique of German militarism from the proletarian internationalist stand, the *Volksstaat* editorial board intended to publish it as a separate pamphlet. However, this intention was not carried out. p. 59

83 See Note 65. p. 59

84 In German the word *Gründung* is used here: a reference to *Gründertum*, the period of "prosperity" in Germany in 1871-73. It was made possible, to a large extent, by the war reparations of five thousand million francs and the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty (1871), which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Railway construction and the building of heavy-industry enterprises was in full swing, accompanied by the investment of enormous capital; industrial, construction and commercial joint-stock companies were mushrooming, as were banks and social security companies.

By 1873, the period of *Gründertum* in Germany had resulted in a crash followed by a protracted economic crisis that also affected Austria, Belgium, Britain, France, Holland, Italy, Russia and the USA, and continued up to 1879. p. 59

85 *Landsturm*—military militia formed in Prussia in 1813-14 from persons between the ages of 18 and 42 ineligible for military service because of disability, age, health, etc. The *Landsturm* was a reserve of the third levy. The *Landsturm Law* (*Gesetz über den Landsturm*) of February 12, 1875 developed the law of November 9, 1867 and provided for replenishing the *Landwehr* (see Note 90) from the *Landsturm* in case of threat of a hostile invasion. p. 59

86 Engels analyses the new French *Cadre Law* (of March 12, 1875) on the basis of the information contained in the article "Das Gesetz über die Cadres in Frankreich" published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*, Nos. 90-92 and 94, on April 1-3 and 5, 1875. p. 59

87 *Zouaves*—French colonial troops first formed in 1830. Originally they were composed of Algerians and French colonists and later of Frenchmen only, while Algerians were formed into special regiments of riflemen.

Turcos (Algerian riflemen)—French light infantry recruited, from 1842, from among the Algerians, with the exception of the officer corps and, partly, non-commissioned officers. p. 60

88 In the French army breech-loaders were called *Chassepôts* (from the inventor's name). They were adopted in the French army in 1867-68. p. 60

89 Under the law of 1868, the *mobile guards* were composed of persons of call-up age, fit for military service, who had not done either active military service or service in the reserves, and were intended for guard duty at the frontiers, service at the rear, and for garrison duties. By the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the formation of mobile guards had not yet taken place; persons between the ages of 20 and 40 were recruited to it at the time of war. p. 61

90 *Landwehr* (the army reserve) in Prussia was formed at the time of the struggle against Napoleonic rule. In the 1840s, it was made up of persons up to 40 years of age who had served three years in the army and had been on the reserve list for at least two years. In peacetime, the *Landwehr* units were engaged in occasional military exercises; at the time of war, they were to do rear and garrison service. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the *Landwehr* was used in active service along with the regular troops. p. 61

91 See Note 24. p. 61

92 The reference is to the 200,000-strong Second Loire Army formed in October-November 1870 by the French government mostly from recruits. This is also a reference to the battle at Loigny-Poupry, near Orléans, of December 2, 1870, where two French corps of the Loire Army suffered a defeat, and the battle of Le Mans, Western France, of January 10-12, 1871, where the Loire Army was also forced to retreat and sustained considerable losses. p. 62

93 Under the law of May 2, 1874 ("Reichs-Militärgesetz", *Reichs-Gesetzblatt*, Berlin, 1874, No. 1002), the second reserve (Ersatzreserve) consisted of men of call-up age who had been given grace due to insignificant disability or family circumstances. In wartime, it was used to replenish the army. p. 63

94 A punning reference to the name *The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation* founded in 962 by the German King Otto I. It included, at different times, German, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, forming a motley conglomeration of feudal kingdoms and principalities, church lands and free towns with different political structures, legal standards and customs. By the 18th century, the Empire, with a Hapsburg at its head, lost all political significance, and ceased to exist on August 6, 1806 as a result of the victory of Napoleon's army. p. 66

95 Engels' letter to August Bebel written between March 18 and 28, 1875 is closely connected with Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (see this volume, pp. 75-99) and is traditionally published together with the latter work. It conveyed the joint opinion of Marx and Engels concerning the fusion of two German workers' parties, the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans, scheduled for early 1875. The immediate reason for the letter was the publication of the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (*Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei*) in *Der Volksstaat* (the organ of the

Eisenachers) and the *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (the organ of the Lassalleans) on March 7, 1875. The draft programme was approved with slight changes by the unity congress at Gotha on May 22-27, 1875, and came to be known as the Gotha Programme.

This letter was first published by Bebel, after the lapse of 36 years, in his *Aus meinem Leben*, Zweiter Teil, Stuttgart, 1911. In the present edition the letter is printed according to this book.

It was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lawrence, London [1933], pp. 51-62. p. 67

96 A reference to one of Lassalle's programme theses on the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. Lassalle and his followers repeatedly emphasised that what they had in mind was a state in which power would pass into the hands of the working people through universal suffrage. p. 67

97 Engels is referring to the *Programm und Statuten der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiter-Partei*, adopted at the general German workers' congress in Eisenach in August 1869 and published in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* on August 14, 1869. The congress founded the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany. By and large the programme complied with the principles of the International Working Men's Association. p. 67

98 The "*honest men*"—nickname of the members of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers), as distinct from the members of the General Association of German Workers (the Lassalleans), the "dishonest men". p. 68

99 The *German People's Party*, established in September 1868, embraced the democratic section of the bourgeoisie, mostly in the South-German states. The party opposed the establishment of Prussian hegemony in Germany and advocated the idea of a federative German state. p. 68

100 A reference to the following articles of the draft Gotha Programme:

"The German workers' party demands as the free basis of the state:

"1. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot for all males who have reached the age of 21, for all elections in the state and in the community. 2. Direct legislation by the people with the right to initiate and to reject bills. 3. Universal military training. A people's militia in place of the standing army. Decisions regarding war and peace to be taken by a representative assembly of the people. 4. Abolition of all exceptional laws, in particular the laws on the press, associations and assembly. 5. Jurisdiction by the people. Administration of justice without fees.

"The German workers' party demands as the intellectual and moral basis of the state:

"1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. Compulsory school attendance. Free instruction. 2. Freedom of science. Freedom of conscience." p. 68

101 The reference is to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 68

102 The *League of Peace and Freedom*—a pacifist organisation set up in Switzerland in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. The League asserted that it was possible to prevent wars by creating the "United States of Europe". Its leaders did not disclose the social sources of wars and often confined anti-militarist activity to mere declarations.

At the General Council meeting of August 13, 1867 Marx spoke against the International's official participation in the League's Inaugural Congress, since this would have meant solidarity with its bourgeois programme, but recommended that some members of the International should attend the Congress in their personal capacity in order to support revolutionary-democratic decisions (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 426-27, and Marx's letter to Engels of September 4, 1867, present edition, Vol. 42). p. 69

[103] On page 5 of his *Arbeiterlesebuch* Lassalle quotes a passage about the "iron law of wages" from his pamphlet *Offnes Antwortschreiben an das Central-Comité zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitercongresses zu Leipzig*, Zurich, 1863, pp. 15-16. p. 69

[104] Philippe Joseph Buchez, one of the first ideologists of the so-called Christian socialism, advanced a plan for the establishment of workers' producer associations with the aid of the state. p. 69

[105] On October 12, 1875 Engels wrote to Bebel concerning this programme that, since both workers and their political opponents "interpreted it communistically", "it is *this circumstance alone* which has made it possible for Marx and myself not to disassociate ourselves publicly from a programme such as this. So long as our opponents as well as the workers continue to read our views into that programme, we are justified in saying nothing about it" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 71

[106] In March 1872 August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht were sentenced to two years' confinement in a fortress for their adhesion to the International Working Men's Association and their socialist views. In April Bebel was sentenced, in addition, to nine months' imprisonment and deprived of his mandate as a Reichstag member for "insulting His Majesty". Liebknecht was released on April 15, 1874, while Bebel was freed on April 1, 1875. p. 73

[107] Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which analyses the draft programme of the future united Social-Democratic party, is a major contribution to the key theoretical issues of scientific communism and an example of uncompromising struggle against opportunism. It was written in April-early May 1875 and intended for the leadership of the Eisenachers. The manuscript *Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Workers' Party (Randglossen zum Programm der deutschen Arbeiterpartei)* is prefaced by Marx's letter to Wilhelm Bracke of May 5, 1875 and forms a single whole with it. The work was sent to the leadership of the Eisenach party (specifically, to Wilhelm Bracke) on May 5.

For the first time, *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was published by Engels in 1891, together with Marx's letter to Bracke, despite opposition on the part of the opportunist German Social-Democratic leaders. It appeared in the theoretical organ of the German Social-Democrats, *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 1, No. 18, with Engels' foreword. As is known from Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky of February 23, 1891 (see present edition, Vol. 49), he had to agree to certain changes and omissions.

The *Critique* was published in English for the first time, according to the text in *Die Neue Zeit*, in *The Socialist Series*, number one, under the title: "The Socialist Programme. By Karl Marx", The Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow [1918]. p. 75

[108] The authorised French translation of Volume One of *Capital* was published in instalments in Paris between 1872 and 1875 (*Le Capital*. Par Karl Marx.

Traduction de M. J. Roy, entièrement revisée par l'auteur. [Vol. 1.] Paris, éditeurs, Maurice Lachâtre et C^{ie}). After the final instalments had been published, the whole was brought together and published as a book. Since Lachâtre was prosecuted for his activity during the Paris Commune and his shop sequestered in 1875, the legal rights were passed on to A. Quêst, a government official, who did his best to hold up the printing and distribution of the book. p. 78

[109] Marx is referring to the following passage in the *Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association*: "That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 441). p. 83

[110] An allusion to Lassalle's secret contacts with the Bismarck government (mid-May 1863-February 1864). He promised support to the Prussian government in its struggle against the liberal bourgeoisie in exchange for the introduction of universal suffrage in the country. p. 83

[111] The reference is to the address "An die Parteigenossen!" (*Der Volksstaat*, No. 105, October 31, 1873) issued by the leadership of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party before the elections to the German Reichstag on January 10, 1874. p. 89

[112] An ironical reference to Hasselmann, the editor-in-chief of the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*. p. 89

[113] In its editorial article (the "Politischer Tagesbericht" section) the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 67, March 20, 1875, wrote in connection with the draft programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany that "the Social-Democratic propaganda has become cautious in some ways: it has disavowed internationalism". p. 90

[114] See Note 103. p. 91

[115] See Note 96. p. 93

[116] The *Liverpool Financial Reform Association* was founded in 1848, and for a long time Robertson Gladstone was its President. Its aim was to "advocate the adoption of a simple and equitable system of direct taxation, fairly levied upon property and income, in lieu of the present unequal, complicated, and expensively-collected duties upon commodities" (*Tracts of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association*, Liverpool, 1851, p. VII). p. 96

[117] See Note 27. p. 97

[118] Engels wrote this introduction for a separate edition of Article V from his *Refugee Literature* series (see Note 52). p. 100

[119] Engels is referring to his own and Marx's articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie*, which was edited by Marx in 1848-49 and published in Cologne, and, above all, to his "The Frankfurt Assembly Debates the Polish Question" and their joint work "German Foreign Policy and the Latest Events in Prague" (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 337-81 and 212-15). p. 103

[120] Engels is referring to the talks that took place in Warsaw in October 1850 between Francis Joseph I of Austria and the Prussian Minister-President Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg, with the Russian Tsar Nicholas I as the mediator. p. 103

121 The Russian Tsar Alexander II and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Alexander Gorchakov visited Berlin in May 1875 at the time of the sharp deterioration of relations between France and Germany (see Note 82). p. 103

122 Engels is referring to the confidential circular of the International's General Council ("An alle Sectionen und Mitglieder der IAA, New York, 16. Mai 1875"). The Council proposed changing the decision to hold a general congress in September 1875, adopted at the Geneva Congress of the International in 1873, and convening a congress or conference in July 1876 in Philadelphia (USA) during the world industrial exhibition there. This was a calculation to guarantee the security of working-class delegates from Europe. p. 105

123 The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Society* founded in London in February 1840. After the establishment of the Communist League in 1847 its members played the leading role in the Society. During various periods of its activity the Society had branches in working-class districts in London. In 1847, 1849-50 and in the late 1850s-mid-1870s, Marx and Engels took an active part in the Society's work. Its members were involved in the activity of the International Working Men's Association. The Society at large joined the International in 1865 as a section. It existed up to 1918, when it was closed down by the British government. p. 105

124 On December 25-26, 1872 Brussels hosted the Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International, at which the anarchists had a majority. The Congress voted down the decisions of the Hague Congress, stated its refusal to maintain contacts with the General Council in New York, and resolved to support the decisions of the international congress of anarchists which was held in Saint-Imier on September 15, 1872 and which openly declared the split of the International. In a resolution of May 30, 1873, the General Council said that the Belgian Federation had, in consequence of its actions, dissociated itself from the International.

For the *Alliancists* see Note 30. p. 105

125 The contacts of the General Council of the International in New York with Austria, Germany and Switzerland were maintained through Friedrich Adolph Sorge, who corresponded with Wilhelm Liebknecht, Johann Philipp Becker, Johann Schwarzinger and others. p. 106

126 Engels made this speech in German at the international meeting held on January 22, 1876 to mark the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1863 and sponsored by the Polish People society (see Note 4). Afterwards, between January 22 and February 1, at the request of Walery Wróblewski, the Polish socialist who had chaired the meeting, Engels wrote the speech in French. This manuscript was used for the translation in this volume. The French text was probably used as the original for the first publication of the speech in *Vperyod!*, since the Russian text printed there (in the report on the meeting in the section "A Chronicle of the Labour Movement") is identical to the French text. p. 107

127 As some of his contemporaries stated, when Nicholas I received the news of the February revolution of 1848 in France, he exclaimed: "Gentlemen, mount your horses! A republic has been proclaimed in France!" p. 107

128 See Note 119. p. 107

129 *Prussian Schnapps in the German Reichstag* was written by Engels in February 1876. Its publication in *Der Volksstaat* and as a separate impression provoked irritation on the part of the authorities. As Engels wrote to Karl Kautsky on May 23, 1884, "'Prussian Schnapps' was a personal insult to Bismarck" (see present edition, Vol. 47). p. 109

130 A reference to the first Peace of Paris concluded on May 30, 1814 between the principal members of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain and Prussia) and France after Napoleon's defeat. p. 112

131 Under the impact of the July Revolution of 1830 in France, urban dwellers in Saxony, Brunswick, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and other German lands launched revolutionary action, and an anti-feudal peasant revolt flared up in Hesse-Darmstadt, which was suppressed by troops. p. 116

132 A reference to the Anglo-French commercial treaty signed on January 23, 1860, which signified a triumph for the advocates of free trade in both countries and served the interests of the British industrial bourgeoisie. Under one of its articles tariffs for French wine were cut by half, and England undertook to further reduce them depending on the percentage of alcohol in the wine (see K. Marx, "The New Treaty Between France and England", present edition, Vol. 17, pp. 341-44). p. 118

133 A Greek myth says that at the time of the campaign against Troy the Greeks mistakenly engaged in combat with the troops of their ally Telephus, the son of Heracles. Telephus was wounded by Achilles and got cured when some rust from Achilles' spear was applied to his wound, following the oracle's prophecy. p. 119

134 As legend has it, Antonio da Correggio uttered these words standing before Raphael's *Saint Cecilia*. p. 119

135 *Der Volksstaat,* No. 24, February 27, 1876, p. 2, had "along Russian lines". The misprint was pointed out in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 27, March 5 in the "Berichtigung" section. p. 120

136 A reference to the administrative reform of 1872 in Prussia (*Kreisordnung für die Provinzen Preußen, Brandenburg, Pommern, Posen, Schlesien und Sachsen. Vom 13. Dezember 1872.* In: *Gezetz-Sammlung für die Königlichen Preußischen Staaten,* No. 41, Berlin, 1872). It abolished the patrimonial power of the Junkers and introduced elements of local self-government (elective elders in the communities, district councils at the *Landrats* elected in accordance with the representation system, etc.). The reform was aimed at consolidating the state apparatus and strengthening centralisation in the interests of the Junkers as a class. The Junkers in fact retained power in their localities themselves or by their protégés holding most of the elective posts. p. 121

137 Engels is referring to the following works by Theodor von der Goltz: *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entwicklung ländlicher Arbeiterverhältnisse im nordöstlichen Deutschland bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1846; *Ländliche Arbeiterwohnungen*, Königsberg and Tilsit, 1865; *Die ländliche Arbeiterfrage und ihre Lösung*, Danzig, 1872; *Die Lage der ländlichen Arbeiter im Deutschen Reich*, Berlin, 1875; *Die soziale Bedeutung des Gesindewesens*, Danzig, 1873. p. 121

[138] By decision of the Congress of Vienna (September 18, 1814-June 9, 1815), the greater part of the lands on the left and right banks of the Rhine and of those adjoining Westphalia were incorporated into Prussia. p. 121

[139] The reference is to the uprisings in Western and Southern Germany (May 1849), which were part of the German people's campaign for the implementation of the Imperial Constitution approved in March 1849 by the Frankfurt National Assembly. The most powerful struggle in support of it developed in the Bavarian Palatinate and Baden. The combined Palatinate-Baden insurgent army, which included many workers' units, put up strong resistance to the Prussian-Bavarian-Württemberg troops who greatly exceeded the insurgents in numbers and strength. The insurgents' last stronghold, Rastatt, fell on July 23. The uprisings in the Palatinate and Baden in the spring and summer of 1849 were the closing events of the German revolution (see also F. Engels, "The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution", present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 121

[140] *Little Germany*—a plan for the unification of Germany from above under Prussia's aegis and excluding Austria; it was supported by the majority of the German bourgeoisie. p. 121

[141] The *Federal Council* (Bundesrat), the supreme organ of the German Empire, consisted of 58 appointed representatives of 25 German states. With the Reichstag, which was elected by direct universal and equal ballot, it formed the Empire's legislative power. At the time of Bismarck, the Federal Council was a counter-weight to the Reichstag. Its policies were shaped mostly by Prussia, which was represented by 17 deputies and had the right of veto in questions pertaining to amendments in the constitution. p. 122

[142] See Note 132. p. 124

[143] A reference to the commercial treaty between Italy and the Customs Union signed on December 31, 1865.

The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states, which established a common customs frontier, was set up in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s the Union embraced most of the German states with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck), and a few small states. Brought into being by the need to create an all-German market, the Customs Union became a factor in the promotion of the political unification of Germany. p. 124

[144] Under the Frankfurt Peace Treaty of May 10, 1871, which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, France, among other things, was obliged to pay war reparations of five thousand million francs. p. 125

[145] The *Holy Alliance*, an association of European monarchs, was founded in September 1815 on the initiative of the Russian Tsar Alexander I and the Austrian Chancellor Metternich to suppress revolutionary movements and preserve feudal monarchies in European countries. During the 1848-49 revolution and subsequently, counter-revolutionary circles in Austria, Prussia and Russia attempted to revive the Holy Alliance in a modified form. p. 125

[146] Engels wrote *Wilhelm Wolff* in June-September 1876 for *Die Neue Welt*, a journal edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht. Marx himself had intended to write a short biography of Wolff, one of the most prominent German proletarian

revolutionaries, to whom he dedicated the first volume of his *Capital*. Marx's "Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff" exist, written immediately after Wolff's death (see present edition, Vol. 19, pp. 335-36). However, Marx could not carry out his plan since at that time he did not have the necessary information on the earlier period of Wolff's life.

With the biographical material, Engels gives a synopsis of Wolff's series of articles on the condition of the Silesian peasants written for the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1849. The publication of Wolff's articles was one of the steps taken by the newspaper to involve Germany's peasant masses in the revolution. The articles present a broad factual and statistical picture of the exploitation of the peasants and demand that the peasants be given back the milliard marks that the landowners had stolen from them in the form of redemption payments. His articles entitled *Die schlesische Milliarde* were a tremendous success with the readers. In Silesia the Peasants' Union made 10,000 copies of the issues carrying these articles and distributed them among the peasants free of charge.

In 1886 Engels' *Wilhelm Wolff* was published as the first part of the introduction to Wolff's book *Die schlesische Milliarde. Abdruck aus der "Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung" März-April 1849. Mit Einleitung von Friedrich Engels*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1886; the second part of the introduction was a newly written work "On the History of the Prussian Peasants" (see present edition, Vol. 26). In that edition, Engels substantially supplemented the text of *Wilhelm Wolff* and omitted the chapters containing a synopsis of Wolff's articles.

In the passages dealing with Wolff's articles Engels renders rather than quotes the author. p. 129

147 Wolff was prosecuted for his report *Die oberschlesischen Wilddiebe und das preußische Militär. Breslau*, published in *Freikugeln*, No. 27, February 13, 1845, and sentenced to three months' confinement in a fortress. p. 131

148 The reference is to the *Edikt den erleichterten Besitz und den freien Gebrauch des Grund-Eigenthums, so wie die persönlichen Verhältnisse der Land-Bewohner betreffend*, which was passed on October 9, 1807 and came into force on November 11, 1810. p. 132

149 *Demagogues* (in Germany) were participants in the opposition movement of intellectuals. The name became current after the Karlsbad conference of ministers of the German states in August 1819 (see Note 67), which adopted a special decree against the intrigues of the Demagogues. p. 133

150 The *Federal Diet* (Bundestag)—a representative body of the German Confederation, an ephemeral union of German states, founded in 1815 by decision of the Congress of Vienna. Though it had no real power it was nevertheless a vehicle for feudal and monarchist reaction. During the 1848-49 revolution in Germany reactionary circles made vain attempts to revive the Federal Diet, intending to use it to prevent the democratic unification of Germany. After the defeat of the revolution the Federal Diet received its former rights in 1850 and survived till 1866. p. 133

151 *Students' Associations* (Burschenschaften) were formed in Germany during the liberation struggle against Napoleon I. They advocated the unification of Germany. In them, progressive ideas existed side by side with extreme nationalism. On the persecution of the Burschenschaften, see Note 67. p. 133

152 Wilhelm Wolff's letter to Fritz Reuter of December 30, 1863 which Engels mentions was first published in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, No. 6, 1957, pp. 1244-45. p. 133

153 Fritz Reuter's allusion is to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia between the government and the liberal opposition of the Chamber of Deputies (1860-66). In the course of it Bismarck was appointed Minister-President (September 24, 1862). He exercised authority in the absence of a budget approved by the Chamber and, therefore, his power could be effectively restricted only through refusal to pay taxes. p. 133

154 Wolff was released from the fortress on July 30, 1838. See Marx's "Biographical Notes on Wilhelm Wolff" (present edition, Vol. 19, p. 335). p. 133

155 Having been pardoned, Wolff lived in the estate of the Polish landowner Tytus Adam Działyński as a tutor. In the summer of 1840 he returned to Silesia. p. 134

156 Quoted from *The Old Testament* (Psalms 35:20). Engels is referring here to the Pietists.

The *Pietists*—adherents of a Lutheran trend which arose in Germany in the 17th century. Distinguished by extreme mysticism, it rejected rites and attached special importance to personal religious experience. p. 135

157 A reference to the *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preußischen Staaten* promulgated in 1794. It included criminal, state, civil, administrative and ecclesiastical law and bore a distinct imprint of obsolete feudal legal standards.

After the annexation of the Rhine Province to Prussia in 1815 (see Note 138), the Prussian government tried to introduce Prussian Law into various legal spheres there to replace the French bourgeois codes in force in the province. This was accomplished by passing a series of laws, edicts and instructions aimed at restoring the feudal privileges of the nobility (primogeniture), Prussian criminal and marriage law, etc. These measures were resolutely opposed in the province and repealed after the March revolution by special decrees issued on April 15, 1848. p. 135

158 In his letter of December 30, 1863 to Fritz Reuter (see Note 152), Wilhelm Wolff wrote that the manuscript of one of his articles, which had fallen in the hands of the police, served as a pretext to institute court proceedings against him for infringing the press law (see Note 147). p. 135

159 This book was written by the police officials Wermuth and Stieber. The appendices to the first part, which purported to tell the history of the workers' movement for the information of police agents, reproduce some of the Communist League's documents that had fallen into the hands of the police. The second part contained a "black list" and biographical particulars of people connected with the workers' and democratic movement. p. 135

160 See Note 123. p. 135

161 Engels is referring to the *Bureau de Correspondance* set up in Brussels in 1845 by the German democratic journalist Sebastian Seiler (later a member of the Communist League). In October 1847, when Seiler withdrew from the bureau for reasons unknown, it was headed by Wilhelm Wolff and Louis Heilberg. p. 136

162 The *German Workers' Society* in Brussels was founded by Marx and Engels at the end of August 1847, its aim being the political education of the German workers who lived in Belgium and the dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism among them. With Marx, Engels and their followers at its head, the Society became the legal centre rallying the revolutionary proletarian forces

in Belgium. Its most active members belonged to the Communist League. The Society played an important part in founding the Brussels Democratic Association. After the February 1848 revolution in France, the Belgian authorities arrested and banished many of its members. p. 136

163 Wolff arrived in Breslau (Silesia) on April 13, 1848. There he joined the newly established Democratic Club, and was active in the propaganda campaign during the elections to the Frankfurt Parliament and the Berlin National Assembly. p. 137

164 Wolff arrived in Cologne in mid-June 1848. p. 137

165 The *Democratic Society* in Cologne was set up in April 1848; it embraced workers and artisans, as well as small businessmen. Marx, Engels and other editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, who directed the Society's work, wanted to orientate it towards a struggle against the counter-revolutionary policy of the Prussian ruling circles and to expose the liberal bourgeoisie's policy of agreement. In April 1849, Marx and his followers, who had actually begun to organise an independent mass proletarian party, considered it best to dissociate themselves from the petty-bourgeois democrats and withdrew from the Society. Meanwhile, they continued to support the revolutionary actions of the German democratic circles. p. 138

166 See Note 17. p. 138

167 On August 26, 1848 in the Swedish city of Malmö, an armistice was signed in the war between Denmark and Prussia, which was part of the revolutionary struggle of the German people for the unification of Germany. In September 1848, the Frankfurt National Assembly ratified the armistice, which the Prussian government accepted from fear of the mounting revolutionary mood in Germany. This provoked a wave of protest and led to an uprising in Frankfurt am Main on September 18, 1848, which was suppressed by Prussian and Austrian troops. p. 138

168 The *Agreement Assembly* (Vereinbarungsversammlung) was the name given to the Prussian National Assembly convened in Berlin in May 1848 to draw up a constitution and consisting mostly of liberals leaning towards a compromise with the King. Frederick William IV, who spoke at the opening of the Assembly on May 22, demanded that when working out the constitution the deputies should be "in agreement with the Crown". p. 138

169 The immediate reason for the conflict was the shooting down on July 31, by the garrison of the Schweidnitz fortress in Silesia, of the civil guard and townspeople, as a result of which 14 people were killed and 32 seriously wounded. In the resolution of the Prussian National Assembly of August 9, 1848 the Minister of War was asked to warn officers to abstain from "reactionary tricks", and it was recommended that they resign from the army if they disagreed with the resolution. The Auerswald-Hansemann Ministry raised no objections because it was sure the deputies would not demand faithful implementation of the resolution. But the Minister of War's non-observance of the Assembly's recommendations led to a conflict between the Government and the Assembly and to a ministerial crisis. p. 138

170 Public meetings took place in Cologne on September 7, 13, 17 and 20, 1848. One of them, held on September 13 and organised by Wolff on behalf of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* editorial board, the Democratic Society and the Cologne Workers' Association, elected a Committee of Public Safety con-

sisting of 30 people. It included the leaders of the above-mentioned organisations and editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.* Engels proposed a draft address to the Berlin Assembly urging its deputies not to abandon their posts even under threat of armed force. The draft was unanimously approved. p. 138

171 The first issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* that appeared after the lifting of the state of siege in Cologne was dated October 12, 1848; under the procedure prevailing at that time it was printed on October 11. p. 140

172 These events took place on February 28, 1849. p. 140

173 The reference is to the transfer of the sittings of the Prussian National Assembly (see Note 168) from Berlin to Brandenburg. This was the beginning of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Prussia, which ended with the dissolution of the National Assembly and the imposition of a Constitution by the King on December 5, 1848 (the so-called imposed constitution; see Note 178). p. 140

174 The agrarian bill was submitted for consideration to the Prussian National Assembly on July 11, 1848. The debate began on October 10 and was not finished due to the dissolution of the Assembly (see Note 173). See Marx's article "The Bill Proposing the Abolition of Feudal Obligations" (present edition, Vol. 7, p. 295). p. 141

175 Under the Law of 1821 the peasant was either to transfer to the landowner one-third to a half of his plot or pay its value in cash as redemption for the corvée and obligations. p. 142

176 See Note 25. p. 143

177 Between August 1848 and January 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published a series of feature articles by Georg Weerth entitled *Leben und Thaten des berühmten Ritters Schnapphanski,* which ridiculed Prince Lichnowski, a big Silesian landowner killed during the September insurrection in Frankfurt am Main (see Note 167). He was described under the name of Ritter Schnapphanski (from *Schnapphahn,* a highwayman, scrounger, and rogue). p. 144

178 On December 5, 1848 the Prussian National Assembly was dissolved and the Constitution imposed by the King made public (see Note 173). The Constitution introduced a two-chamber system; the age and property qualifications made the First Chamber a privileged Chamber of Gentry. By the electoral law of December 6, 1848, the right to vote in the two-stage elections to the Second Chamber was granted only to the so-called independent Prussians. The royal authority was vested with sweeping powers—the King was authorised to convene and dissolve the Chambers, appoint ministers, declare war and conclude peace. He was vested with full executive power, while sharing legislative power with the Chambers. p. 147

179 *Gardeners* (Gärtner) and *cottagers* (Häusler) had small plots of land but no draught animals, while the "livers-in" (Zuhausinnewohnern) were landless day-labourers. p. 148

180 *Land registers* (Urbarien)—inventories of feudal land possessions in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bohemia introduced in the 12th century. They also contained the lists of peasant landholders and their duties. From the 13th

century the term *Urbarien* also began to be applied to inventories of taxes and other incomes as provided by law. p. 149

181 A mistake in *Die Neue Welt*: this land register (Kataster) was introduced in 1843. See A. Meitzen, *Der Roden und die landwirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Preussischen Staates nach dem Gebietsumfange vor 1866*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1868, p. 18. p. 150

182 *Mediatised peers* in Germany—owners of the imperial fiefs who formerly used to be in direct bondage to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (see Note 94), and were then subordinated to major princes, in the given case to the King of Prussia. p. 150

183 *Wailers* (Heuler)—the name of the republican democrats in Germany in 1848-49 applied to the moderate constitutionalists who, in turn, called their opponents "agitators" (Wühler). p. 151

184 Engels uses the word *Sportelgelder* here, which means fees payable by peasants for the conduct of legal cases. p. 152

185 *Mortmain*—in the Middle Ages the right of the feudal lord to inherit the property of a dead serf peasant. Since the property and the land of the dead peasant usually went to his heirs, the latter were obliged to pay an onerous fee for them to the lord. p. 159

186 *Water-Polacks* (Wasserpolacken)—original name of ferrymen on the Oder who were mainly natives of Upper Silesia. Subsequently it became widespread in Germany as a nickname for Silesian Poles. p. 160

187 A hint at Marx's and Engels' dissatisfaction with the line pursued by Wilhelm Liebknecht, editor-in-chief of *Der Volksstaat*, the official organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from October 1876, *Vorwärts* became the party's central organ; Liebknecht was also on its editorial board). Specifically, their displeasure was provoked by the publication of articles of a more general nature giving "pictures of future society" to the detriment of those "on topical questions" (see Engels' letter to Marx of May 28, 1876, present edition, Vol. 45). p. 164

188 See Note 183. p. 164

189 On May 14, 1849, on the order of Frederick William IV, the Prussian deputies were recalled from the Frankfurt Parliament. Wolff began his work in Parliament on May 21. p. 164

190 Engels is referring to the demonstration of petty-bourgeois democrats in Paris on June 13, 1849, organised by the Montagne in protest against sending French troops to suppress the revolution in Rome (see also K. Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*, present edition, Vol. 10, p. 99). p. 165

191 See *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale. Édition collationnée sur le texte de l'imprimerie nationale*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1870-71, p. 161. p. 167

192 After Frederick William IV of Prussia refused to accept the Imperial Crown offered him by the Frankfurt National Assembly, Prussia and Austria recalled their deputies. Deputies of other German states also left the Assembly. The left-wing petty-bourgeois deputies who remained in Frankfurt transferred the sessions to Stuttgart, on May 30, 1849, where the Assembly was dispersed by the Württemberg government's troops. p. 168

193 The *Federal Council* (Bundesrat)—the Swiss government which, in accordance with the Constitution of September 12, 1848, had legislative and executive power. p. 169

194 The letters of Marx, Engels and Marx's wife Jenny show that Wolff moved to Manchester in September 1853. p. 170

195 This letter opens a new period in Engels' work for the Italian newspaper *La Plebe*. He had contributed to it in 1871-72, when it was the organ of the International's sections and sided with the General Council in its struggle against the Bakuninists. At the request of its editor, Enrico Bignami, Engels resumed work for it in 1877, when *La Plebe* again began to appear regularly. Between late February 1877 and late March 1879 Engels wrote a number of articles on various subjects which appeared in the "Da Londra" section without a title. p. 172

196 The elections to the German Reichstag were held on January 10, 1877. p. 172

197 At the elections to the German Reichstag on January 10, 1877 the German Social-Democrats received more votes (493,288) than at the 1874 elections (see Note 204). p. 172

198 By the abstentionists Engels means the Italian anarchists, specifically Andrea Costa, Carlo Cafiero, Errico Malatesta and Carmelo Palladino, who did not recognise the need for political struggle on the part of the working class. They believed that the workers' participation in elections to representative bodies would only consolidate the power of the bourgeois state. p. 173

199 See Note 90. p. 173

200 The reference is to a public meeting in Tivoli convened on the initiative of the Central Electoral Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.

A notice about it was printed in the *Vorwärts*, No. 7, January 17, 1877. p. 173

201 In late February 1877 Engels received several January and February issues of *La Plebe* sent by Enrico Bignami from Italy. In a letter to Marx of March 6 he wrote about his intention to prepare this material for the *Vorwärts*, central organ of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (see present edition, Vol. 45). Engels realised his plan in this article.

It was published in English for the first time in the collection: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, International Publishers, New York, 1972. p. 174

202 See notes 30 and 38. p. 174

203 Hereinafter Engels quotes Bakunin's letter to the Spanish socialist Francisco Mora of April 5, 1872 published, with other documents of the Alliance, in section XI of Marx's and Engels' work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (see present edition, Vol. 23, pp. 578-80). p. 174

204 At the 1874 elections the German Social-Democrats received 351,952 votes. p. 175

205 The *Swiss Workers' Association* (Schweitzer Arbeiterbund) was set up at the congress of workers of trade, co-operative and other organisations, which took

place in Olten on June 1-3, 1873. Eighty delegates attended the Congress. This was the country's first mass, nation-wide workers' organisation. p. 176

206 The *North-Italian Federation* was established on October 15, 1876 in Milan on the initiative of the local circle for the study of social problems, at a meeting which was also attended by representatives of the socialist sections and circles of Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, Ferrara and the canton of Ticino (Switzerland). p. 177

207 This and the following articles (see this volume, pp. 181-82, 203-05) were printed unsigned in *La Plebe* (see also Note 195). p. 179

208 The meeting chaired by John Bright was held on May 16, 1877 at Exeter Hall in London. Of the 2,594 participants, 1,218 were members of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, set up in May 1872, whose membership had reached 86,000 by 1874. Joseph Arch, the Union's leading activist, spoke on the attitude of English agricultural labourers to the Russo-Turkish war. He said that they "were determined their blood should not be spilt and their treasure expended in the support of Turkey ... there was not a class of her Majesty's subjects in the British realm that suffered more from the Crimean war than did the farm labourers. They had felt the pinch of hunger and want for twenty years in consequence of it" (quoted from "The County Franchise", *The Daily News*, No. 9694, May 17, 1877). p. 179

209 The following two resolutions were passed by the meeting of May 16, 1877 at Exeter Hall: "That in the opinion of this Conference it would be desirable to adopt an uniform Parliamentary franchise for borough and county constituencies; ... That it would be desirable so to redistribute political power as to obtain a more complete representation of the opinion of the electoral body" (quoted from "The County Franchise", *The Daily News*, No. 9694, May 17, 1877). p. 179

210 Probably a reference to the appeal to Prime Minister Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, signed by representatives of the workers from England, Scotland and Ireland on March 6, 1877 (see "The Premier and Factory Operatives", *The Times*, No. 28883, March 7, 1877). p. 180

211 See Note 208. p. 181

212 A reference to the strikes of agricultural labourers in the counties of Central and Eastern England for a shorter working day and higher wages. They took place in 1872-74 and were headed by the National Agricultural Labourers' Union. By April 1874 the strikers managed to secure a pay rise. p. 181

213 See Note 208. p. 182

214 Engels wrote this work in mid-June 1877 at the request of Wilhelm Bracke, a leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, for the *Volks-Kalender* which he edited (see Bracke's letter to Engels of April 13, 1877). It was published in English for the first time in: *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist*. A symposium edited by D. Ryazanoff, London [1927], pp. 17-34. p. 183

215 A reference to Marx's stay in Kreuznach in May-October 1843, the time when he conceived the idea of his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 3-129).

When writing this work, he felt the need for more historical material, and with this in mind he began to study problems related, not only to the theory and history of the state as a whole, but also to the history of particular countries (England, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Sweden) and major world-historical events, in particular the French Revolution, as can be seen from his five notebooks containing excerpts (the Kreuznach Notebooks). Having moved to Paris in 1844, Marx concentrated on political economy in his scientific studies. Their results were set forth in the work known as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 229-346). p. 184

216 Engels is referring above all to Marx's "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 189-206), which was one of the reasons for the closing down of the *Vorwärts!* and the expulsion of Marx and a number of other contributors from France by Guizot's order of January 16, 1845 issued under pressure from the Prussian government. p. 184

217 Engels' supposition has not been substantiated by facts. p. 184

218 The "Speech on the Question of Free Trade" was based on the material prepared by Marx for a speech he was to have delivered at the Congress of Economists in September 1847 (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 279-81, 287-90). Marx intended to speak at the Congress but its organisers closed the debate and refused to give him the floor. An account of Marx's speech appeared in the Belgian newspaper *Atelier Démocratique* on September 29, 1847. p. 184

219 See Note 162. p. 184

220 The First Congress of the Communist League was held in London on June 2-9, 1847. It was a final stage in the reorganisation of the League of the Just (see Note 378). The activity of Marx and Engels directed towards the ideological and organisational unity of the socialists and advanced workers prompted the leaders of the League, who resided in London from November 1846, to ask for their help in reorganising the League and drafting its new programme. When Marx and Engels were convinced that the leaders of the League of the Just were ready to adopt the principles of scientific communism as its programme, they accepted the offer to join the League made to them late in January 1847. Engels' active participation in the work of the Congress affected the course and the results of its proceedings. The League was renamed the Communist League, the old motto of the League of the Just "All men are brothers" was replaced by a new, Marxist one: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" The last sitting on June 9 approved the draft programme and the draft Rules of the League, which had been drawn up either by Engels or with his involvement (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 96-103 and 585-88).

The Second Congress of the Communist League was held on November 29-December 8, 1847. It instructed Marx and Engels to draw up the League's programme. In pursuance of this decision, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written in January (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519). p. 187

221 See Note 17. p. 188

222 See Note 173. p. 188

223 See Note 139. p. 188

224 This refers to the Austro-Italo-French war between the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) and France, on the one hand, and Austria, on the other (April 29

to July 8, 1859). On July 11, the French and Austrian emperors concluded a separate preliminary peace in Villafranca. p. 189

225 See Note 191. p. 189

226 See Note 84. p. 193

227 Marx wrote this letter to the *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* editorial board probably in November 1877, soon after the magazine had printed, in October 1877, an article by the ideologist of Russian Narodism (populism) Nikolai Mikhailovsky, "Karl Marx Before the Tribunal of Mr. Zhukovsky". Mikhailovsky's article was a reply to the review of Volume One of Marx's *Capital* written by the Russian bourgeois economist Yuly Zhukovsky, "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital", and printed by *Vestnik Yevropy*, No. IX, 1877.

Marx's manuscript has come down to us in the form of a rough draft and contains many corrections and deletions. Two versions of the second part of the letter are extant, a concise and a longer one. With slight stylistic changes, the concise version repeats the more detailed one. The letter had not been posted and was found by Engels among Marx's papers after his death. Engels considered it necessary to make copies of the manuscript and enclosed one of them in his letter to Vera Zasulich in Geneva of March 6, 1884 (see present edition, Vol. 47). Marx's letter was first published in Russian in 1886 in *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*, No. 5, in Geneva, and in German in the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 5, May 3, 1887 and in the *Sozialdemokrat*, No. 23, June 3, 1887 in Zurich.

The letter was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, "The Economic Development of Russia", *The Plebs*, No. 5, May 1920, pp. 70-72. p. 196

228 The term *poor whites* was applied in the ante-bellum South to those non-slaveholders who fell in the social class below yeomen farmers, artisans and sturdy frontiersmen. As originally used, the term carried a stigma beyond poverty and was applied only to a small group, usually squatters on the poorest lands. p. 201

229 This article, published unsigned in *La Plebe*, No. 3, January 22, 1878 (in the "Da Londra" section), had a short editorial preface: "From our vast and important correspondence from London we cite passages which are relevant to our present-day political and social situation."

The article was published in English for the first time, abridged, in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On the United States*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979. p. 203

230 Engels borrowed the data pertaining to the development of the socialist press in these countries mostly from the *Vorwärts*, No. 152, December 30, 1877, and No. 3, January 9, 1878. p. 203

231 *Kathedersozialisten* (armchair or academic socialists)—representatives of a trend in bourgeois socialism that emerged in Germany in the 1860s-70s. In 1873 its champions (Gustav Schmoller, Adolph Wagner and Lujo Brentano) set up the society *Verein für Sozialpolitik* which had its own printed organ, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*. Katheder-Socialists supported Bismarck's social policy, advocated class harmony and opposed the workers' revolutionary action. The term was used by a liberal, one Heinrich Bernhard Oppenheim, in the polemic with Adolph Wagner (see *National-Zeitung*, No. 573, December 7, 1871). p. 203

232 The attempt on Bismarck's life was made by a cooper's apprentice, Eduard Kulmann, on July 13, 1874 in Bad-Kissingen. It was staged by the Catholic clergy, which was outraged by the *Kulturkampf* policy (see Note 27). Bismarck was slightly wounded in the arm. p. 203

233 The reference is to the attempt of the French President Marshal MacMahon, the monarchists' placeman, to accomplish an anti-republican coup d'état. On May 16, 1877, the government herald *Journal Officiel* carried MacMahon's letter, which expressed dissatisfaction with the actions of Jules Simon, a bourgeois republican and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The following day, a new ministry headed by Duke de Broglie, a monarchist, was appointed. On June 25 the Chamber of Deputies, formed mostly of republicans, was dissolved, and new elections were scheduled for October 14, 1877. However, at these elections the republicans scored a decisive victory. The attempt of MacMahon and his supporters (General Auguste Ducrot, Orleanist Anselme Batbie, and others) to bring about a coup d'état on December 13 met with the resistance of junior officers and particularly the soldiers, who shared the republican leanings of the French peasantry. On December 14 a government headed by Jules Dufaure was formed. MacMahon was forced to retire in January 1879 before his time was up. Moderate republican Jules Grévy was elected President. The bourgeois-republican system was established in France. p. 204

234 In 1877, a struggle between the workers and the employers flared up in the USA. One of its major features was the railway strike in Eastern Virginia in July 1877, triggered off by a 10-per cent cut in the wages at the three main railway lines leading to the West: Pennsylvania, Baltimore-Ohio, and New York Central. It took government troops and armed detachments of employers to suppress the strike. p. 204

235 On the financial crisis of 1873, see Note 84. p. 204

236 A reference to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 204

237 The year 1789—the beginning of the French Revolution; 1793—the period of the Jacobin dictatorship. p. 205

238 Engels wrote this article for the American weekly *The Labor Standard* published in 1876-1900 by Joseph Patrick McDonnell, an activist in the Irish workers' movement who had emigrated to the USA. It appeared in Nos. 43-47 on March 3, 10, 17, 24 and 31, 1878. p. 207

239 The reference is to the Bakuninists. See notes 30 and 38. p. 209

240 The battle of Sedan took place on September 1, 1870, in the course of the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), in which the French army was defeated. The Sedan catastrophe brought nearer the collapse of the Second Empire and led to the declaration of the republic in France on September 4, 1870. p. 211

241 Engels is referring to the behaviour of the Prussian middle class at the time of the Franco-Prussian war. On January 18, 1871, during the siege of Paris, the German Empire was ceremonially proclaimed at Versailles: 30 deputies of the Reichstag handed an address to King William I requesting him to accept the Imperial Crown. p. 212

242 See Note 38. p. 213

243 The international anarchist congresses, in which representatives of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy's secret organisations took part, were held in Saint-Imier

(September 15-16, 1872), Geneva (1873), Brussels (1874), Berne (1876) and Verviers (1877). The Saint-Imier Congress passed a decision opposing the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the expulsion of Bakunin and Guillaume from the International. p. 213

244 The reference is to the abortive attempt of Italian anarchists to launch an uprising in Bologna early in the morning of August 8, 1874. p. 214

245 In 1877, 26 Italian anarchists, who attempted an insurrection, captured the villages of Letion and Gallo not far from Naples. It was promptly suppressed by the police. p. 214

246 The Ghent Socialist Congress of September 9-16, 1877 was an attempt to unite the various socialist trends on an international scale. The Congress was attended by representatives of socialist parties (both established ones and those in the process of formation), as well as delegates of the anarchist International. Wilhelm Liebknecht represented the German Social-Democratic Party. On the major issues, the Congress adopted decisions directed against the anarchist minority. Specifically, it confirmed Article 7a added to the International's Rules by the Hague Congress on the need to set up an independent political party of the proletariat (see present edition, Vol. 23, p. 243). The Congress showed that the anarchist trend was falling apart and that Marxism prevailed in the international working-class movement. To a certain extent the Ghent Congress paved the way for the formation of the Second International. Marx wrote to Friedrich Adolph Sorge on September 27, 1877: "The *Ghent* Congress, whatever else it left to be desired, at least had the advantage that Guillaume and Co. were totally abandoned by their former allies" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 215

247 See Note 62. p. 216

248 At the Ghent Congress (see Note 246), the Spanish Federation was represented by the Bakuninists José García Viñas and Tomás González Morago. It is possible that the third delegate mentioned by Engels was Trinidad Soriano. p. 216

249 See Note 45. p. 216

250 The reference is to the *New Madrid Federation* (Nueva Federación Madrileña) formed on July 8, 1872 by the members of the *Emancipacion* editorial board, who had been expelled from the Madrid Federation by an anarchist majority when the newspaper exposed the activities of the secret Alliance in Spain (José Mesa, Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias, etc.). Paul Lafargue played an active part in the organisation and work of the New Madrid Federation. The Federation fought against the spread of anarchist influence in Spain, popularised the ideas of scientific socialism, and campaigned for the establishment of an independent proletarian party in Spain. Engels contributed to its newspaper, *La Emancipacion*. p. 216

251 That was the first workers' congress in Portugal; it was held in Lisbon on February 1-4, 1877. The congress signified the final formation of the Portuguese Socialist Party founded in 1875; it adopted the Rules and a programme similar to the Gotha programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (see this volume, pp. 81-99) and elected the Party Central Committee. p. 217

[252] After the Paris Commune the government adopted measures aimed against the organisations of the First International in Italy. In the summer of 1871 the International Democratic Society of Florence, which had twice publicly stated its sympathy with the Commune, and the Naples section of the International were dissolved. p. 217

[253] The *Grütli Society* (Grütliverein), a Swiss petty-bourgeois reformist organisation, was founded in 1838 as an educational society for artisans and workers. The name *Grütliverein* was chosen to emphasise the Swiss national character of the association. Legend has it that in 1307, representatives of three Swiss cantons met at Grütli meadow and formed an alliance to fight against the arbitrary rule of the Habsburgs.

For the "Workmen's Confederation" mentioned in the text see Note 205. p. 218

[254] The new *Swiss Factory Law* of March 23, 1877 was put into force by the referendum of October 21, 1877 despite the resistance by the bourgeoisie. p. 218

[255] In April 1870 the first Social-Democratic group was set up in Copenhagen on the initiative of Niels Lorenzo Petersen, a representative of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. In the summer of 1871 the first section of the I.W.M.A. and somewhat later the Danish Federal Council were set up. p. 219

[256] Members of the International in Denmark managed to win over to their side a substantial part of the peasantry. The United Left received 53 mandates at the elections to the Folketing in November 1873, and 71 mandates in April 1876. p. 219

[257] See Note 17. p. 221

[258] Napoleon's coup d'état of December 2, 1851 resulted in the regime of the Second Empire. p. 221

[259] The mass revolutionary action in Paris which took place on September 4, 1870 led to the fall of the Second Empire and the declaration of the republic headed by the bourgeois government of National Defence. p. 222

[260] See Note 233. p. 223

[261] The reference is to the elections of October 14, 1877 (see Note 233), in which the republicans received 321 seats; the monarchists won 208 votes. p. 223

[262] The law of 1872 in France introduced universal military service. At the same time it abolished the system of substitutes under which a person liable to military service could hire a substitute for money to serve instead of himself. p. 224

[263] Engels is referring to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. p. 227

[264] See Note 14. p. 228

[265] This letter, signed by Marx, was written by Engels and him on June 12, 1878; a fragment of this letter in Engels' handwriting remains extant. p. 230

[266] The reference is to the international congress (June 13-July 13, 1878) convened in Berlin on the initiative of Austria-Hungary and Britain, which opposed the consolidation of Russia's position in the Balkans. The Congress ended with the signing of the Treaty of Berlin which altered the terms of the San Stefano

Peace Treaty of 1878 that concluded the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. The new terms were unfavourable for Russia and the Slavic nations of the Balkan Peninsula. (See also Note 309.) p. 230

267 In his will drawn up on August 27, 1864, five days before his death, Lassalle named Bernhard Becker as his successor as President of the General Association of German Workers, and the Berlin lawyer Aurel Holthoff and Lothar Bucher as the executors of his will. p. 230

268 The reference is to the assassination attempt on William I made on May 11, 1878 by tinner Emil Hödel (Hoedel), who had been earlier expelled from the Leipzig Social-Democratic Association, and to that of June 2 made by the German anarchist Karl Eduard Nobiling who had never been a member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party. These events gave rise to a vicious campaign against the socialists and were an excuse for the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law in October 1878. p. 231

269 The German battleship *Großer Kurfürst* sank on May 31, 1878 in Pas de Calais at Folkestone (England) as a result of a collision with the German ship *König Wilhelm.* p. 231

270 See Note 65. p. 231

271 Marx's letter "Herr Bucher" (see this volume, pp. 230-31) was reprinted from *The Daily News* by many German papers. A number of errors were made in the translations; this prompted Bucher to come up with his "Declaration", to which Marx replied with the given item printed in German newspapers under the title "Marx und Bucher". p. 232

272 Marx wrote this article in early July 1878 in reply to Howell's "The History of the International Association" published by a monthly review, *The Nineteenth Century.* Howell's article contained libellous information about the history of the International and Marx's role in it. The editorial board of the monthly refused to print Marx's reply, and it appeared in *The Secular Chronicle, And Record of Freethought Progress,* Vol. X, No. 5, August 4, 1878. p. 234

273 By the congress, Howell is referring to the London Conference of the International held on September 25-29, 1865; taking part in its work were members of the Central Council (later renamed the General Council) and delegates from the International's sections in France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland. The Conference heard the report of the Central Council, approved its financial statement and the programme of the International's first congress to be held in Geneva in September 1866. The London Conference, which Marx did a great deal to organise, played an important role at the time of the International's establishment. For the minutes of the Conference see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974. p. 234

274 The agenda of the London Conference, which was drawn up by Marx and approved by the General Council on July 25, 1865, thus defined the paragraph on the attitude of the working class to the struggle for the independence of Poland: "The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland" (see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866. The London Conference 1865. Minutes,* p. 305). At the Conference session of September 27, 1865, the delegates adopted the following resolution: "4th. That it is imperative to annihilate the invading influence of

Russia in Europe by applying to Poland 'the right of every people to dispose of itself', and re-establishing that country on a social and democratic basis" (ibid., p. 246). p. 235

275 Marx did not put the religious question on the agenda of the London Conference of 1865 (see Note 274). At the September 27 session this question, supported by Le Lubez, Fribourg, Holtorp, Howell and Tolain, was included on the agenda of the prospective congress. However, drawing up "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", whose main provisions were adopted by the Geneva Congress as resolutions, Marx simply wrote under point 11: "*Religious Question.* To be left to the initiative of the French" (see *The General Council of the First International, 1864-66. The London Conference 1865. Minutes*, p. 351). p. 236

276 See notes 30 and 38. p. 236

277 By the "Fenian troubles" Marx means the abortive attempt at an uprising staged by the Fenians in February-March 1867. It was scheduled for February 11; the plan was drawn up with the assistance of the French republican Gustave Paul Cluseret, the future military delegate of the Paris Commune. The British authorities learned about the preparations; the uprising, which assumed the form of isolated actions, was brutally suppressed.

The *Fenians* were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the "Féne", the ancient population of Ireland. Their first organisations appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation was known in the early 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who expressed the interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals, and believed in conspiratorial tactics. The British government attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. p. 237

278 John Bredford Leno, member of the General Council of the First International (1864-67), mentioned this episode in his autobiography *The Aftermath*, London, 1892, pp. 71-72. p. 237

279 The *French Rural Assembly*—a derogatory nickname of the National Assembly which met in Bordeaux on February 12, 1871 and consisted mostly of monarchists: provincial landowners, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in the rural constituencies.

In late 1871 the Assembly undertook an investigation of the events of the Paris Commune. Its findings were published in *Enquête parlementaire sur l'insurrection du 18 mars*, Vols. I-III, Versailles, 1872. p. 237

280 See Note 268. p. 238

281 *Pseudomorph*—a term designating a natural or synthetic mineral having the crystalline form of another mineral rather than that normally characteristic of its composition. p. 238

282 Marx probably sets forth the circular issued by the Spanish government to the governors of the Spanish provinces. It said, in part: "This communist sect is a veritable conspiratorial society opposing everything existing. Having declared its absolute negation of God and the State, property and the family, it tries to elevate its socio-political theories to the category of principles. Its theories cannot be

considered by organised society otherwise than as a criminal philosophical utopia" (*Gaceta de Madrid*, No. 17, January 17, 1872). p. 238

283 The reference is to Pius IX's encyclic issued on December 8, 1864, "Quanta cura", and *Syllabus complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores qui notantur in Allocutionibus consistorialibus, in Encyclicis aliusque Apostolicis litteris sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae IX*", Cologne, 1864, pp. 23 and 29. p. 238

284 On March 14, 1872 the French National Assembly promulgated a law banning the International's organisations in France. At their meetings in Bad Gastein in August 1871 and Salzburg in September 1871, the German and the Austrian emperors specially discussed a joint campaign against the International. p. 239

285 By mid-1878, Social-Democratic parties existed in Germany (from 1869), Switzerland (from June 1878), Denmark (from 1876), Portugal (from 1875), and Belgium (from 1877). In the USA, the unity congress of socialist organisations held in Philadelphia founded the Labor Party of the USA, which in December 1877 was named the Socialist Labor Party of the USA. p. 239

286 Marx wrote these notes on the basis of the stenographic report on the first debate in the Reichstag of the Anti-Socialist Law (Gesetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie. See: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 29-91). The report was sent to Marx by Wilhelm Bracke, a leader of the German Social-Democrats. Marx's and Engels' letters (Marx to Engels on September 17, Engels to Marx on September 18 and Marx to Jenny Marx on September 17, 1878, see present edition, Vol. 45) show that they closely followed the debates in the Reichstag and the comments of the British press. The Law was passed on October 21, 1878 (see Note 289).

Marx intended this piece to be the basis for an article in *The Daily News* (see Marx's letter to Engels of September 24, 1878, present edition, Vol. 45), but his plan remained unrealised.

For the first time, Marx's manuscript was published in Russian in the *Marx-Engels Archives*, Vol. I (VI), 1932, pp. 389-400. It appeared in German in *Werke*, Bd. 34, S. 491-500.

Excerpts from this work were published in English for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, *On the Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 61-62, and in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 241-42.

In the present edition the work is printed according to the manuscript. The italics in the quotations are Marx's. p. 240

287 See Note 268. p. 240

288 The King's speech on the occasion of the opening of the newly elected Reichstag (July 30, 1878) was made on September 9 by Count Otto Stolberg-Wernigerode, Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire, on the instruction of Crown Prince Frederick III (see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, pp. 1-2). p. 240

289 The *Exceptional Law against the Socialists* (Gezetz gegen die gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie—the Law against the Harmful and Dangerous Aspirations of Social-Democracy) was introduced by the Bismarck government, supported by the majority in the Reichstag, on October 21, 1878

to counter the socialist and workers' movement. This law, better known as the Anti-Socialist Law, made the Social-Democratic Party of Germany illegal, banned all party and mass workers' organisations, and the socialist and workers' press; on the basis of this law socialist literature was confiscated and Social-Democrats subjected to reprisals. However, during its operation the Social-Democratic Party, assisted by Marx and Engels, uprooted both opportunist and "ultra-Left" elements and managed to substantially strengthen and widen its influence among the people by skilfully combining illegal and legal methods of work. Under pressure from the mass workers' movement, the Anti-Socialist Law was abrogated on October 1, 1890. For Engels' assessment of the law, see his article "Bismarck and the German Working Men's Party" (this volume, pp. 407-09). p. 240

290 Bebel is probably referring to the official despatch "Die Frevelthat vom 2. Juni" carried by the special issue of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung*, No. 126, June 4, 1878, with the note: "with some corrections". p. 241

291 At the sitting of September 13, 1878 the Navy Minister Albrecht von Stosch promised to promote the publication of the materials pertaining to the sinking of the battleship *Großer Kurfürst* (see Note 269) on which the Reichstag was insisting (see *Begründung, Beantwortung und Besprechung der Interpellation des Abgeordneten Mosle, betreffend den Zusammenstoß der Panzerschichte "König Wilhelm" und "Großer Kurfürst"*). p. 242

292 The *Ultramontanes*—representatives of a religious and political trend in Catholicism, advocates of the right of the Pope to interfere into the domestic affairs of any state.

In this case, by the Ultramontane party Marx means the so-called *Party of the Centre*, a political party of German Catholics formed in 1870-71, which mirrored the separatist tendencies prevailing among the higher clergy, landowners and bourgeoisie in Western and South-Western Germany. The party had a certain influence among the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and workers and was in opposition to the Bismarck government, which was waging a vigorous campaign against it (see Note 27). p. 243

293 Eulenburg is referring to his speech in the Reichstag on May 23, 1878 during the debate of the Anti-Socialist Law submitted for consideration after Hödel's assassination attempt on May 11, 1878 (see Note 268). On May 24 the Reichstag rejected the Bill by 251 votes against 57 (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1878, p. 1511). p. 243

294 Hödel was executed on August 16, 1878. Nobiling died on September 10, 1878, as a result of an attempt to shoot himself in the head after the assassination attempt on William I's life (see Note 268). p. 243

295 See Note 65. p. 244

296 Marx probably made this remark on the basis of what Wilhelm Bracke said about the series of essays in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* in his speech of September 17, 1878, during the debate of the Anti-Socialist Law in the Reichstag (see *Stenographische Berichte...*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1878, p. 83). p. 245

297 Vera Zasulich made an assassination attempt on St. Petersburg's Governor Trepov on January 24 (February 5), 1878, who had ordered the arrested revolutionary Bogolyubov to be lashed; the gendarme chief Mezentsov was murdered by Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky on August 4 (16) of the same year.

Vera Zasulich was acquitted by the jury. Her trial in St. Petersburg provoked a lively response in the European press. p. 245

298 The congress of the anarchist Jura Federation was held on August 3-5, 1878 in Fribourg (Switzerland). Its resolution was printed by *L'Avant-Garde*, No. 33, August 26, 1878, p. 2.

The *Jura Federation*, an anarchist organisation in Switzerland which was founded at a congress in Sonvillier (1871), united a number of small sections of the First International. It played the role of the international ideological and organisational centre of the anarchist movement and was led by members of the Bakuninist secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy, James Guillaume and Adhémar Schwitzguébel. In 1873 the Jura Federation was expelled from the International for its refusal to adhere to the decisions of the Hague Congress of the International (1872). The *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* was, in fact, the anarchists' central theoretical organ. The Federation ceased to exist in 1878. p. 246

299 Marx and Engels exposed the activities of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see notes 30 and 38) in their work *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* (written in collaboration with Paul Lafargue) (see present edition, Vol. 23). It was published as a pamphlet in French (*L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste et l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, London, Hamburg, 1873) and in the German translation (*Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association*, Brunswick, 1874).

By the attempts on the members of the "Marxian tendency", Marx is referring to assaults on Nikolai Utin in Zurich on June 18, 1872, on Francisco Mora in September 1872, on Pablo Iglesias in Madrid on November 12, 1872, and on Anselmo Lorenzo in the same year (see present edition, Vol. 23). p. 246

300 The *Puritans* and *Levellers*—two political groups at the time of the English Revolution of the 17th century. The Puritans expressed the interests of the Calvinist Protestants; from the first half of the 17th century their movement was a political opposition to absolutism, the ideological banner of the Revolution. The complexity of the Puritans' social and political composition and religious convictions (by the early 17th century, two main trends, the Presbyterians and the Independents, were already clearly discernible) inevitably led to a sharp controversy within the "Puritan" parliamentary faction in the course of the Revolution. In 1645-47 a split took place among the Independents, as a result of which their Left wing, the *Levellers*, parted company with them. The Levellers were representatives of a radical democratic trend. They wanted to transform England into a republic with a one-House Parliament elected by universal suffrage, to remove all inequalities and introduce other democratic reforms. Attempting to get their programme accepted as the basis of the republican system, the Levellers instigated army mutinies in May and September 1649 but were defeated; after that, the movement declined.

The *Hébertistes*, at the time of the French Revolution, a political group in the Left Jacobin camp which was named after Jacques Renè Hébert, one of its leaders, and took its final shape in the winter of 1793-94. The trend conveyed the social discontent of small working men, demanded that the maximum be strictly observed and that profiteering and sabotage be ruthlessly combated. In March 1794, the Hébertistes threatened to rise against the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety but failed to gain the support of the revolutionary sections. On

March 14, 1794, most of their leaders and activists were arrested and guillotined. p. 247

301 The *National Association* (Deutscher National-Verein) (September 15, 1859 to October 19, 1867) was a party of the German liberal bourgeoisie which advocated the unification of Germany (without Austria) in a strong centralised state under the aegis of the Prussian monarchy. Its inaugural congress was held in Frankfurt in September 1859. p. 248

302 The reference is to the American Civil War (1861-65) and the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century. p. 248

303 This passage from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* reads: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions" (see present edition, Vol. 6, p. 519). The *Manifesto* was published in February 1848 on behalf of the Communist League, whose first congress took place in June 1847 (see notes 220 and 590). p. 249

304 Eulenburg is referring to Bebel's statement in his speech of September 16 that at one time the "socially dangerous" aspirations of Social-Democracy were extensively supported by the Prussian government with a view to counteracting the opposition of the bourgeoisie. p. 250

305 At the 1871 elections to the Reichstag, Social-Democrats received 124,655 votes (3.2 per cent) and two mandates in the Reichstag; in 1874—351,952 votes (6.8 per cent) and ten mandates, one of which was lost as a result of supplementary elections; in 1877—493,288 (9.1 per cent) and 13 mandates, one of which was lost in supplementary elections; and in 1878—437,158 votes (7.6 per cent) and nine mandates. p. 250

306 This article was the last one in the series of articles sent by Engels to *La Plebe*. It appeared there on March 30, 1879 (No. 12), in the section "Nostra corrispondenza. Da Londra" without a title and was signed by Engels' name. It was prefaced by a short editorial introduction: "We have received a report from London from our outstanding friend F. Engels, one of the most prominent and illustrious leaders of international socialism.

"This report deserves particular attention thanks to the appreciation by Engels of the present situation in Germany and Russia. Therefore we find it useful to acquaint our readers with it too.

"We give almost the whole translation of this report." p. 251

307 The reference is to the supplementary elections to the Reichstag which were held in the Western electoral district of Breslau on February 5, 1879 because of the death of its deputy Heinrich Bürgers. The elections, which took place after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist. Law (see Note 289), demonstrated the strength and unity of the working class. The workers nominated their own candidate Julius Kräcker, who received 7,544 votes, which, however, were not enough to get elected. (Engels wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on March 1, 1879: "The election in Breslau has made a splendid impression here too." See present edition, Vol. 45.) At the supplementary elections of February 27 in the Saxonian electoral district of Waldheim-Debeln, the Social-Democratic candidate won 4,322 votes. p. 251

308 When "going into the thick of the people" in 1873-75 failed (see Note 49), the Narodniks who had managed to escape arrest set up a new organisation in

St. Petersburg in 1876, which in 1878 came to be known as *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Freedom). In their practical work, its members founded permanent "settlements" of revolutionaries in the countryside for the purpose of establishing close contacts with the peasantry and preparing a popular revolution. As the rest of the Narodniks, they believed that Russia's development could follow a non-capitalist social and economic path; its basis was to be the village commune. Regarding the peasantry as the main revolutionary force, members of Land and Freedom also conducted propaganda among workers, students and soldiers. Their achievement was the formation of a strong, battleworthy revolutionary organisation. Proceeding from the inevitability of a "forceful overthrow", they placed primary importance with "agitation through action" (strikes, mutinies, demonstrations). They considered terrorism acceptable only as a means of self-protection and taking vengeance on the government. Engels is referring specifically to the actions of Vera Zasulich and Sergei Stepnyak-Kravchinsky (see Note 297). p. 252

309 The reference is to the decisions of the Berlin international congress which revised the terms of the San Stefano Peace Treaty (see Note 266). In accordance with these decisions, the territory of self-governing Bulgaria envisaged by the San Stefano Treaty was cut by over a half, and an autonomous province, Eastern Roumelia, was formed out of Bulgarian regions to the south of the Balkans that was to remain under the Turkish rule; the territory of Montenegro was also substantially curtailed. The Treaty of Berlin confirmed that part of Bessarabia, which Russia had lost in 1856, was to be returned to her, but it also authorised the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The Russian government was forced to submit the San Stefano Treaty for revision to the international congress under pressure from Britain, which had seized Cyprus on the eve of the congress.

The Treaty of Berlin was signed by representatives of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey. p. 252

310 After the Anti-Socialist Law came into force in October 1878 (see Note 289), the publication of the Party's central organ, *Vorwärts*, as well as of other Party newspapers, was banned in Germany. In July-September 1879, when preparing to start the publication, in Zurich,of a new central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany, the newspaper *Der Sozialdemokrat*, lively negotiations (mostly through correspondence), concerning the newspaper's political line and the composition of its editorial board, were under way between Leipzig (see Note 316), Zurich (see Note 315), Paris (Karl Hirsch) and London (Marx and Engels).

The draft of this letter was written by Engels after September 11 (see Engels' letter to Marx of September 11, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45) as a reply to August Bebel's letter of August 20, and on September 17-18, when Marx returned to London (see Note 311), it was discussed by them and given its final shape. This document, which has come down into history as the "Circular Letter", is one of the principal statements of Marx and Engels against Right-wing opportunism. In a letter to Sorge of September 19, 1879, Marx called it a circular letter intended "just for *private circulation* among the German leaders" (see present edition, Vol. 45).

In English, the letter was first published in the magazine *International Press Correspondence*, No. 39, Berlin, 1931, pp. 737-38 (an excerpt), and practically in full in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Correspondence 1846-1895*, Lawrence, London, 1934, pp. 362-77. The italics in the letters of third persons to each other and to Marx and Engels are Engels'. p. 253

311 Between August 8 and 20, Marx stayed on the Isle of Jersey, and between August 21 and September 17, 1879, he visited his eldest daughter Jenny in Ramsgate. p. 253

312 A reference to the programme article "Rückblicke auf die sozialistische Bewegung in Deutschland" written by Karl Höchberg (pen-name Ludwig Richter), Eduard Bernstein, and Karl August Schramm and printed anonymously in the *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik* (Jg. 1, 1. Hälfte, Zurich-Oberstrass, 1879) published by Höchberg in Zurich. This issue was received by Engels on August 28, 1879 immediately upon his return from Eastbourne.

On September 13 Höchberg visited Engels in London (on Engels' assessment of the authors' stand, see Note 315). p. 253

313 Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of August 20, 1879 has not been found (for its content, see Engels' letter to Marx of August 20, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45). Bebel wrote to Engels on the same day (August 20) and could not, of course, see this letter. p. 253

314 Liebknecht's letter of July 28, 1879 was in fact received by Hirsch, which is borne out by his letter to Marx of August 2, 1879. p. 253

315 The *supervisory committee* or the *Zurichers*—Eduard Bernstein, Karl Höchberg and Karl August Schramm. On September 15, 1879 Engels wrote to Johann Philipp Becker concerning the stand of this committee: "The Zurich editorial committee which, under the general management of the Leipzigers, is to supervise and censor the paper, consists of Höchberg, Schramm and Bernstein ... all three are revealed to be common or garden bourgeois and pacific philanthropists" (see present edition, Vol. 45). p. 254

316 The *Leipzig controlling committee* or the *Leipzigers*—August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Louis Viereck to whom Engels is referring, drawing on Hirsch's information. In actual fact the Leipzig editorial committee originally comprised August Bebel, Wilhelm Fritzsche and Wilhelm Liebknecht, who were later joined by Karl Grillenberger and Ignaz Auer, who did not reside in Leipzig. p. 254

317 On May 17, 1879 the Social-Democratic Deputy Max Kayser made a speech in the Reichstag in support of the government's project for protective customs tarriffs. Marx and Engels sharply condemned Kayser, who supported the proposal introduced in favour of the big industrialists and landowners to the detriment of the masses, as well as the licence given to Kayser by some of the German Social-Democratic leaders (see letters: Engels to Marx of August 20, Marx to Engels of September 10, Marx to Sorge of September 19, and Engels to Bebel of November 14 and 24, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45).

Hirsch sharply criticised Kayser's speech in his articles "Die Zolldebatte", "Aus Breslau schreibt man der *Laterne*", and "Zur Kaiser'schen Rede und Abstimmung", which appeared in *Die Laterne*, a weekly published by Hirsch (Nos. 21 and 23, May 25 and June 8, 1879). p. 258

318 Hirsch and Höchberg met in Paris on August 15 and 16, 1879. p. 258

319 Engels is referring here to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 123), which he ironically calls "the local association, *Freiheit*". The newspaper *Die Freiheit* was published at the time by Johann Most on the instruction and with the means of the Society. p. 258

320 Hirsch received this information from Höchberg when they met in Paris (see Note 318) and conveyed it to Engels in a letter of August 23, 1879. p. 259

321 See Note 289. p. 260

322 Bismarck's plan to introduce state management of all the German railways (see this volume, pp. 277-79) was discussed at the congress of the German Social-Democrats in Gotha in August 1876. The congress voted for the transfer of the privately owned railways to the state but noted also that the concentration of the railways in the hands of the Imperial government would promote the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the militarists (see *Protokoll des Socialisten-Congresses zu Gotha vom 19. bis 23. August 1876*, Berlin, 1876, p. 89). p. 261

323 The reference is to the barricade fighting in Berlin on March 18, which marked the beginning of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. p. 265

324 An ironical reference to Johann Miquel, a former member of the Communist League and subsequently a leader of the National Liberals' right wing, who was founder and member of various joint-stock companies.

On "the crash of 1873" that followed the period of "prosperity" in Germany, see Note 84. p. 266

325 The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law passed by the German Reichstag in October 1878 (see Note 289). p. 266

326 See Note 316. p. 269

327 Marx and Engels wrote this item at the request of Maltman Barry, a British journalist, formerly a member of the General Council of the First International. Barry intended to publicly expose Karl Blind, a former democrat, a National Liberal from the 1860s, who printed an article "Prince Napoleon and European Democracy" in *Fraser's Magazine* (Vol. 20, London, 1879, pp. 504-21).

Marx made several additions to the extant manuscript, which was written mostly by Engels.

It was published in English for the first time in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. 1, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 186-87. p. 270

328 Throughout his London emigration, Karl Blind contributed to a number of newspapers: *Hermann* (London), *The North British Daily Mail* (Glasgow), *The Morning Star* (London), *The Daily News* (London), and *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London). For an assessment of his activity, see Marx's letter to Liebknecht of April 6, 1871 (present edition, Vol. 43). p. 270

329 The reference is to the provisional government headed by the petty-bourgeois democrat Brentano, which was formed in Baden in the spring of 1849 during the uprising in Southern and Western Germany in defence of the Imperial Constitution (see Note 139). p. 270

330 See Note 190. p. 270

331 Having suppressed the bourgeois revolution in Italy (1848-49), the French troops, sent to the Papal States in 1849 for the restoration of the Pope's secular power, continued to occupy Rome up to 1870. For this reason, at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War the Italian government rejected the proposal to conclude an alliance against Prussia, and on September 20, 1870 incorporated Rome into the Kingdom of Italy. The Pope's secular power ceased to exist. p. 271

332 This work was written for the French socialist newspaper *L'Égalité* in late

February 1880. When working on it, Engels used facts found in Rudolph Meyer's *Politische Gründer und die Corruption in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1877 (see Engels' letter to August Bebel of November 24, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45). p. 272

[333] See Note 289. p. 272

[334] In 1862, when the German working-class movement was livening up, Lassalle began a propaganda campaign with a view to establishing a political organisation of the German proletariat. Its outcome was the founding of the *General Association of German Workers* (Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein) at the congress of workers' associations held in Leipzig on May 23, 1863. The formation of the Association was an important step in the development of an independent nation-wide workers' movement in Germany and helped emancipate the workers from the ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie. However, the Association had a sectarian character and was guided in its work by Lassalle's somewhat outdated and utopian ideas.

When the International Working Men's Association (the First International) was formed, the sectarian, nationalistic line of the General Association's Lassallean leadership began to hinder the involvement of German workers in the international proletarian organisation. As the ideas of Marxism and the experience of the class struggle spread among them, the authority of the Lassallean doctrines was undermined, and the Association began to draw closer to the other trend in German Social-Democracy, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the Eisenachers) founded in 1869 and headed by Bebel and Liebknecht. At the congress held in Gotha in May 1875 the General Association of German Workers and the Social-Democratic Workers' Party united into a single organisation, the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany. p. 273

[335] An allusion to the reparations received by Germany as a result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 (see Note 144). p. 273

[336] The *Crédit mobilier* (Société générale du Crédit mobilier)—a French joint-stock bank founded in 1852 by the Péreire brothers. Closely connected with and protected by the government of Napoleon III, it engaged in large-scale speculation. The bank was involved, in particular, in the railway-building business. It went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871. p. 273

[337] The campaign for the introduction of protectionist laws unfolded in Germany at the outset of the 1873 crisis (see Note 84). On February 15, 1876 a number of protectionist unions formed a single organisation, *Centralverband Deutscher Industrieller zur Beförderung und Wahrung nationaler Arbeit*. In 1876, during the agrarian crisis, big landowners, Prussian Junkers above all, joined the campaign. In October 1877 the industrial and agrarian advocates of the reform concluded an agreement. In March 1878 a non-partisan *Freie wirtschaftliche Vereinigung* was formed, which 204 deputies joined at the very first session of the Reichstag in September-October 1878. In December of that year, Bismarck submitted his preliminary draft of the customs reform to a specially appointed commission. On July 12, 1879 the final draft was approved by the Reichstag, and came into force on July 15. The new customs tariff provided for a substantial increase in import taxes on iron, machinery and textiles, as well as on grain, cattle, lard, flax, timber, etc. p. 274

[338] The *Discount Society* (Discontogesellschaft)—a discount bank founded in 1851 by David Hansemann in Berlin which later served as the model for this type of

establishment. In the 1870s, it mostly engaged in speculation in railway shares. p. 277

339 The *Imperial Railways Office* (Reichseisenbahnamt) was founded on June 27, 1873 and began to function on September 19 of that year. Its first director, Alfred Scheele, was involved in all speculations of the Discount Society (see Note 338), having a seat on its Board of Directors. p. 278

340 See Note 141. p. 278

341 The reference is to the *Prussian Maritime Trading Company* (Preussische Seehandlungsgesellschaft), a trade and credit society founded in 1772 and enjoying a number of important state privileges. It granted large credits to the government and from 1820 in fact acted as its banker and broker. In 1904 it was made the official Prussian State Bank. p. 278

342 A paraphrase of the following passage from the "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written by Marx between July 19 and 23, 1870: "After her victory did Prussia dream one moment of opposing a free Germany to an enslaved France? Just the contrary. While carefully preserving all the native beauties of her old system, she superadded all the tricks of the Second Empire, its real despotism and its mock democratism, its political shams and its financial jobs, its high-flown talk and its low *légerdemains*. The Bonapartist regime, which till then only flourished on one side of the Rhine, had now got its counterfeit on the other. From such a state of things, what else could result but *war*?" (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 5-6). p. 280

343 In 1880, at Paul Lafargue's request, Engels rewrote three chapters of *Anti-Dühring*—Chapter I of the Introduction and chapters I and II of Part III (see present edition, Vol. 25)—into a separate popular work first printed in three issues of the French journal *La Revue socialiste*, in March-May 1880, and then, in the same year, as a separate pamphlet entitled *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*. Working on it, Engels made a number of additions and changes in the text. The translation into French was done by Paul Lafargue. A major impetus to the international currency of the work was the publication, in 1882, of the first authorised German edition entitled *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* in which Engels also made some additions. Already in Engels' lifetime, the work was translated into many European languages and gained wide currency among the workers, thus effectively promoting the dissemination of Marxist ideas. The translations were made from the French pamphlet and, mostly, from the German edition.

The fourth authorised German edition of the work appeared in Berlin in 1891. Engels made a number of additions in it, which he did not include in the last edition of *Anti-Dühring* published in his lifetime, in 1894 (see these additions in the present edition, Vol. 25, pp. 630-42).

In the publication of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* a significant place attaches to the authorised English translation, made by Edward Aveling from the fourth German edition of 1891, which appeared in London in 1892. Engels called the first English-language publication in *The People*, a socialist New York newspaper (August-October 1891), a "pirated" edition with its miserable English (see Engels' letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, October 24, 1891, present edition, Vol. 49).

In the present edition, the work is reproduced from the authorised English edition of 1892 checked against the French edition of 1880 and the German edition of 1891. The English translation is practically identical to the text of the fourth German edition; the more or less significant discrepancies are indicated in footnotes. p. 281

344 See Note 289. p. 286

345 According to Rousseau's theory, originally people lived in the natural state of equality. The emergence of private property led to property and political inequality which was consolidated by the appearance of the state. In the future only the state based on the people's voluntary accord was supposed to be capable of securing the citizens' political and economic equality (the *Contrat social* of Rousseau).

This theory is developed in Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes,* Amsterdam, 1755, and *Du contrat social; ou, Principes du droit politique,* Amsterdam, 1762. p. 286

346 The *Reformation* (16th century)—a broad socio-political and ideological anti-feudal movement of complex social content and composition. It assumed a religious form of struggle against the Catholic doctrine and Church and spread over most of Western and Central Europe. Its climax was the Peasant War in Germany in 1524-25.

The *Anabaptists* (rebaptisers) belonged to one of the most radical and democratic religious-philosophical trends spread in Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands during the Reformation. Members of this sect were so called because they repudiated infant baptism and demanded a second, adult baptism. p. 287

347 Engels is referring to the "true Levellers" or "Diggers", who broke away from the democratic republican Levellers' movement during the English bourgeois revolution of the mid-17th century. Representing the poorest sections of the population suffering from feudal and capitalist exploitation in town and countryside, the Diggers, in contrast to the rest of the Levellers, who defended private property, carried on propaganda for community of property and other ideas of egalitarian communism, attempting to establish common ownership of the land through collective ploughing of communal waste land. p. 287

348 Engels has in mind, above all, Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1623). p. 287

349 The *Reign of Terror,* the period from May 31, 1793 to July 26, 1794, was one of the Jacobin revolutionary democratic dictatorship in France, when the Jacobins used revolutionary terror in response to the counter-revolutionary terror of the Girondists and the Royalists.

The *Directorate* or *Directory* (consisting of five directors of whom one was re-elected every year) was the leading executive body in France set up under the 1795 Constitution, adopted after the fall of the Jacobin revolutionary dictatorship in the summer of 1794. It governed France until Bonaparte's coup d'état of 1799 and expressed the interests of the big bourgeoisie. p. 288

350 The reference is to the motto of the French Revolution *"Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité".* p. 289

351 Saint-Simon's first work, *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains,* was written in Geneva in 1802 and published anonymously in Paris in 1803, without specifying the place and date of publication. Engels made use of: G. Hubbard, *Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux. Suivi de fragments des plus célèbres écrits de*

Saint-Simon, Paris, 1857. This edition contains inaccuracies in dating some of Saint-Simon's works.

Fourier's first major work was *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* written in the first years of the 19th century and anonymously published in Lyons in 1808 (Leipzig was indicated on the title page as the place of publication, probably for reasons of censorship).

New Lanark—a cotton mill near the Scottish town of Lanark; it was built in 1784 together with a small settlement. p. 289

[352] Saint-Simon's idea that the purpose of society ought to be to improve the "lot of the class that is the most numerous and the most poor" is conveyed most distinctly in his last work, *Nouveau christianisme,* which first appeared anonymously in Paris in 1825. p. 291

[353] A reference to the *Correspondance politique et philosophique. Lettres de H. Saint-Simon à un Américain.* The letters were published in the collection: H. Saint-Simon, *L'industrie, ou Discussions politiques, morales et philosophiques, dans l'intérêt de tous les hommes livrés à des travaux utiles et indépendans,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1817. In Hubbard's edition (see Note 351), this passage is to be found on pp. 155-57. p. 292

[354] The allied armies of the sixth anti-French coalition (Russia, Austria, Britain, Prussia, and others) entered Paris on March 31, 1814. Napoleon's empire fell, and he was forced to abdicate and was exiled to the Island of Elba. The first restoration of the Bourbon monarchy took place in France.

The *Hundred Days*—the period of the short-lived restoration of Napoleon's empire, which lasted from the day of his arrival in Paris from Elba on March 20, 1815 to his second deposition on June 22 following his defeat at Waterloo (see Note 356). p. 292

[355] The reference is to the following two works written by Saint-Simon with his follower Augustin Thierry: *De la réorganisation de la société européenne, ou de la nécessité et des moyens de rassembler les peuples de l'Europe en un seul corps politique, en conservant à chacun son indépendance nationale,* Paris, 1814, and *Opinion sur les mesures à prendre contre la coalition de 1815,* Paris, 1815. In Hubbard's edition (see Note 351), passages from the first work are to be found on pp. 149-54, and the content of both works is set forth on pp. 68-76. p. 292

[356] On June 18, 1815 at Waterloo (Belgium), Napoleon's army was defeated by the Anglo-Dutch troops commanded by Wellington and the Prussian army commanded by Blücher. p. 292

[357] Charles Fourier wrote in his *Théorie des quatre mouvements*: "Social advances and changes of periods are brought about by virtue of the progress of women towards liberty, and the decadences of the social order are brought about by virtue of the decrease of liberty of women." And further: "The extension of the privileges of women is the general principle of all social progress" (Fourier, *Oeuvres complètes,* Vol. I, Paris, 1841, pp. 195-96). p. 293

[358] Robert Owen, *The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race; or, the Coming Change from Irrationality to Rationality,* London, 1849. The facts from Owen's biography were borrowed from the same source. p. 295

[359] In January 1815, at a public meeting in Glasgow, Owen proposed a number of measures to improve the conditions of children and adults employed at

factories. The Bill tabled on Owen's initiative in June 1815 was passed by Parliament only in July 1819, and only with reference to child labour. It forbade the employment of children under nine years of age in cotton spinning and weaving mills and also night work of children under sixteen; for this category the working day was limited to twelve hours, not counting breaks for meals; since these were arranged by mill-owners as they thought fit, the working day often lasted fourteen hours or more. p. 296

[360] In October 1833 a congress of co-operative societies and trade unions was held in London with Owen in the chair, at which the *Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union of Great Britain and Ireland* was formally established; its Charter was adopted in February 1834. According to Owen's idea, the Union was to take over the management of production, organise it along co-operative lines, and accomplish a complete transformation of society by peaceful means. Having met with strong resistance from the state and industrialists, the Union ceased to exist in August 1834. p. 296

[361] The reference is to the *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars* which were founded by workers' co-operative societies in various English towns and cities; the first of these bazaars set up by Robert Owen in London on September 3, 1832 existed until mid-1834. p. 296

[362] Proudhon's idea of organising a bank of exchange was first expounded in his *Organisation du Crédit et de la Circulation et Solution du problème social* which appeared in early April 1848, and was developed in detail in his later works. Proudhon's main idea was to replace gold and silver, as means of circulation, with bank-notes which were, in fact, impersonal bills. These notes were secured by products of labour which, as Proudhon believed, made them drastically different from the paper money issued by banks and secured by precious metals, landed estates, etc.

An attempt to carry through this project was the foundation, on January 31, 1849, of the Banque du peuple (People's Bank), which, however, went bankrupt and was closed down in early April 1849. p. 297

[363] *Le neveu de Rameau* was written by Denis Diderot around 1762 and later revised twice by him. It was first published, in Goethe's German translation, in Leipzig in 1805. The French original was published in *Oeuvres inédites de Diderot,* Vol. 2, Paris, 1821, which was actually put out in 1823. p. 298

[364] The *Alexandrian period* (Alexandrian culture, Alexandrian age) derives its name from the Egyptian city of Alexandria, a major centre of Hellenic culture. Alexandria, to which thousands of Greeks moved in the 3rd century B.C., saw the flourishing of mathematics, mechanics (Euclid and Archimedes), geography, astronomy, physiology and other sciences. p. 299

[365] Kant's nebular hypothesis, according to which the solar system was originally formed out of a rotating nebulous mass, is expounded in his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels, oder Versuch von der Verfassung und dem mechanischen Ursprunge des ganzen Weltgebäudes nach Newtonischen Grundsätzen abgehandelt,* Königsberg and Leipzig, 1755. The book was published anonymously.

Laplace's hypothesis of the origin of the solar system was set out for the first time in the last chapter of his treatise *Exposition du système du monde,* Vols. I-II, Paris, 4th year of the French Republic [1796]. In the sixth edition of this book (1835), the last one prepared in Laplace's lifetime and published after his death, the hypothesis is expounded in Note VII to the work.

The existence in space of incandescent masses of gas similar to the original nebulous mass, which was postulated by the Kant-Laplace nebular hypothesis, was proved in 1864 by the English astronomer William Huggins, who made an extensive use of spectral analysis introduced in 1859 by Gustav Kirchhoff and Robert Bunsen. Here Engels uses the book by P. A. Secchi, *Die Sonne*, Brunswick, 1872, pp. 787, 789-90. p. 302

366 Carl von Linné, the Swedish natural scientist, was opposed to the theory of the historical development of the organic world. He believed that the number of species remained constant and stable since the time of their "creation" (see C. Linnaeus, *Systema naturae*, first edition, 1735). p. 303

367 Engels is referring to the uprising of Lyons weavers in late November 1831, which was brutally suppressed by the government. p. 304

368 The *Chartists*—participants in the first mass political revolutionary movement of the English proletariat in the 1830s-50s, who campaigned for the introduction of the People's Charter (see Note 427). It was the highest stage of the struggle of the working class in the period before the emergence of Marxism. p. 304

369 These wars were waged by the major European states for hegemony in trade with India and America and for colonial markets. Initially, the principal rivals were Britain and the Netherlands, later, Britain and France. Britain emerged victorious, controlling nearly all world trade by the end of the 18th century. p. 313

370 See Note 322. In 1879-82, the bulk of private railways in Prussia were handed over to the state. Later, it continued buying out the railways. p. 318

371 See Note 341. p. 318

372 The figures showing the total wealth of Great Britain and Ireland are cited from Robert Giffen's report, "Recent Accumulations of Capital in the United Kingdom", made at the Statistical Society on January 15, 1878 and printed by the London *Journal of the Statistical Society*, Vol. XLI, Part I, March 1878, pp. 12, 21. p. 323

373 Marx probably wrote this "Note" at the request of *L'Égalité*'s editorial board in late March or early April 1880 as the editorial introduction to his work to be published by the newspaper (it published only the foreword and § 1 of Chapter I).

The Introduction was published in English for the first time in: Marx, Engels, Lenin, *On Scientific Communism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 34. p. 326

374 Marx is referring, above all, to Proudhon's speech in the French National Assembly on July 31, 1848 (see *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée nationale*, Vol. II, Paris, 1849, pp. 770-82). Marx devoted a special article to it entitled "Proudhon's Speech against Thiers" which was published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 66, August 5, 1848 (present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 321-24). p. 327

375 Marx drew up this questionnaire in the first half of April 1880 at the request of Benoît Malon, publisher of *La Revue socialiste*. It was printed on April 20 there anonymously and also appeared as a separate leaflet (25,000 copies),

which was distributed throughout France. That Marx was its author was established from his letter to Sorge of November 5, 1880 (see present edition, Vol. 46). As distinct from Marx's manuscript, in the French edition the items were numbered consecutively and two more questions were added (No. 88: "Describe the action by the members of arbitration boards", and No. 101: "General observations"); besides there were some other additions.

The introduction opening the questionnaire noted that it was the first serious attempt to form an opinion of the condition of the French working class, and called on all urban and agricultural workers, as well as all socialists of France, to take part in it. It said: "We hope to find support for our cause among all the urban and agricultural workers, who understand that they alone can describe the hardships they endure with the full knowledge of the matter; that they alone, and not the saviours sent by Providence, can vigorously apply remedies in the struggle against social evils from which they suffer; we count also on the socialists of all schools who, striving for a social reform, must strive for an *exact* and *definite* knowledge of the conditions under which the working class, the class to which the future belongs, works and begins to move.

"These *instructions of labour* must be the first act which the Social-Democrats must perform in order to prepare a social renovation."

The French edition of the "Questionnaire" was the basis for the Italian (*La Lotta,* Milan, Nos. 1, 2, 8, July 1, 2, 8, 1880), the Polish (*Kwestyjonaryjusz robotniczy,* 1880, supplement to Nos. 10-11 of the *Równość,* July-August 1880), and the Dutch (*Recht voor Allen,* October 30, 1880) translations.

The "Questionnaire" was published in English for the first time as a leaflet, *A Workers' Enquiry. By Karl Marx,* London, Communist Party of Gr. Britain [1926].

In the present edition the "Questionnaire" is printed according to Marx's manuscript written in English and, in part, in French. p. 328

376 The Introduction to the French edition of Engels' *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343) was written by Marx on about May 4-5, 1880. The manuscript contains a postscript in Marx's handwriting: "Dear Lafargue, here is the outcome of my consultations (yesterday evening) with Engels. Tidy up the language, leave the substance intact." The Introduction was initialled P.L. (Paul Lafargue) in the pamphlet.

The French version of the Introduction was used as the basis for the Polish (in: *Przedświt,* No. 6/7, December 1, 1881, and in: Fr. Engels, *Socyjalizm utopijny a naukowy,* Geneva, 1882, pp. III-V) and Russian translations (in: *Sotsialisticheskoye znaniye,* No. 1, Moscow, 1884, pp. 89-92).

In the present edition the Introduction is printed according to Marx's manuscript checked against the 1880 edition. The main discrepancies are pointed out in the footnotes. p. 335

377 A reference to the *Communist Correspondence Committee* formed by Marx and Engels at the beginning of 1846 in Brussels. Its aim was to prepare the ground for the creation of an international proletarian party. The Committee had no strictly defined composition. Besides the Belgian communist Philippe Gigot, Joseph Weydemeyer, Wilhelm Wolff, Edgar von Westphalen and others were its members at various times. As a rule, the Committee discussed problems of communist propaganda, corresponded with the leaders of existing proletarian organisations: the League of the Just (see Note 378) and the Chartists (see Note 368), tried to draw Proudhon, Cabet and other socialists into its work, and issued lithographed circulars. On the initiative of Marx and Engels,

correspondence committees and groups connected with the Brussels Committee were set up in Silesia, Westphalia and the Rhine Province, Paris and London. These committees played an important role in the development of international proletarian contacts and the organisation of the Communist League in 1847. p. 335

378 The *League of the Just*, the first political organisation of German workers and artisans, was formed between 1836 and 1838 as a result of a split in the Outlaws' League, which consisted of artisans led by petty-bourgeois democrats. Besides Germans, the League of the Just included workers of other nationalities. The views of its members showed the influence of various utopian socialist ideas, primarily those of Wilhelm Weitling. p. 336

379 Prominent members of the League of the Just (see Note 378): typesetter Karl Schapper, watchmaker Joseph Moll and others, were connected with the Blanquist secret *Société des Saisons*, which organised the Paris uprising of May 12-13, 1839 (see Note 32). Schapper and Moll took part in the uprising, were prosecuted by the French authorities and compelled to leave for England, where they headed local branches of the League. p. 336

380 See Note 220. p. 336

381 The *Democratic Association* (Association démocratique) was founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847 and united proletarian revolutionaries, mainly German emigrants, and advanced bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats. On November 15, 1847, Marx was elected its Vice-President (the President was Lucien Jottrand, a Belgian democrat), and under his influence it became a centre of the international democratic movement. p. 336

382 The events of this period are described in Engels' *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution* (see present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 147-239). p. 336

383 After the socialist congress held in Marseilles in October 1879 set up the French Workers' Party (Parti Ouvrier Français), a group of French socialists headed by Jules Guesde addressed Marx and Engels, through Paul Lafargue, requesting them to help to draft an electoral programme of the French Workers' Party. Its preamble was formulated by Marx who dictated it to Guesde. Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein about it on October 25, 1881: "A masterpiece of cogent reasoning, calculated to explain things to the masses in a few words" (see present edition, Vol. 46). Marx and Engels also took part in drawing up the practical section of the programme (the minimum programme; see Note 384).

The programme was first published in *Le Précurseur*, No. 25, June 19, 1880; however, Malon adulterated some of its tenets and "introduced sundry changes for the worse", Engels wrote to Eduard Bernstein on October 20, 1882 (see present edition, Vol. 46). The preamble in *L'Égalité*, No. 24, June 30, 1880 was probably printed from Guesde's notes. The programme appeared also in *Le Prolétaire*, July 10, 1880, *La Revue socialiste*, No. 10, July 20, 1880, and in a number of other French newspapers.

In 1880, the electoral programme was adopted as "the minimum programme" of the French Workers' Party at the Havre Congress. Its first separate edition appeared in Paris in 1883 under the title *Le Programme du Parti Ouvrier.*

In English, the preamble was published in full for the first time in: Marx, Engels, *The Socialist Revolution*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 252-53. p. 340

384 Further, *L'Égalité* printed the minimum programme:

A. Political Programme

1. Abolition of all laws on the press, meetings and associations, and especially the law against the International Working Men's Association.—Suppression of labour-books, this registration of the working class, and all articles of the code of law which place the workers in an unequal position vis-à-vis the employer.

2. Suppression of the budget for the cults and the return to the nation of "property, movable and immovable, belonging to religious corporations and considered unalienable" (the decree of the Commune of April 2, 1871), including the industrial and commercial enterprises of these corporations.

3. Universal arming of the people.

4. The commune is the master of administration and the police.

B. Economic Programme

1. Weekly day of rest on Mondays, in other words, the issue of a law forbidding the employers to demand that the employees work on Mondays.—Legal reduction of the working day to 8 hours for adults.—A ban on the use of child labour under the age of 14 by private enterprises, and legal reduction of the working day to 6 hours for the ages 14 to 18.

2. The fixing of minimum wage by law determined annually in accordance with the local prices for foodstuffs. [This item was entered into the programme on Guesde's insistence; see Marx's letter to Sorge, November 5, 1880, present edition, Vol. 46.]

3. Equal wages for workers of both sexes.

4. Scientific and technical instruction for all children at the expense of society provided by the state and the commune.

5. Elimination of any interference whatsoever of the employers in the management of the workers' mutual aid societies, insurance funds, etc., restoration of the exclusively workers' management in these matters.

6. The employers' responsibility for accidents guaranteed by their paying a deposit in proportion to the number of employed workers and those dangers that the work at the given enterprise presents.

7. Workers' participation in drawing up special rules for the various workshops.—Abolition of the employers' self-usurped right to impose fines on the workers or detract from their wages (the Commune's decree of April 27, 1871).

8. Revision of all contracts pertaining to the alienation of public property (banks, railways, mines, etc.), and exploitation of all state enterprises by the workers employed there.

9. Abolition of all indirect taxes and the transformation of all direct taxes into a progressive tax on incomes exceeding 3,000 francs and on legacies exceeding 20,000 francs. p. 340

385 This letter of greeting was read out at the meeting held on November 29, 1880 in Geneva to commemorate the Polish uprising of 1830 (see Note 389). The meeting was convened by the editorial board of the Polish magazine *Równość* and attended by nearly 500 socialists of different nationalities: Poles, Russians, Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Italians and Swiss. For Engels' assessment of the magazine's stand, see his letter to Kautsky of February 7, 1882 (present edition, Vol. 46).

The original of the letter is not extant. It was published for the first time in

French in the *Précurseur,* No. 49, December 4, 1880, and in Polish (translation from the French) in *Sprawozdanie z międzynarodowego zebrania zwołanego w 50-letnią rocznicę listopadowego powstania przez redakcyję "Równości" w Genewie,* Geneva, 1881, pp. 30-32. The discrepancies between the texts are indicated in the footnotes.

In English, the letter was published for the first time in the magazine *The Class Struggle,* Vol. 2, No. 5, New York, 1918, pp. 573-75. p. 343

386 On the first partition of Poland, see Note 9.

On the participation of Poles in the American War of Independence, see Note 73. p. 343

387 The reference is to the Polish national liberation uprising of March 12-November 16, 1794 led by Tadeusz Kościuszko. p. 343

388 After the defeat of the 1794 uprising and the third partition of Poland (see Note 11), some of the participants in the uprising emigrated to France. In October 1796, the Polish general Jan Henryk Dąbrowski submitted to the Directory (see Note 349) a plan for the formation of Polish legions which could fight against Austria. In January 1797 two Polish legions were formed within General Bonaparte's army. p. 343

389 This refers to the *Polish national liberation uprising* of November 1830-October 1831. Its participants belonged mostly to the revolutionary gentry, and its leaders to the aristocracy. The uprising was crushed by Russia aided by Prussia and Austria. Lack of support from the peasantry, due to the leaders' refusal to abolish serfdom, contributed to its defeat. p. 343

390 On the Cracow uprising of 1846, see Note 25.

The programme drawn up during the Cracow uprising by Edward Dembowski and expressing the interests of the peasantry and the urban poor demanded that the landless be given land, and that the condition of the working class be drastically improved by establishing national or "social" workshops. p. 344

391 See Note 220. p. 344

392 The public meeting in Brussels of February 22, 1848 was held to mark the second anniversary of the Cracow uprising. Marx and Engels were present and made speeches of greeting (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 545-52). p. 344

393 The reference is to the participation of Polish refugees in the European revolutionary movement of 1848-49. A number of prominent Polish revolutionaries took an active part in the revolutionary events in Hungary (Józef Bem, Henryk Dembiński und Ludwik Wysocki) and in the final stage of the revolution in Germany (Wiktor Heltman, Aleksander Krzyżanowski, Ludwik Mieroslawski). The poet Adam Mickiewicz organised a Polish legion in Italy for the struggle against Austrian oppression. Mierosławski led the struggle of the Sicilian insurgents against the troops of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand Bourbon. A Polish Southern legion was formed on the territory of the Danubian Principalities, which was involved in the liberation struggle of the local population. p. 344

394 See Note 17. p. 344

395 See Note 14. p. 344

[396] See Note 26. p. 344

[397] Dissent on issues of tactics and theory in the Narodnik Land and Freedom (see Note 308) led to its split into two organisations in 1879, People's Will and the Black Redistribution. A major theoretical problem in the Russian revolutionary movement of the time was that of the role of the village commune in the country's political and social transformation. On February 16, 1881, on behalf of her comrades, members of the Black Redistribution who later joined the Marxist Emancipation of Labour group, Vera Zasulich asked Marx to express his opinion on the prospects of Russia's historical development, and particularly the future of the village commune: "You are not unaware that your *Capital* is enjoying great popularity in Russia... But what you probably do not know is the role which your *Capital* plays in our discussions of the agrarian question in Russia and our rural commune. You know better than anyone else how important and urgent this question is in Russia..., especially for our socialist party...

"You will therefore understand, Citizen, to what extent we are interested in your opinion on this question and what great service you will be rendering us by conveying your ideas on the possible future of our rural commune and the theory of the historical inevitability for all countries of the world to pass through all the phases of capitalist production."

Marx wrote four drafts of his reply to Vera Zasulich's letter. Their analysis and comparison with the final version show that he went from a more detailed exposition of his views to a most laconic one. The first three drafts are published in this volume; the fourth, consisting of only two paragraphs, which have been included into the final version posted to Zasulich on March 8, 1881 (see this volume, pp. 370-71), is not reproduced in this edition.

For the first time, Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich and its drafts were published by the Marx-Engels Institute in: *Marx-Engels Archives*, Moscow, 1924 (in Russian translation), and *Marx-Engels-Archiv. Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels-Instituts in Moskau*, Vol. I, Frankfurt am Main [1925] (in the original French). However, due to the complex structure of the manuscript (see Note 298), in these editions some paragraphs were inserted in the wrong place and certain words deciphered incorrectly. The original version of the drafts, in strict accordance with the manuscript, was first published in: *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. I, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 219-42.

The earlier publications in English (in: Marx, Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, pp. 152-61; Marx, Engels, Lenin, *The Way to Socialism Bypassing Capitalism*, Novosti Press, Moscow, 1980, pp. 32-34; *Late Marx and the Russian Road. Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism*, London [1984]) were based on the French text in the first publication in the *Marx-Engels-Archiv*. p. 346

[398] The first and second drafts of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich (see this volume, pp. 346-64) contain many deletions, insertions and marks for transferring passages from one page to another, etc. The first draft, the longest one, has seven large-size sheets filled in on both sides and contains many repetitions. The second draft is shorter and consists of three sheets: it is an attempt at a more concise exposition of the problem. The most significant deletions and indications for the transfer of fragments of the text are given in footnotes. p. 346

[399] An allusion to the following passage from Zasulich's letter to Marx of February 16, 1881: "... the theory of the historical inevitability for all countries

of the world to pass through all the phases of capitalist production" (see Note 397). p. 346

400 Zasulich wrote to Marx on February 16, 1881: "Recently we have often heard the opinion that the rural commune is an archaic form which history, scientific socialism—in a word all that is the most indisputable—condemns to death" (for Marx's interpretation of "the archaic form" of the commune, see this volume, p. 350). p. 349

401 The expression "new pillars of society" (*nouvelles colonnes de la société*) dates back to Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's *Убъжище Монрепо* (The Monreper Asylum), St. Petersburg, 1880, pp. 181, 189. There was a copy of this book in Marx's library containing his numerous marginal notes and markings. p. 349

402 The reference is, in particular, to the conquest of Italy by the Germanic tribe of Ostrogoths in 493 under the leadership of Theodoric. They founded a vast kingdom with Ravenna as the capital, which incorporated Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia and the lands to the north of Italy. p. 350

403 *Artel*—an association of small producers in pre-revolutionary Russia. There were carpenters', fishermen's, masons', wood-cutters', agricultural and other artels. p. 352

404 In 321 B.C. during the second Samnite war the Samnites defeated the Roman legions in the Caudine pass, near the ancient Roman town of Caudium, and compelled them to go under the "forks", which was the greatest shame for the defeated army. Hence the expression "to go under the Caudine Forks", i.e., to undergo extreme humiliation. p. 353

405 In 1237-41 Russian territories were invaded by the Mongols and Tartars who established a harsh rule there in the interests of the Mongol nomadic military-feudal nobility. After 240 years of resistance Russia finally threw off the Mongol yoke in 1480. p. 353

406 *Volost*—an administrative-territorial division in Russia in the 11th-first half of the 20th centuries. Marx wrote the word in Russian in the original. p. 353

407 *Decurions*, at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire, an estate embracing landowners of medium means. They were entrusted with the distribution and collection of taxes and the spending of public money. When entering office, they contributed considerable sums, and were then obliged to spend money for public needs and compensate for arrears when collecting taxes out of their own property. As the taxes in money and in kind rose, the decurions' position deteriorated to such an extent that by the edicts of 316 and 325 they were made to hold their offices for life, while their duties became hereditary and were only cancelled by death or financial ruin. p. 354

408 See Note 398. p. 360

409 The reference is to the general statute on the organisation of cities passed by Catherine II on April 21, 1785. Among other things, it included the regulations concerning the organisation of the trades into guilds and the rights and obligations of the craftsmen and apprentices. p. 361

410 Marx is probably referring to a similar passage from the French edition of his *Capital*, p. 341: "Private property, based on personal labour, this property which welds, so to say, an isolated and autonomous worker to the external

conditions of labour, will be supplanted by capitalist private property, based on the exploitation of the labour of others, on wage labour." p. 361

411 Marx replies to the following passage in Vera Zasulich's letter: "Recently we have often heard the opinion that the rural commune is an archaic form which history, scientific socialism—in a word all that is the most indisputable—condemns to death. The people preaching this call themselves your disciples *par excellence*: 'Marxists'. Their strongest argument is often: 'Marx says so.'

" 'But how do you deduce this from his *Capital*? In it, he does not deal with the agrarian question and does not speak about Russia,' the objection is put to them.

"'He would have said this if he had spoken about our country,' your disciples reply, possibly just a bit too boldly." p. 361

412 Marx is referring, above all, to Pyotr Lavrov, Hermann Lopatin and Nikolai Danielson, with whom he kept in touch for years, as well as Lev Gartman, Nikolai Morozov and others, with whom he became acquainted in 1880-81. p. 361

413 The third draft consists of three single and one double sheet. Marx made a fair copy of the first four pages of the draft (a rough copy of the third and fourth pages is also extant). The last paragraph on p. 4 is crossed out (it is given in the footnote on p. 368 of this volume). The next two paragraphs beginning with "The English themselves attempted" up to the words "amidst a general turmoil in Russian society" are written on the third sheet on which earlier Marx started to write a letter and where the words "3 March 1881. My dear Sir, I shall in...", written in English, are extant. The end of the draft from the words "The familiarity of the Russian peasant" is on p. 1 and the top of p. 2 of the double sheet, with a note in its left corner "II Ende", and contains many deletions.

On the fourth draft, see notes 397 and 414. p. 364

414 The final version of Marx's letter to Vera Zasulich written on March 8, 1881 includes the full text of the fourth draft consisting of only two paragraphs ("A nervous complaint ... my so-called theory" and "Hence the analysis provided in *Capital* ... conditions of spontaneous development"); for this reason, it has not been printed separately in this edition.

Marx's letter to Zasulich was known to many Russian revolutionary Marxists, Georgi Plekhanov among them. p. 370

415 Marx is probably referring to the request to write a work on the Russian rural commune made by the revolutionary Narodnik Nikolai Morozov in December 1880 on behalf of the Executive Committee of the People's Will (see Note 417). p. 370

416 On March 21, 1881 Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian socialists held a meeting in London to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Paris Commune. It was organised by the Russian revolutionary Narodniks Lev Gartman and Hermann Lopatin, with Gartman as the chairman.

Having been invited but unable to attend the meeting, Marx and Engels greeted it with an address to the chairman written in Engels' hand on March 21, 1881.

In English the address was published for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, pp. 271-72. p. 372

417 On March 1, 1881 in pursuance of the sentence passed by the People's

Will Executive Committee, Emperor Alexander II was assassinated in St. Petersburg.

People's Will was a revolutionary Narodnik organisation formed in Russia in August 1879 after the split in the Land and Freedom (see Note 308). Its founders were professional revolutionaries, advocates of political struggle against the autocracy. People's Will was the largest and most important revolutionary organisation of the *raznochintsi* (bourgeois-democratic) period in Russia's emancipation movement. Its activity was at its greatest in the early 1880s. p. 372

418 Using § 28 of the Anti-Socialist Law (see Note 289), on November 28, 1878 Bismarck introduced the so-called minor state of siege in Berlin and its environs. In the spring of 1880 the operation of the Anti-Socialist Law was extended for another five years. p. 372

419 On March 19, 1881 Johann Most's newspaper *Freiheit* (No. 12) carried his article "Endlich!" devoted to the assassination of Alexander II (see Note 417), and a report entitled "England" about the attempt to explode the Lord Mayor's mansion in the London City. These publications were used as a pretext for Most's arrest by the British authorities on March 30; in June he was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment.

While criticising Most's anarchist views and his pseudo-revolutionary phraseology (see Marx's letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge of September 19, 1879, present edition, Vol. 45), Marx and Engels still believed it necessary to rise to his defence. Most's case was used by Bismarck during the debates on socialists in the German Reichstag on March 30 and 31, 1881.

This letter was written in Engels' handwriting and signed by both Marx and Engels when it appeared in *The Daily News.* p. 374

420 "A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work" is the first in the series of articles written by Engels at the request of George Shipton, Secretary of the London Trades Council and editor of *The Labour Standard*, the organ of British trade unions. Engels contributed to it from May to early August 1881. The articles appeared regularly, almost weekly, as unsigned editorials. All in all, eleven articles were written, with the last one, "Social Classes—Necessary and Superfluous", printed on August 6. Engels stopped contributing to the paper because of the growth of opportunist elements in its editorial board (see Engels' letters to Marx of August 11, to George Shipton of August 10, 1881, and to Johann Philipp Becker of February 10, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). p. 376

421 On June 21, 1824, under mass pressure, Parliament repealed the ban on the trade unions by adopting "An Act to repeal the Laws relative to the Combination of Workmen, and for other Purposes therein mentioned" (the reference is to the repeal of "An Act to prevent unlawful Combinations of Workmen 12th July 1799"). However, in 1825 it passed a Bill on workers' combinations ("An Act to repeal the Laws relating to the Combination of Workmen, and to make other Provisions in lieu thereof 6th July 1825") which, while confirming the repeal of the ban on the trade unions, at the same time greatly restricted their activity. In particular, mere agitation for workers to join unions and take part in strikes was regarded as "compulsion" and "violence" and punished as a crime. p. 376

422 The Poor Law adopted in England in 1834 provided for only one form of relief for the able-bodied poor: workhouses with a prison-like regime in which

the workers were engaged in unproductive, monotonous and exhausting labour. The people called the workhouses "Bastilles for the poor". p. 377

423 The *Court of Chancery* or *Court of Equity*—one of the high courts of England which after the judicial reform of 1873 became a division of the High Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the court, presided over by the Lord Chancellor, covered matters concerning inheritance, contractual obligations, joint-stock companies, etc. In a number of cases, the powers of this court overlapped those of other high courts. In counterbalance to the English common law accepted in other courts, the legal proceedings at the Court of Chancery were conducted on the basis of the so-called law of equity. p. 379

424 See Note 422. p. 383

425 The reference is to the *Vienna Congress* of European monarchs and their ministers (September 1814 to June 9, 1815), which set up a system of all-European treaties after the wars of the European powers against Napoleonic France. p. 383

426 Engels is referring to the landlords' discontent with the Land Bill passed by the Gladstone government on August 22, 1881 for the purpose of distracting the Irish peasants from the revolutionary struggle. The Bill restricted the landlords' right to evict tenants from their plots if they paid the rent in time; the rent was fixed for 15 years in advance. Despite the fact that the 1881 Law gave the landlords a chance to sell their lands to the state at a profit, and that the fixed rent remained very high indeed, the English landowners still opposed the Law trying to preserve their unlimited rule in Ireland. Despite the Law, illegal evictions from the land continued, which provoked the resistance of the Irish tenants (see notes 456, 462, 463). p. 384

427 The *People's Charter*, which contained the demands of the Chartists (see Note 368), was published in the form of a Parliamentary Bill on May 8, 1838. It contained six points: universal suffrage (for men of 21 and over), annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for MPs and payment of MPs. Petitions urging the adoption of the People's Charter were turned down by Parliament in 1839, 1842 and 1848. p. 386

428 The reference is to the second Reform Bill approved by Parliament on August 15, 1867 under pressure from the mass working-class movement and direct participation in it of the General Council of the First International. Under the new law, the property qualification for the voters was lowered, and their number doubled; suffrage was granted also to part of skilled workers. The bulk of the working population, however, was still deprived of the right to vote. p. 386

429 Starting from the late 1870s, the British working-class movement gradually freed itself from the influence of the Liberal Party.

The more advanced section of the workers took part in the activities of radical organisations and clubs, and campaigned for Irish self-determination. In 1879 the Midland Social-Democratic Association was set up in Birmingham, and in 1881 the Labour Emancipation League in London. Of great importance was the Democratic Federation founded in London in June 1881 and in 1884 transformed into the Social-Democratic Federation, which openly recognised Marxist principles. p. 387

430 The main question discussed in the House of Commons during the debate on

concluding a commercial treaty with France was the new common customs tariff adopted by the French government on May 8, 1881, which provided for some restrictions on imports in the interest of French industry. Despite the fact that the talks about the new treaty were repeatedly resumed throughout the year, the parties concerned failed to find an acceptable solution. p. 389

431 A. J. Balfour was elected to Parliament from Hertford, in Southeast England. p. 389

432 The *Manchester School*—a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie. Its supporters, known as Free Traders, advocated removal of protective tariffs and non-intervention by the government in economic life. The centre of the Free Traders' agitation was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders were a separate political group, which later formed the Left wing of the Liberal Party. p. 389

433 This refers to the protective tariff tabled in Congress by the Republican Justin Smith Morrill and passed by the Senate on March 2, 1861. It raised customs duties considerably. Later, during the American Civil War and in 1867 and 1869, the tariff was repeatedly revised, and by 1869 it had raised the average size of import duties to 47 per cent. In 1870 and 1872, these duties were lowered to 10 per cent, but this was cancelled in 1875. p. 390

434 The first British colony which was granted the status of a dominion (in 1867) was Canada. p. 390

435 After the abolition of the East India Company in August 1858 India was placed under direct administration of the British Crown. Seeking to protect the national textile industry, the authorities introduced a 5-per cent duty on the English cotton goods imported by India. However, as early as 1879 the Lancashire manufacturers managed to get these duties cancelled, and in 1882 the duties on other goods were also abolished.

The *British East India Company* was founded in 1600. It enjoyed a monopoly of trade with the East Indies and played a decisive part in the establishment of the British colonial empire. p. 390

436 The reference is to the coalition wars of European states against the French Republic (1792-1802) and against Napoleon (1805-15). p. 390

437 In 1814 and 1822 the French authorities introduced high import tariffs on iron, in 1819, on grain, cattle and wool, and in 1826, doubled the tariffs on pig iron and steel. p. 390

438 The economic development of Germany was most adversely affected by her political fragmentation, the absence of universal commercial laws, internal customs barriers, and the multiplicity of currencies and of the weight and measure systems. On May 26, 1818 Prussia alone passed a law on the abolition of internal duties and the introduction of a universal customs tariff. p. 390

439 The *Corn Laws*, the first of which were passed as early as the 15th century, imposed high import duties on agricultural products in order to maintain high prices for these products on the domestic market. The Corn Laws served the interests of the big landowners (see Note 440). p. 390

440 The *Anti-Corn Law League* was founded in 1838 by the Manchester manufacturers and Free Trade leaders Richard Cobden and John Bright. By demanding complete freedom of trade, the League fought for the abolition of the Corn Laws (see Note 439). In this way, it sought to weaken the economic and political position of the landed aristocracy and lower the cost of living, thus making possible a lowering of the workers' wages. After the repeal of the Corn Laws (June 1846), the League ceased to exist. p. 390

441 See Note 337. p. 391

442 See Note 383. p. 394

443 At the municipal elections of January 9, 1881, the French Workers' Party obtained 40,000 votes and won all seats in the Town Council of Commentry. p. 394

444 From September 9, 1879 to June 15, 1881, the deputies to the Reichstag from the Social-Democratic faction were: August Bebel, Wilhelm Bracke, Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche, Wilhelm Hasselmann, Max Kayser, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Klaus Peter Reinders, Julius Vahlteich and Philipp Wiemer. After the death of Bracke and Reinders, their seats were filled by Ignaz Auer and Wilhelm Hasenclever.

At the Wyden Congress held on August 22, 1880, Hasselmann was expelled from the party and, correspondingly, from the Parliamentary group. At the supplementary elections the deputy mandate from Hamburg was received by Georg Wilhelm Hartmann. p. 396

445 The *Boards of Guardians*—local government bodies in England elected to administer the Poor Laws in parishes or districts. p. 396

446 In his letter John Noble quotes Richard Cobden's speeches in the House of Commons made on February 24, 1842 (see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.* Third series, Vol. 60, London, 1842, p. 1045) and February 27, 1846 (ibid., Vol. 84, London, 1846, pp. 285-86), as well as the address of the Anti-Corn Law League adopted by it at the Manchester meeting on August 20, 1842 and printed by *The Times*, No. 18069, August 23, 1842. p. 400

447 Engels was living in Manchester from December 1842 to late August 1844, where he studied commerce at the cotton mill belonging to the Ermen & Engels firm. p. 400

448 Engels describes his participation in the meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League in Salford in 1843 in his "Letters from London (I)" (see present edition, Vol. 3, pp. 381-82).

On the People's Charter, see Note 427. p. 402

449 In 1879, as a result of the merger of the Flemish and the Brabant socialist parties, the Belgian Socialist Party (Parti socialiste belge) was formed.

In 1881, the Social-Democratic groups in the Netherlands formed the Social-Democratic Union (Sociaal-Demokraatische Bond).

In the same year, the politically advanced and class-conscious workers and revolutionary intellectuals formed the Revolutionary-Socialist Party of Romagna (Partito Rivoluzionario di Romagna), which was the first step in the work to found an Italian workers' party. p. 405

450 See Note 285. p. 405

451 The reference is to the second electoral reform in England introduced in 1867 (see Note 428). Under the new law, the property qualification in the counties

was reduced to £12 of annual rent for tenant farmers; in the cities and towns suffrage was granted to all householders and lessees of houses, as well as to tenants residing in the locality for at least a year, and paying no less than £10 in rent. p. 405

452 *St. Stephen's*—the chapel where the House of Commons held its sessions from 1547 and until the fire of 1834. p. 405

453 The *Irish Land Bill* was passed on August 22, 1881 (see Note 426). p. 405

454 See Note 427. p. 406

455 See Note 289. p. 407

456 The introduction of the Land Bill (see Note 426) met with resistance on the part of the Irish tenants. Using the *Coercion Act* passed in March 1881, Chief Secretary for Ireland Forster applied extraordinary measures by sending troops to Ireland to evict the tenants who refused to pay the rent. p. 407

457 The reference is to the elections to the Reichstag of January 10, 1877 and July 30, 1878. p. 408

458 See Note 268. p. 408

459 *Coercion Bills* were passed by the British Parliament several times throughout the 19th century with a view to suppressing the revolutionary and national liberation movement in Ireland. Under them a state of siege was declared on Irish territory, and the English authorities were granted extraordinary powers. p. 408

460 On April 27, 1880 Georg Wilhelm Hartmann won the mandate at the supplementary elections to the Reichstag in the second district of Hamburg (see Note 444). p. 408

461 A minor state of siege was declared in Leipzig on June 27, 1881. Earlier, it had been introduced in Berlin (see Note 418) and on October 28, 1880, in Hamburg-Altona and the environs. p. 408

462 Using the Coercion Act,in May-October 1881 the English authorities arrested prominent Irish deputies, members of the Irish National Land League (see Note 463) headed by Charles Parnell, who opposed the introduction of the Land Bill of 1881 (see Note 426). Among the prisoners was John Dillon, an Irish political leader, member of the British Parliament, one of the League's leaders. p. 408

463 The *Irish National Land League*—a mass organisation founded in 1879 by the petty-bourgeois democrat Michael Davitt. The League united large sections of the Irish peasantry and the urban poor, and was supported by the progressive section of the Irish bourgeoisie. Its agrarian demands mirrored the spontaneous protest of the Irish masses against the landlords' and national oppression. However, some of the League's leaders adopted an inconsistent stand, and this was used by bourgeois nationalists (Parnell and others), who sought to reduce the activity of the League to the campaign for Home Rule, i.e. for the granting to Ireland of limited self-government within the framework of the British Empire. They did not advocate the abolition of English landlordism, a demand advanced by the revolutionary democrats. In 1881 the Land League was banned, but in actual fact it continued its activity until the late 1880s. p. 409

464 On July 20, 1881 Norris A. Clowes, the *New-York Star* correspondent, asked Engels to write a review of the British labour movement. Being pressed for

time, Engels referred him to his articles which *The Labour Standard* was at the time publishing as editorials (see this volume, pp. 376-409, 411-18). In response to Clowes' stated wish to enter into communication with Most, Engels advised him to write to the *Freiheit* editorial board. In this letter to the *Freiheit*, which is printed according to the manuscript, Engels informs the editorial board about this. The letter is written in German and English.

This letter was first published in the original in *MEGA*$_2$, Abt. I, Bd. 25, Berlin, 1985, S. 274. p. 410

465 Norris A. Clowes was recommended to Engels by Theodor Friedrich Cuno, a prominent figure in the German workers' movement, in a letter of July 10, 1881. After the Hague Congress of the First International (1872), Cuno emigrated to the USA and took part in the work of the International there. p. 410

466 An allusion to the fact that at the time Most was kept under arrest (see Note 419). p. 410

467 This refers to the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League (see Note 440). p. 411

468 In 1873-78, England entered the period of "great depression", a profound industrial crisis aggravated by the agrarian crisis, which lasted until the mid-1890s. The year 1874 witnessed a drop in the production of coal and iron ore. In 1875, the output of the cotton industry also decreased. p. 411

469 See Note 422. p. 412

470 The *system of internal excise*—one of the main types of indirect taxes, mostly on everyday essentials (salt, sugar, coffee, matches, etc.), as well as municipal, transport and other widely used services. It is included in the price of goods or service tariff, and is thus shifted onto the consumer. Excise duty is an important source of revenue for the state budget in the capitalist countries.

In the USA each state has its own excise system, covering cigarettes, alcohol and petrol. The first excise on whisky was introduced in the USA on March 3, 1791. p. 414

471 See Note 432. p. 414

472 This refers to the movement for Parliamentary reform in England in 1830-31. The 1832 Reform Act in England granted the franchise to property owners and leaseholders with no less than £10 annual income. The workers and the petty bourgeoisie, who were the main force in the campaign for the reform, remained unenfranchised. p. 416

473 The laws passed by the British Parliament on June 26, 1846—"An Act to amend the laws relating to the importation of corn" and "An Act to alter certain duties of customs"—abolished all restrictions on the import of grain into Great Britain, which was a major victory for the industrial bourgeoisie over the landed aristocracy (see also notes 439 and 440). p. 416

474 Engels wrote this draft in English. Its translation into French was printed in *L'Égalité*, No. 1, December 11, 1881 in the section "Angleterre". The author was named in the editorial preface.

In 1890-91, Paul Lafargue quoted Engels' speech in his article "K. Marx. Persönliche Erinnerungen" (*Die Neue Zeit*, Jg. 9, Bd. 1, Stuttgart, S. 41-42). In 1892, it was translated into Bulgarian from the text in *Die Neue Zeit* and printed in the magazine *Den*, No. 3/4, Shumen, July-August 1892, pp. 233-34. p. 419

475 On January 19, 1843 the Prussian government decided to suppress as of April 1, 1843, the publication of the *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*, which had been appearing in Cologne since January 1, 1842 and which, under the editorship of Marx (from October 1842), had acquired a revolutionary-democratic trend. Marx's resignation from the editorship on March 18, 1843 did not cause the government to rescind its decision, and the last issue appeared on March 31, 1843. p. 419

476 At the elections to the German Reichstag of October 27, 1881 the Social-Democrats received 312,000 votes and 12 mandates. p. 420

477 Engels wrote this obituary "Jenny Marx, Née von Westphalen" for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. It is based on the draft of his speech over Jenny's grave (see this volume, pp. 419-21).

The obituary was printed in issue No. 50 on December 8, 1881. That was Engels' first contribution to *Der Sozialdemokrat*.

On December 18, 1881 the obituary was reprinted by the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* (No. 51, Budapest). p. 422

478 See Note 475. p. 422

479 See Note 476. p. 423

480 Marx and Engels wrote this Preface on January 21, 1882 at the request of Pyotr Lavrov, who was in close contact with them. On January 23, the text was sent to Lavrov (see Marx's letter to Pyotr Lavrov of January 23, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). It was first published, in Russian, in the magazine *Narodnaya Volya* of February 5, 1882. The separate edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (in Plekhanov's translation) with this preface appeared in Geneva in 1882 in the Russian Social-Revolutionary Library series.

In German, the Preface was first published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 16, April 13, 1882 (translated from the Russian text in the *Narodnaya Volya* magazine; see Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of April 17, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). In 1890 Engels retranslated this preface from Russian into German for the new German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. It was this translation by Engels that served as the basis when the Preface was translated into Bulgarian, Polish, Romanian, Dutch, Italian and Czech.

Later, the lost German manuscript of the Preface was found; its facsimile was printed in the Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that appeared in 1948.

The Preface appeared in English for the first time in: K. Marx, *Selected Works* in two volumes, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1936, pp. 135-37. p. 425

481 The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (the translation is ascribed to Mikhail Bakunin or Nikolai Lyubavin) was printed at Chernetsky's printing office in Geneva in 1869, where Herzen's *Kolokol* (The Bell) was printed at that time. The translation contained a number of errors which distorted, at places, the meaning of the *Manifesto*. p. 425

482 After the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881 (see Note 417), Alexander III was staying in Gatchina (the Russian tsars' country residence), fearing that new terrorist acts would be staged by the Executive Committee of the People's Will. p. 426

[483] Engels wrote this article in the second half of April 1882 for *Der Sozialdemokrat.* He regarded it as his first official contribution to the newspaper as a staff member (see Engels' letter to August Bebel, June 21, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46).

The ideas he set forth in the article were further developed in his later works, "The Book of Revelation" (1883) (present edition, Vol. 26), and "On the History of Early Christianity" (1894) (present edition, Vol. 27).

This work appeared in English for the first time in: Marx and Engels, *On Religion,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, pp. 173-82. p. 427

[484] *Aryans*—members of any of the prehistoric peoples who spoke Indo-Iranian. p. 427

[485] Under the Christian tradition, the name of the Roman Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus Magnus, who in 330 transferred the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople, is associated with the radical turn from persecution of Christianity to the protection of the new religion, although this process had begun under his predecessors. p. 428

[486] *Stoic philosophy* (3rd cent. B.C.-A.D. 2nd cent.) emerged in Greece; here the reference is to the late stoic philosophy (A.D. 1st-2nd cent.), which produced Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. The stoic doctrine made a strong impact on the formation of Christianity. p. 429

[487] Engels is referring to a character in Heine's satirical poem *Der Apollogott* (from *Romanzero*), a young blade, cantor at the Amsterdam synagogue, who imitated Apollo. p. 429

[488] The *Epicurean school* of materialist philosophy was founded by Epicurus in the late 4th century B.C. and existed until the mid-4th century A.D. In their philosophical struggle against the Stoics, its members refused to recognise the gods' interference into mundane affairs and proceeded from the assumption that matter, which has an inner source of motion, is eternal. p. 430

[489] Engels is referring to the slave uprising of 73-71 B.C. in Rome (according to some historians, 74-71 B.C.) led by Spartacus. p. 432

[490] An ironical allusion to Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* p. 435

[491] This work was written by Engels in late August-early September 1882. He had promised it to *Der Sozialdemokrat* on August 9 (see Engels' letter to Eduard Bernstein of August 9, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). It was printed in issue No. 37, with Engels' signature, on September 7 under the title "Der Vikar von Bray. Aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels". Two drafts of the translation of the song are extant.

The text of the song with a footnote quoting several lines from Engels' conclusion in *Der Sozialdemokrat,* was also reprinted by the *Vorwärts,* Zurich, 1886, pp. 369-71.

Here is Engels' translation of the English song:

Zu König Karls Zeit, da noch war
Loyalität zu finden,
Dient' ich der Hochkirch ganz und gar,
Und so erwarb ich Pfründen.
Der König ist von Gott gesetzt—
So lehrt' ich meine Schafe—

Und wer ihm trotzt, ihn gar verletzt,
Den trifft die Höllenstrafe.
  Denn dieses gilt, und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Jakob nahm auf dem Throne Platz,
Das Papsttum kam zu Ehren:
Da galt's, die Katholikenhatz
Ins Gegenteil zu kehren.
Für mich auch, fand ich, paßten schon
Roms Kirch' und Priesterorden;
Kam nicht die Revolution,
Wär' ich Jesuit geworden.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als König Wilhelm kam, der Held,
Und rettete die Freiheit,
Hab' ich mein Segel umgestellt
Nach dieses Windes Neuheit.
Der Knechtsgehorsam vor'ger Zeit,
Der war jetzt bald erledigt:
Der Tyrannei gebt Widerstreit!
So wurde nun gepredigt.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als Anna wurde Königin,
Der Landeskirche Glorie,
Das hatte einen andern Sinn,
Und da ward ich ein Tory.
Für unsrer Kirch' Integrität,
Da galt es jetzt zu eifern,
Und Mäßigung und Laxität
Als sündhaft zu begeifern.
  Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
  Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
  Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
  In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Als König Georg bracht' ins Land
Gemäßigte Politik, mein Herr,
Hab' nochmals ich den Rock gewandt,
Und so ward ich ein Whig, mein Herr.
Das war es, was mir Pfründen gab
Und Gunst bei dem Regenten;
Auch schwor ich fast alltäglich ab,
So Papst wie Prätendenten.

Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

Hannovers hoher Dynastie—
Mit Ausschluß von Papisten—
Der schwör' ich Treu, so lange sie
Sich an dem Thron kann fristen.
Denn meine Treu wankt nimmermehr—
Veränd'rung ausgenommen—
Und Georg sei mein Fürst und Herr,
Bis andre Zeiten kommen.
Denn dieses gilt und hat Bestand,
Bis an mein End' soll's wahr sein:
Daß wer auch König sei im Land,
In Bray will *ich* Vikar sein.

The work was published in English in part for the first time in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Literature and Art,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 429-31. p. 436

492 See Note 337. p. 438

493 See Note 27. p. 438

494 In 1077, the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV travelled to Canossa (a castle in Northern Italy) to beg forgiveness of Pope Gregory VII, with whom he had engaged in political struggle. Since that time, the phrase "to go to Canossa" has come to mean a humiliating capitulation.

On May 14, 1872, at the time of the *Kulturkampf* (see Note 27), Bismarck declared in the Reichstag: "We shall not go to Canossa" (see *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages,* Vol. 1, Berlin, 1872, p. 356), thus emphasising his determination to fight to the last against the Catholic clergy. However, in the late 1870s-early 1880s, in order to bring together all reactionary forces, he reconciled with the Catholic clergy and repealed nearly all the laws passed during the *Kulturkampf* period. p. 438

495 Engels wrote *The Mark* in mid-September-the first half of December 1882 as an appendix to the German edition of the pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343). The piece was highly appreciated by Marx, who read the manuscript (see Marx' letter to Engels, December 18, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). In it Engels made use of some of the materials he had collected when researching the history of ancient Germans (see present edition, Vol. 26). In 1883 this essay was reprinted by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* Nos. 12-17 on March 15-April 19, and also published separately and entitled *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* (see Note 510). Together with *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* it was published in German four times in Engels' lifetime. The German edition was used when translating it into Danish, Dutch and Polish.

In 1892 *The Mark* appeared in English, also as an appendix to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* in Edward Aveling's translation with Engels' special introduction. Engels wrote in this introduction: "The Appendix, 'The Mark', was written with the intention of spreading among the German Socialist Party some elementary knowledge of the history and development of landed property in Germany. This seemed all the more necessary at a time when the assimilation by that party of the working people of the towns was in a fair way of completion, and when the agricultural labourers and peasants had to be taken in hand" (see present edition, Vol. 27).

In the present edition, the text is printed according to the authorised English edition of 1892 checked against the fourth German edition of 1891, which Engels read himself. The principal discrepancies are pointed out in footnotes. p. 439

496 The works of Georg Ludwig Maurer (12 volumes), united by a common theme, are studies of the agrarian, urban and state systems of medieval Germany. They are: *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854; *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland,* Erlangen, 1856; *Geschichte der Fronhöfe, der Bauernhöfe und der Hofverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-IV, Erlangen, 1862-63; *Geschichte der Dorfverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-II, Erlangen, 1865-66; *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland,* Vols. I-IV, Erlangen, 1869-71. The first, second and fourth works specially deal with the structure of the German mark. p. 441

497 The *Emperor's Law* (Kaiserrecht)—the law promulgated by the central authority of the medieval German Empire (see Note 94). Engels used the edition *Das Keyserrecht nach der Handschrift von 1372 in Vergleichung mit andern Handschriften und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Dr. H. E. Endemann,* Cassel, 1846. The data cited here by Engels can be found in the section "Von Rechte das die Waelde hant" (p. 244). p. 443

498 Hereinafter when describing the farmstead communes Engels uses Hanssen's *Die Gehöferschaften (Arbgenossenschaften) im Regierungsbezirk Trier.* Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1863. Berlin, 1863, p. 19, and Maurer's *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf-, und Stadt-Verfassung und der öffentlichen Gewalt,* Munich, 1854, p. 74. p. 444

499 The *Leges barbarorum* (laws of the barbarians)—codes of law which originated between the 5th and the 9th centuries and were, in the main, a written record of the customary or prescriptive law of the various Germanic tribes. p. 444

500 The *Ripuarian Law*—the common law of the Ripuarian Franks, one of the Germanic tribes, recorded in *Lex Ripuaria* which was written between the 6th and the 8th centuries. *Lex Ripuaria* is the principal source for the study of the social system of the Ripuarian Franks and the process of their feudalisation. Private ownership of the arable land is dealt with in § 82 (scroll A) and § 84 (scroll B) of *Lex Ripuaria.* See one of the most complete publications: *Lex Ripuaria et lex Francorum Chamavorum,* ed. by R. Sohm, Hanover, 1883, p. 104. p. 445

501 *Weistümer*—a record of the common law of the marks in mediaeval Germany, Switzerland and Austria, as well as in some of the adjacent districts of Bohemia, France and other countries, dating back, in the main, to the 13th-18th centuries. The *Weistümer* mirror the economic life, the social struggle, legal relations and the daily life of the peasantry of that period. p. 446

502 Engels is referring to the law on forest thefts ("Gesetz, betreffend den Forstdiebstahl") passed on April 15, 1878, which prohibited, among other

things, the gathering of herbs, berries and mushrooms without special police permission. p. 447

503 The *Schöffen courts* were introduced in a number of German states after the 1848 revolution, and throughout Germany in 1871. At the time they consisted of a Crown judge and two jurors (Schöffen) who, as distinct from ordinary jurymen, not only gave their verdict of guilty or not guilty but also fixed the penalty; their members were specially selected from among the ruling classes. p. 448

504 The *Merovingian dynasty*—the first royal dynasty in the Frankish state (457-751), which derived its name from the legendary forefather Merovaeus. The Merovingians' policy promoted the emergence of feudal relations among the Franks. p. 450

505 The *Western Frankish Kingdom* was formed as a result of the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire, which was a short-lived and unstable military and administrative union. In 843, under the treaty of Verdun, the empire was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons, children of Louis the Pious. One of them, Charles the Bald, received the Western part of the empire, which included the bulk of the territory of modern France and formed the Western Frankish Kingdom. The lands to the east of the Rhine (the core of future Germany) were given to Louis the German, and the strip lying in between, from the North Sea to Central Italy, became the realm of Charlemagne's eldest grandson, Lothar. p. 450

506 The *crusades* were military colonialist expeditions by the big West European feudal lords and Italian trading cities under the religious banner of recovering Jerusalem and other "Holy Lands" from the Mohammedans. Peasants also took part in the crusades, hoping thus to be freed from feudal oppression. History knows eight major crusades (1096-99, 1147-49, 1189-92, 1202-04, 1217-21, 1228-29, 1248-54 and 1270). Not only Mohammedan states in Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Tunisia but also the Christian Byzantine Empire were the objects of the crusaders' aggressive activities. The crusaders' conquests in the Eastern Mediterranean were not lasting, and were recovered by the Mohammedans. p. 451

507 The *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48)—a European war in which the Pope, the Spanish and the Austrian Habsburgs and the Catholic German princes, rallied under the banner of Catholicism, fought against the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France, rivals of the Habsburgs, supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the principal battle area and the main object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 453

508 *Code civil*—Napoleon's civil code issued in 1804, which he introduced in the conquered regions of Western and South-Western Germany. It remained in force in the Rhine Province after its incorporation into Prussia in 1815. p. 454

509 See Note 69. p. 454

510 The text that follows is Engels' addition to the separate edition of *The Mark* published in 1883 under the title *Der deutsche Bauer. Was war er? Was ist er? Was könnte er sein?* (see Note 495). This fragment was published in English for the

first time in: Marx, Engels, *Pre-Capitalist Socio-Economic Formations*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 293. p. 456

511 Engels wrote this Preface for the first German edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (see Note 343). The first two paragraphs of the Preface were published in the article "Eine neue Propagandabroschüre" printed in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 9, February 22, 1883, and the first full version appeared in: F. Engels, *Die Entwicklung des Socialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*, Hottingen-Zurich, 1882, pp. 3-5 (the book came off the press in March 1883). It was used as the basis for four subsequent German editions (two in 1883, and in 1891 and 1894), two Dutch editions (1884 and 1885), and the Polish edition (1892).

The Preface was published in English for the first time in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*. In two volumes, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1936, pp. 135-37). p. 457

512 The German edition of the book was prepared by Engels at the request of the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial board contained in Eduard Bernstein's letter to Engels of July 13, 1882 (see Engels' letter to Bernstein, August 9, 1882, present edition, Vol. 46). p. 457

513 Engels wrote this obituary on January 13, 1883 for *Der Sozialdemokrat*. It appeared there on January 18 with a short editorial introduction. On January 28, the *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik* reprinted the first two and the last paragraphs of the obituary.

The obituary was published in English for the first time in the collection: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ireland and the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, pp. 323-24. p. 460

514 Charles Longuet and Jenny Marx were married on October 10, 1872. p. 460

515 See Note 277. p. 460

516 One of the demagogic slogans of the Liberals that brought them victory at the elections was Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish question. In the summer and autumn of 1869, Ireland was the scene of a widespread campaign for an amnesty of the imprisoned Fenians. The numerous meetings (in Limerick and other cities) sent petitions to the British government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries. Gladstone, then head of the British government, stated his refusal to comply with these demands in his letters of October 18 and 23, 1869 to the prominent participants in the amnesty movement Henry O'Shea and Isaac Butt (see *The Times*, Nos. 26579 and 26583, October 23 and 27, 1869; for Marx's analysis of Gladstone's refusal, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 407-10). p. 460

517 *New Caledonia*—a group of islands in the South-Western part of the Pacific with an extremely unhealthy climate, to which the Paris Communards were exiled. p. 461

518 The words "at Argenteuil, France" were arbitrarily inserted by the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (in actual fact, Marx died in London). This fact, as well as the editors' unauthorised use of Engels' telegram to Sorge of March 14, caused Engels' sharp protest which he expressed in his letter to the editors of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (see this volume, p. 472). p. 462

519 Engels wrote the "Draft of a Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx" in English.

The first publication was in the French newspaper *La Justice*, No. 27, March 20, 1883, in Engels' translation. The text was preceded by a short account of the funeral meeting at Marx's graveside which was probably written by Charles Longuet, the widower of Marx's eldest daughter, who was present at the funeral (in 1880, he had become a member of the *Justice* editorial board).

The French text printed by *La Justice* was used for the Italian translation in *La Plebe*, No. 4, April 1883, p. 41.

The draft was published in English for the first time in: *Karl Marx, Man, Thinker and Revolutionist*, Lawrence, London, 1927, pp. 43-46. p. 463

520 Engels wrote this article at the request of Eduard Bernstein for *Der Sozialdemokrat* on about March 18, 1883, immediately after Marx's funeral. He also included in it condolences from various persons and organisations, as well as Liebknecht's speech at the funeral.

The publication in *Der Sozialdemokrat* was reprinted in part (the letter and the telegrams from Paris were omitted) in the Hungarian *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik*, No. 13, April 1, 1883, and in full in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 82, April 5, 1883.

An incomplete publication of this obituary appeared as a supplement to Marx's biography printed by the New York *Pionier. Illustrirter Volks-Kalender für 1891*, pp. 44-45.

The article was published in English for the first time in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow [1956], pp. 348-53. p. 467

521 See Note 123. p. 467

522 The *Spanish Socialist Workers' Party* (Partido Socialista Obrero de España) was founded on May 2, 1879 in Madrid by a group of former members of the Spanish Federation of the First International. Among its founders were José Mesa and Pablo Iglesias and other prominent activists of the Spanish workers' movement. The first workers' party in Spain, the Socialist Party launched an organised struggle of the Spanish proletariat for social emancipation. Up to 1881 it was illegal. In 1888, it held its first congress in Barcelona. p. 470

523 The *Cologne Communist Trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise their London comrades and the proletarian organisation as a whole. The dishonest tactics resorted to by the Prussian police state in fighting the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlets *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11) and *Herr Vogt* (Vol. 17, pp. 64-67). p. 471

524 See Note 220. p. 471

525 The *Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge*—the oldest scientific society in Great Britain founded in 1660 and formalised by Royal Charter in 1662. p. 471

526 This article was written by Engels at the request of the editors of *Der Sozialdemokrat*. It appeared there in Nos. 19 and 21 on May 3 and 17, 1883.

Part I of the article was reprinted by the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 120, May 19, 1883; Part II (minus the first three paragraphs) appeared in the Hungarian *Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik,* No. 22, June 3, 1883.

The letter to Philipp van Patten was translated from *Der Sozialdemokrat* into Polish (published in *Przedświt,* No. 18, Geneva, May 31, 1883) and into English (*Bulletin of the Social Labor Movement,* New York, June 1883).

An excerpt from Part I of the article was published in English in: K. Marx, F. Engels, *The Socialist Revolution,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1981, pp. 262-63). p. 473

527 The *Agricultural and Forestry Academy* was founded in Petrovsko-Razumovskoye near Moscow in 1865. At present it is the Moscow Timiryazev Agricultural Academy. p. 473

528 The *St. Petersburg Practical Technological Institute of Emperor Nicholas I* was founded in 1828. p. 473

529 This announcement was printed by *Der Sozialdemokrat,* No. 17, April 19, 1883. The students from Odessa asked to write the following words on the wreath: "To Karl Marx, the author of *Capital* and founder of the International Working Men's Association, from a group of socialists of the Odessa University, his disciples and youth." p. 473

530 See Note 123. p. 474

531 Engels is referring to *Slavia,* the students' association which embraced young people from Slavic countries living in Zurich. p. 474

532 Marx was in Karlsbad from August 19 to September 21, 1874, from August 15 to September 11, 1875, and from August 15 to September 15, 1876. p. 474

533 The *Central Labor Union in New York*—an association of trade unions of New York set up in 1882 which in the 1880s was a mass workers' organisation embracing white and coloured people, both of American and foreign extraction. The Central Labor Union was headed by socialists who recognised the need for both professional and political organisation of the workers for the purpose of more efficiently guiding the working-class struggle. p. 477

534 Engels' letter to Philipp van Patten of April 18, 1883 was written in English (see present edition, Vol. 47). In this volume, it is reproduced from the original checked against the German translation by Engels published in *Der Sozialdemokrat.* The discrepancies are indicated in the footnotes. p. 477

535 Engels is referring to the exposition of their views in *The German Ideology* (written in 1845-46) (see present edition, Vol. 5, pp. 53, 380-81). p. 477

536 The defeat of the Paris Commune was followed by counter-revolutionary terror and the massacre of the revolutionary French proletariat. Over 30,000 Communards (according to other data, 40,000) were tortured and shot by Versailles troops without trial. The overall number of the executed, the exiled and the imprisoned reached 70,000, and, counting those who had fled because of reprisals, 100,000. p. 478

537 A. Loria, *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale,* Milan, Naples, Pisa, 1880.

The copy of this book sent to Marx had a dedicatory inscription: "To the most penetrating, most brilliant and most knowledgeable writer on political economy. The author. Mantua. 1879". Loria's letter was dated November 23, 1879. p. 479

538 See Note 231. p. 479

539 Bakunin's *Statehood and Anarchy* appeared anonymously in Geneva in 1873 and was received by the Bakuninists as a programme document. Marx's work on this book was closely associated with the ideological and political struggle waged by Marx and Engels and their followers against anarchism, a struggle which went on even after the Bakuninists' defeat at the Hague Congress and the expulsion of the leaders of the Alliance from the International (see notes 30 and 38).

Marx's *Notes on Bakunin's Book* form an original critical and polemical work combining the analysis of the ideas of Bakunin, the ideologist of anarchism and, at that time, the principal opponent of Marxism, and profound criticism of anarchist doctrines with the development of the basic propositions of scientific communism on the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

This work is part of a thick notebook of Marx's manuscripts, entitled *Russica II, 1875,* which contains synopses of works by Russian authors. The manuscript of the *Notes* amounts to 24 large-size sheets. Marx wrote direct quotations from Bakunin's book in Russian or in German translation, or gave brief rendering in German of separate passages. Marx's own text consists of laconic comments and lengthier insertions.

In the present volume all passages from Bakunin's text are in small type; the words and passages translated from the Russian are placed in « », and those from the German are in " ". Wherever Marx finds one or several equivalents to the Russian word in German or other languages these have been translated into English. Marx's own remarks are in long primer. The italics in the quotations are Marx's unless otherwise stated in the footnotes. p. 485

540 Bakunin is referring to the representatives of the bourgeoisie who "came heartily to hate the present order, the political, economic and social order, who had turned their backs on the class that had produced them and had given themselves completely to the people's cause" (pp. 6-7). p. 487

541 The reference is to the suppression of the revolutions in the Kingdom of Naples (1820-21) and Spain (1820-23) by decision of the congresses of the Holy Alliance (see Note 145), which sent Austrian troops to Italy (Troppau and Laibach congresses, 1820-21), and French troops to Spain (Verona congress, 1822). p. 488

542 See Note 16. p. 488

543 The reference is to the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863 (see notes 389 and 14). p. 488

544 The first partition of Poland (1772) was initiated by Frederick II of Prussia. Catherine II agreed to it because of Russia's difficult position owing to the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 and Austria's threat to enter the war on the side of Turkey (see also Note 9). p. 488

545 The reference is to Prussia's victories in the Austro-Prussian (1866) and the Franco-Prussian (1870-71) wars. p. 488

546 The Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held on September 3-8, 1866. p. 491

547 At the shooting festival (Schützenfest) in Vienna in August 1868, during the

discussion of Germany's unification, the South-German democrats, members of the People's Party (see Note 99), opposed Prussian hegemony in Germany. They advocated the plan for a "Great Germany" that would incorporate all German states, including Austria. p. 492

548 Wilhelm Liebknecht did not want to break organisationally with the petty-bourgeois People's Party (see Note 99) which he and Bebel had helped found in 1866, but he opposed participation of class-conscious workers in democratic organisations. On the other hand, he suggested that the democrats should join the workers' party. Marx and Engels always disapproved of Liebknecht's inconsistent and conciliatory policy (see, for instance, Marx's letter to Kugelmann of June 24, 1868, and Engels' letter to Kugelmann of July 10, 1869, present edition, Vol. 43). p. 492

549 The reference is to the Fifth Nuremberg Congress of the Union of German Workers' Associations led by August Bebel which was held on September 5-7, 1868. The congress signified the break of the Union's majority from the liberal bourgeoisie and its firm adherence to class proletarian stand. By 69 votes against 44 the delegates accepted the International's platform, which was put concisely in the new programme of the Union proposed to the congress. This programme declared the abolition of the capitalist system to be the goal, and the proletarian class struggle the means of attaining it. The congress stated that the workers would be able to emancipate themselves only by seizing political power and acting "jointly with the workers of all countries". p. 492

550 The reference is to the French National Assembly, the elections to which were held on February 8, 1871. The majority of the deputies were monarchists. After the uprising of March 18, 1871, the Assembly fled to Versailles, from where it fought against the Commune. p. 492

551 The *Vendôme Column* was erected in Paris between 1806 and 1810 as a tribute to the military victories of Napoleon I. On May 16, 1871, by the order of the Paris Commune, the Vendôme Column was destroyed as a symbol of militarism. p. 492

552 In the spring of 1873 the last units of the Prussian occupation troops were withdrawn from French territory. They were stationed there under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace of 1871, which concluded the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. p. 493

553 Marx is referring to the activities of the *Comité de propagande révolutionnaire socialiste de la France méridionale*. It was founded by the former Paris Commune refugees living in Barcelona Charles Alerini and Paul Brousse and the member of the International's Lyons section Camille Camet in the spring of 1873 for spreading anarchist ideas in France and among the Commune refugees. p. 493

554 The reference is to Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine captured by Germany in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, to Russia's refusal to observe the article of the Paris Treaty of 1856 (see Note 578) which forbade it to maintain its navy in the Black Sea, and to the campaign undertaken by the Russian government in the spring of 1873 against the Khiva Khanate. p. 493

555 The reference is to the Spanish Revolution of 1808-14 (see K. Marx, "Revolutionary Spain", present edition, Vol. 13). p. 494

556 In 1809 Tirol was the scene of a popular uprising, headed by Andreas Hofer, against the Franco-Bavarian occupation. The uprising was a failure. p. 494

557 See Note 62. p. 494

558 The *Carlists*—a reactionary clerical-absolutist group in Spain consisting of adherents of the pretender to the Spanish throne Don Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand VII. Relying on the military and the Catholic clergy, and making use of the support of the backward peasants in some regions of Spain, the Carlists launched a civil war in 1833, which in fact turned into a struggle between the feudal-Catholic and liberal-bourgeois elements and led to the third bourgeois revolution (1834-43). After Don Carlos' death in 1855 the Carlists supported his grandson Don Carlos Jr. In 1872, in the situation of political crisis and sharper class conflicts, the Carlists stepped up their activity, which took on the scope of a new civil war that ended only in 1876. p. 494

559 *Fueros* here means the charters which, in medieval Spain, established the rights, privileges and duties of townspeople and members of village communities in matters of local government, jurisdiction, taxation, military service, etc. p. 494

560 A reference to the activity of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30) during the fifth bourgeois revolution in Spain (see Note 62). p. 494

561 The programme of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy was drawn up by Bakunin and published as a leaflet in Geneva in 1868 in French and German. It proclaimed atheism, equality of classes and the abolition of the state, and rejected the need for political action on the part of the working class (for Marx's remarks and criticism of this programme, see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 207-11). p. 495

562 According to the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 the Habsburg Empire was transformed into a dual constitutional monarchy, Austria-Hungary. The Czech territories were incorporated into Cisleithania—part of the empire with Austria as its centre, and Slovakia, into Transleithania with Hungary as its centre. p. 495

563 The *Great Moravian Kingdom* (the Great Moravian Principality) was the early-feudal state of the Western Slavs in the 9th-early 10th centuries. At the time of its flourishing, it embraced the territories of Moravia, Slovakia, Bohemia, Lužica, Pannonia, and probably Małopolska and part of the Slovenian lands. p. 497

564 An ironical allusion to the following passage from Bakunin's book: "Against these people-suppressing trends ... an entirely new trend has finally developed leading directly to the abolition of all exploitation and all political or legal, as well as governmental-administrative oppression, i.e. to the abolition of all classes by means of making all estates economically equal, and to the abolition of their last stronghold, the State" (p. 74). p. 499

565 Bakunin is referring to Article 7a, "On the Political Action of the Working Class", which was included into the "General Rules of the International Working Men's Association" by the majority vote at the Hague Congress (see Note 38). p. 500

566 *St. Wenceslas's crown*—a symbol of the Czech people's historical right to state independence. In the 1860s-early 1870s, the campaign of the Czechs for state

sovereignty and national equality proceeded under the banner of the restoration of the rights of St. Wenceslas's crown. p. 500

567 Under the direct influence of anarchists, Serbian and Bulgarian students in Zurich organised a small group, Slavenski Savez, within the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Note 30). After several attempts in the spring of 1872 to constitute itself as a section of the International and the General Council's refusal to recognise it, the group affiliated to the Jura Federation (see Note 298) in June-July 1872. The group's programme was drawn up by Bakunin and published as "Supplement 'B'" to his *Statehood and Anarchy.* The Slavenski Savez ceased to exist in the summer of 1873. p. 501

568 *Slavophiles* (A. Khomyakov, the brothers Aksakov, I. Kireevsky, Yu. Samarin and others)—representatives of a trend in the 19th-century Russian social and philosophical thought. In the late 1830s-1850s they advanced a theory of Russia's unique path of historical development which, in their opinion, differed from that of Western Europe. Among the characteristic features of their theory were monarchism, a negative attitude to revolution and a leaning towards religious-philosophical conceptions. The Slavophiles met mostly at the literary salons of Moscow. p. 502

569 The reference is to the liberation of Moscow on October 22-26, 1612 by the people's militia under Minin and Pozharsky, who united the country's patriotic forces at the final stage of the struggle against the Polish-Lithuanian and Swedish invaders in the early 17th century. p. 502

570 Bogdan Khmelnitsky led the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in 1648-54 against the rule of the Polish szlachta and for the re-union with Russia. As a result, the Ukraine was re-united with Russia in a single state (1654). p. 502

571 Bakunin is referring to the bloody suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863-64 (see Note 14) by Mikhail Muravyov, the Governor-General of Lithuania and Byelorussia, who was nicknamed "the hangman" for this. p. 503

572 This remark relates to the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, the beginning of which Marx described as follows: "On the German side the war is a war of defence, but who put Germany to the necessity of defending herself? Who enabled Louis Bonaparte to wage war upon her? *Prussia!* It was Bismarck who conspired with that very same Louis Bonaparte for the purpose of crushing popular opposition at home, and annexing Germany to the Hohenzollern dynasty" (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 5). p. 504

573 See Note 84. p. 505

574 The three parties are:

The *National-Liberal Party*—the party of German and, above all, Prussian bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 after a split in the Party of Progress. The policies of the National Liberals mirrored the capitulation of a significant part of the liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck's Junker government after Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the establishment of its supremacy in Germany.

The *Party of Progress* was founded in June 1861. It advocated the unification of Germany under Prussian aegis, the convocation of an all-German Parliament, and the establishment of a strong liberal Ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. Its opposition to the Bismarck government was just so many words.

By the *Social-Democratic Party* Bakunin means the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (the so-called Eisenachers) and the General Association of German Workers uniting Lassalle's followers (see Note 334). p. 505

575 As a result of victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Prussia substantially expanded its territory by incorporating small German states. Besides, Austria had to renounce its rights to Schleswig and Holstein (see Note 577). p. 507

576 The digging of the Kiel Canal, the project of which was first mentioned in the press in the 1870s, began in 1887. The opening took place on June 20, 1895. p. 508

577 After the defeat in the Austro-Danish-Prussian war of 1864 (see Note 70), Denmark lost Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg, which were declared the joint possession of Austria and Prussia. Contrary to the opinion of Gorchakov, who considered unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy damaging to Russian interests, Emperor Alexander II did not try to hamper Prussia's policy towards Denmark as a sign of gratitude for the "service" rendered by Prussia in the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863 (see Note 14). This is what Marx means by his remark. p. 508

578 The *Paris Treaty*—the peace treaty that concluded the Crimean war (1853-56) (see Note 19). It was signed by Austria, Britain, France, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia on the other, at the Congress of Paris on March 30, 1856. Under the treaty, Russia ceded the mouth of the Danube and part of Bessarabia, renounced its protectorate over the Danubian Principalities and its protection of Christians in Turkey, agreed to the neutralisation of the Black Sea (involving the closure of the Straits to foreign warships and a ban on Russia and Turkey maintaining navies and naval arsenals on the Black Sea), and returned the fortress of Kars to Turkey in exchange for Sevastopol and other Russian towns held by the Allies. p. 509

579 A reference to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (see Note 94). p. 509

580 The reference is to the events of the Anglo-French-Chinese war of 1856-60 (Second Opium War). In August 1860 Anglo-French troops captured Tientsin and in October 1860 Peking. The Chinese government was forced to sign new, very damaging treaties with Britain and France in 1860. The war was an important step towards turning China into a semi-colony. p. 510

581 Preparing for a war with Austria (see Note 5), in the autumn of 1865 in Biarritz Bismarck managed to extract a promise of French neutrality in the war from Napoleon III in exchange for raising no objections to the incorporation of Luxembourg into the French Empire. Bismarck did not keep his promise. p. 511

582 The reference is to the *treaties of Tilsit*—peace treaties signed on July 7 and 9, 1807 by Napoleonic France, and Russia and Prussia, members of the fourth anti-French coalition. In an attempt to split defeated powers, Napoleon made no territorial claims on Russia and even succeeded in transferring some of the Prussian monarchy's eastern lands to Russia. The treaty imposed harsh terms on Prussia, which lost nearly half its territory to the German states dependent on France, was made to pay indemnities and had its army reduced. However, Russia, like Prussia, had to break its alliance with Britain and, to its disadvantage, join Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon formed the vassal

Duchy of Warsaw on Polish territory seized by Prussia during the partitions of Poland at the end of the 18th century, and planned to use it as an advanced post in the event of war with Russia. p. 511

583 J. G. Fichte, *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (Berlin, 1808)—a course of lectures delivered by Fichte at Berlin University in the winter of 1807, when after the signing of the Peace of Tilsit Germany was in a state of extreme national humiliation. They developed the idea of the nation as a collective personality having its own, special vocation. Fichte called on his compatriots to unite; he believed that political independence can be attained through stronger moral principles and an education reform. According to him, a nation should foster an awareness of its vocation and duty. p. 511

584 Nicholas I was married in 1817 to the Prussian Princess Charlotte (Alexandra Fyodorovna), daughter of Frederick William III. p. 512

585 *Ligue du Midi*—a revolutionary-democratic organisation embracing 15 departments. It was set up on September 18, 1870 in Marseilles on the initiative of the more active section of the middle commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, and assumed responsibility for providing local defence in view of the weakness of the central authority. The League's programme included the basic democratic demands set forth by the French sections of the International. By late 1870 it had been declared illegal and disbanded. p. 513

586 In the notes for his *L'Empire knouto-germanique*, Bakunin wrote: "It is clear that urged by the same logic Mr. Engels could say in a letter written this year to a friend of ours, without the slightest irony but, on the contrary,quite seriously, that Mr. Bismarck, like King Victor Emmanuel, has rendered immense services to the revolution by creating great political centralisation in their respective countries" (*Archives Bakounine*, par A. Lehning, Vol. II, Leiden, 1965, p. 195).

It is probably this letter by Engels that is interpreted so freely by Bakunin in this work. Marx and Engels advocated a revolutionary way of uniting Germany and were sharply opposed to both the home and foreign policy pursued by Bismarck. In the works included in this volume (see pp. 251-52, 578), they emphasised that Bismarck's reactionary domestic policy was turning the German proletariat towards revolutionary struggle. p. 513

587 The reference is to the so-called *Doctors' Club*, a Berlin group of Young Hegelians in which Marx had a prominent place. The Young Hegelians drew radical atheistic conclusions from Hegel's philosophy, but at the same time removed philosophy from reality, turning it into a self-contained, determining force. In fact, the Young Hegelians were withdrawing more and more from practical revolutionary action.

Here and below, Bakunin made many inaccuracies when citing the facts of Marx's biography. p. 513

588 This refers to "*The Free*" (Die Freien)—a Berlin group of Left Hegelians which was formed in the first half of the 1840s and included Edgar Bauer, Max Stirner and others. Marx gave a highly negative assessment of the actions of "The Free" and of their empty abstract criticism. p. 514

589 See Note 378. p. 514

590 A reference to the *Communist League*—the first German and international communist organisation of the proletariat formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847 as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (see Note 220). The League's members took an active

part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In 1849 and 1850, after the defeat of the revolution, it was reorganised and continued its activities. In the summer of 1850 disagreements arose between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the sectarian Willich-Schapper group, which ended in a split within the League. Owing to police persecutions and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation practically ceased in Germany. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League. The Communist League played an important historical role as the first proletarian party based on the principles of scientific communism, as a school of proletarian revolutionaries, and as the historical forerunner of the International Working Men's Association. p. 514

[591] Marx moved to Brussels on February 3, 1845, after the French government had expelled him from Paris by the decree of January 16, 1845. At that time, Engels was in Barmen and joined Marx in Brussels on April 5, 1845. p. 514

[592] See Note 18. p. 515

[593] See Note 102. p. 516

[594] In the note to the Preface to the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* Marx wrote: "This is the more necessary, as even the section of Ferdinand Lassalle's work against Schulze-Delitzsch, in which he professes to give 'the intellectual quintessence' of my explanations on these subjects, contains important mistakes. If Ferdinand Lassalle has borrowed almost literally from my writings, and without any acknowledgement, all the general theoretical propositions in his economic works, *e.g.*, those on the historical character of capital, on the connexion between the conditions of production and the mode of production, &c. &c. even to the terminology created by me, this may perhaps be due to purposes of propaganda. I am here, of course, not speaking of his detailed working out and application of these propositions, with which I have nothing to do" (see present edition, Vol. 35). p. 516

[595] The Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association adopted the principal ideas set forth in Marx's "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" (present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 185-94) as its programme. p. 523

[596] The *Nuremberg Congress* (see Note 549) sent a delegation to the conference of the People's Party (see Note 99), which took place on September 19-20, 1868 in Stuttgart and declared the Party's support for the Nuremberg programme. p. 524

[597] The second congress of the League of Peace and Freedom was held on September 21-25, 1868 in Berne. p. 524

[598] The reference is to the resolution on the League of Peace and Freedom adopted by the Brussels Congress of the International on September 12, 1868 in connection with the League's invitation to attend its congress in Berne in September 1868. The invitation was sent to the International on the initiative of Bakunin who, being a member of the League's Central Committee, sought to establish his authority over the International Working Men's Association (see *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, pp. 297-98). p. 524

599 In 1876 Prosper Olivier Lissagaray, a French republican journalist and member of the Paris Commune, published a book in Brussels entitled *Histoire de la Commune de 1871.* The author, who drew on extensive factual material, exposed the anti-national policies of the French ruling circles and showed the part played by the people in the history of the Paris Commune. In a letter to Wilhelm Bracke written on September 23, 1876, Marx said that this book was "the first *authentic* history of the Commune" (see present edition, Vol. 45). Believing this work important for the proletarian party, Marx did a great deal to have a German translation of it published (*Geschichte der Commune von 1871. Autorisirte deutsche Ausgabe nach dem vom Verfasser vervollständigten französischen Original*, Brunswick, 1877).

Engels' "Note on Page 29 of the *Histoire de la Commune*" provides, as it were, comments on the events that unfolded in France after the capitulation of Bazaine's army in Metz on October 27 and until the complete encirclement of Paris in mid-November 1870. Engels, who had earlier written a series of articles ("Notes on the War") for *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London), which appeared between July 1870 and June 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22), had a good knowledge of the course of events and their underlying causes. He sent a copy of his comments to Lissagaray who on February 9, 1877 thanked the author for "a brilliant commentary" on the military events. Lissagaray included Engels' text in the second French edition of his book, part changed and part verbatim.

Engels' "Note" was first published, in Russian, in 1933. It now appears in English for the first time. p. 527

600 The reference is to the beginning of the talks on a truce held in Versailles on October 30 between Thiers, representative of the Government of National Defence, and Bismarck. The news about the betrayal that was being prepared and the capitulation of Metz that followed prompted the revolutionary action of Paris workers on October 31. Bismarck used the inaction of the French command during the talks, which allowed him to play for time, and on November 6 he broke off the talks. p. 527

601 Engels comments on the following passage from Lissagaray: "The men of September 4 believed themselves to be saved having obtained their aim. They put on the same level armistice and capitulation, 'good and bad news', convinced that Paris, despaired of victory, will open its arms to peace."

"*The men of September 4*"—a group of bourgeois politicians, monarchists and clericals, who comprised the so-called Government of National Defence set up after the revolution of September 4, 1870 in Paris. p. 527

602 *Francs-tireurs*—volunteers organised into small guerrilla units who took part in the defence of France against the invaders. The first units were formed during the wars against the anti-French coalitions in the late 18th-early 19th century. In 1867 *francs-tireurs*' societies began to spring up in France. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out and Prussian troops invaded French territory, members of these societies were called to arms by a special decree. When the regular French troops were defeated and blockaded in fortresses the number of *francs-tireurs*' units increased sharply. They mainly attacked transports, weaker detachments, railway trains and food depots, and did substantial damage to the enemy. p. 528

603 The reference is to the siege of Mantua (June 1796-February 2, 1797) by French troops during Napoleon I's Italian campaign of 1796-97. p. 528

604 The book which prompted Marx's notes was the second edition of Adolph Wagner's *Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre*, erster Theil: *Grundlegung*, published in Leipzig and Heidelberg in 1879 as the first volume of *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie* by Adolph Wagner and Erwin Nasse. It has been possible to date these notes by Marx's mention in his manuscript (see this volume, p. 550) of Rudolph Meyer's *Briefe und Socialpolitische Aufsaetze von Dr. Rodbertus-Jagetzow* which appeared in Berlin after January 1881.

In English, this work was first published in: K. Marx, *Texts on Method*. Translated and edited by Carver, Oxford, 1975, pp. 179-219. p. 531

605 Marx is probably referring to the following works: Rodbertus-Jagetzow, *Zur Erkenntniss unsrer Staatswirtschaftlichen Zustände* (Erstes Heft: *Fünf Theoreme*, Neubrandenburg and Friedland, 1842), *Soziale Briefe an Kirchmann* (Nos. 1-3, Berlin, 1850-51), *Zur Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes.* I. *Die Ursachen der Noth.* II. *Zur Abhülfe* (Jena, 1869); Fr. A. Lange, *John Stuart Mills Ansichten über die sozialen Frage...* (Duisburg, 1865), *Die Arbeiterfrage...* (3rd ed., Winterthur, 1875); A. Schäffle, *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers* (Vols. 1-4, Tübingen, 1875-78). p. 531

606 The note mentioned by Marx is to be found in his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (see present edition, Vol. 29, p. 270). p. 545

607 *Vegetable ivory* (Phytelephas)—species of an anomalous genus of palms from tropical South America. The seed or nuts, as they are usually called when fully ripe and hard, are used by the American Indians for making small ornamental articles and toys. They are imported into Britain in considerable quantities, frequently under the name of corozo nuts. p. 555

608 The reference is to the change in the social and economic position of Germany as a result of the 5,000 million francs it received from France after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 (see Note 144). p. 557

609 *St. Peter's Money* (*St. Peter's Penny* or *Pence*)—annual contributions from Catholics to the Papacy (originally, a silver penny from each family on the feast day of St. Peter). It continues to be an important source of revenue for the Pope's curia. p. 559

610 Getting ready to travel to Karlsbad for medical treatment in August 1874, Marx applied to become naturalised in Britain. This was a precaution against possible reprisals by the Austrian authorities. Marx left for Karlsbad on August 15, having failed to receive a reply to his application.

This document is an official blank on which information about Marx (in italics in the text) has been entered in a clerk's hand. Only the signature is Marx's. The special report by W. Reimers and J. Williams was written on a separate blank.

Appended to the application are the statements made by Marx's referees written on special blanks, as well as the letter of Morris R. Willis, Marx's lawyer, to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of August 29, 1874, requesting to know the reasons for the refusal to grant a Certificate of Naturalisation. p. 563

611 Apart from Marx and Engels, former Communards and other participants in the meeting spoke at the celebration held by the German Workers' Educational Society in London (see Note 123). Friedrich Lessner, a veteran of the German and international workers' movement, sent a greeting.

An account of the meeting was featured by the *Neue Social-Demokrat* of Berlin, No. 20, February 18, 1876. The report published in this volume was drawn up on February 12 by Carl Scharr and printed by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 24, February 27, 1876, in the section "Aus England". Besides his own speech, Engels translated into German Walery Wróblewski's speech, indicating the milestones of his career. Wróblewski's speech was also included by the editorial board into the report on Engels' speech. Serious factual errors were made in the account of Marx's and Engels' speeches.

A report of the meeting was also carried by the Russian periodical *Nabat* published in Geneva, No. 4, 1876. It differed substantially from the text in *Der Volksstaat*, and also contained a great number of factual errors. p. 565

612 See Note 378. p. 565

613 The reference is to the second congress of the Communist League held on November 29-December 8, 1847 (see Note 220). A number of its members also belonged to the German Workers' Educational Society in London. p. 565

614 As is clear from the correspondence of the members of the London District of the Communist League with the League's Central Authority (see letters of March 15 and June 18, 1848 in *Der Bund der Kommunisten, Dokumente und Materialien*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1970, pp. 726-28 and 804-07), in early March 1848 the owner of the pub where the members of the Educational Society used to assemble cancelled the lease, and the meetings could no longer be held there. The author of the letter of March 15 stressed that in future the Society's meetings would be held only under police surveillance, and that the British government had established strict supervision over the connections between foreign revolutionaries and the Chartists (see Note 368). p. 565

615 An inaccuracy in the text: the reference is to the dissolution of the Communist League in November 1852. p. 565

616 See Note 14. p. 566

617 See Note 26. p. 566

618 Marx's interview with the correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* took place in the first half of December 1878. Despite the several inaccuracies of the correspondent, this document has some biographical interest.

The German translation of the text of the interview was published, slightly abridged, in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, No. 10, January 10, 1879 and reprinted by *Der Vorbote*, No. 2, January 11, 1879. *The Socialist* of Chicago (No. 18, January 11) reprinted the last part of the interview. The publication in *Der Vorbote* was used for the Danish translation, which appeared in the *Social-Demokraten*, Copenhagen, Nos. 84 and 85, April 9 and 10, 1879. p. 568

619 Marx left for Paris late in October 1843. p. 568

620 The reference is to the report of the American Ambassador to Berlin J. Ch. Bancroft Davis dispatched to the US Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on February 10, 1877. The part of the report referring to the socialist movement in Germany was printed in the official publication: *United States. State Department. Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, 1877, pp. 175-80. p. 571

621 This refers to the programme of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany adopted by the unity congress in Gotha in May 1875. p. 571

622 The first national trade union in the USA—the National Typographical Union—was founded in 1850. By the 1860s the country had a whole network of local trade union organisations. In August 1866 the National Labor Union was formed in Baltimore, and in December 1869 the Noble Order of Knights of Labor in Philadelphia, which on January 1, 1878 became a legal body. Both organisations, while experiencing a strong petty-bourgeois influence, nevertheless advocated social reforms, including the eight-hour working day, women's rights, and higher wages. The economic crisis of 1873 and the prolonged slump which followed were the causes for vigorous strike action of American workers, with its peak being the miners' strike in Pennsylvania (the Long Strike) of 1874-75 and the national railway strike of 1877. p. 573

623 See Note 96. p. 574

624 See Note 110. p. 575

625 See Note 268. p. 575

626 The reference is to the Anti-Socialist Law promulgated on October 19, 1878 (see Note 289) and the introduction of a minor state of siege in Berlin (see Note 418). p. 578

627 On July 12, 1870 the Paris members of the International published in the *Réveil* an anti-war manifesto addressed to the workers of all nations, which was reprinted by *Der Volksstaat*, No. 57, July 17, 1870. A number of similar addresses were issued in France at that time. On July 16 a workers' meeting in Brunswick convened by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party issued an address in protest against the war preparations made by the ruling classes, and for solidarity with the manifesto of the International's Paris members. Workers' meetings in Chemnitz and Munich also adopted similar manifestos and resolutions. p. 578

628 Marx quotes from memory his "First Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian War" written between July 19 and 23, 1870, and issued by the General Council as a leaflet at the outset of the war (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 3-8). p. 578

629 On September 5, 1870, after the defeat of the French army at Sedan, the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party with its headquarters in Brunswick issued a manifesto (*Manifest des Ausschusses der social-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei. An Alle deutschen Arbeiter!*) urging German workers to organise mass meetings of protest against the expansionist plans of the Prussian government. The Manifesto included parts of Marx's and Engels' "Letter to the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party" of August 22 and 30, 1870 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 260-62). On September 9, members of the Brunswick Committee, Bracke, Bornhorst, Spier, Kühn and Gralle, as well as a printer, Sievers, were arrested for publishing the Manifesto and in November 1871 brought to trial on the fabricated charge of disturbing public order. p. 578

630 On November 26, 1870, when the German Reichstag discussed the question of credits for the war against France, Bebel and Liebknecht demanded that credits be refused and peace with the French Republic promptly concluded without annexations. The entire Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag together with Bebel and Liebknecht voted against the granting of credits on November 28. After the Reichstag session closed on December 17, Bebel, Liebknecht and Hepner were arrested and charged with high treason. p. 578

631 On November 28, 1878 a minor state of siege was declared in Berlin (see Note 418). The next day 67 members of the Social-Democratic Party, including their leaders Auer and Fritzsche, received deportation orders. p. 578

632 In this letter, addressed to Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria and wife of the Prussian Crown Prince, the future German Emperor Frederick III, the British politician Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff gives an account of his talk with Marx, which took place on January 31, 1879 at the Devonshire Club. The author first published excerpts from the letter in his *Notes from a Diary, 1873-1881*, London, 1898, pp. 103-06. Grant Duff took pains not to disclose the name of his addressee.

Despite the fact that the author did not always faithfully reproduce Marx's ideas, the letter is undoubtedly of interest as additional material throwing light on Marx's views of the revolutionary future of Russia and Germany, and also as evidence of the fear provoked in ruling quarters by the growth of the working-class movement and the prestige of its leader, Karl Marx. The letter was published in full for the first time in an article by Andrew Rothstein "A Meeting with Karl Marx" (*The Times* Literary Supplement, July 15, 1949, p. 464). p. 580

633 See Note 90. p. 581

634 The protracted economic crisis began in 1873 after the period known in history as *Gründertum* (see Note 84). p. 581

635 The reference is to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and the enthronement of William III of Orange in 1689), after which constitutional monarchy was consolidated in England on the basis of a compromise between the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. p. 581

636 Marx's interview with John Swinton, at that time editor of the progressive New York newspaper *The Sun*, took place in August 1880. Following the publication of an account of the interview Marx wrote to Swinton on November 4, 1880: "I have at the same time to thank you for your friendly article in *The Sun*" (see present edition, Vol. 46). After the interview, Marx kept in touch with Swinton for some time and sent him, at the latter's request, the French translation of *Capital*.

Marx's interview with Swinton was reprinted in the collection: John Swinton, *Current Views and Notes of Forty Days in France and England*, New York, 1880, pp. 41-45.

Swinton used this interview in his speech at the meeting organised by New York workers on March 19, 1883 on the occasion of Marx's death. See *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 15, April 5, 1883, and *Truth* (San Francisco), April 7, 1883. p. 583

637 Marx and his family took a rest at Ramsgate between early August and September 13, 1880. p. 583

638 Marx probably referred to Karl Daniel Adolph Douai's proposal to have *Capital* translated into English. As is clear from Sorge's letter to Marx of July 19, 1878, this plan had not been carried through. The English translation of Volume One of *Capital* appeared after Marx's death, in 1887. It was prepared by Engels, Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. p. 584

639 Originally, while working on his economic manuscripts, Marx had planned to write six books: on capital, on landed property, on wage labour, on the state, on international trade and on the world market (see Marx's letters to Lassalle

of February 22, 1858, to Engels of April 2, 1858, and to Weydemeyer of February 1, 1859, present edition, Vol. 40). The plan was not realised. Questions of ground rent and credit were dealt with, at some length, in Volume Three of *Capital*. p. 584

640 The reference is to the authorised French translation of Volume One of *Capital* (see Note 108). Marx made substantial changes and additions in the manuscript of the translation. He believed that the French edition had an independent scientific value. On its basis, changes were introduced into the subsequent editions of Volume One in German, Russian and other languages. p. 584

641 This statement, written before February 26, 1883 probably by a staff member of *L'Égalité* (perhaps by Paul Lafargue) in view of the closure of the newspaper of the French Workers' Party, was sent by Engels to the *Sozialdemokrat* editorial board. It was enclosed with the letter of February 27-March 1, 1883 to the editor, Eduard Bernstein. "*L'Égalité* has gone phut again," wrote Engels, "and I would ask you to publish the following facts (see enclosed slip of paper) in the *Sozialdemokrat*" (see present edition, Vol. 46). The translation of this statement into German was probably made by Engels.

The facts cited relate to the fourth and fifth series of *L'Égalité*, whose publication was terminated and resumed several times since its foundation in 1877. The fourth series appeared from October 24, 1882 and throughout 1883. The fifth series was published between February 15 and 26, 1883.

The statement appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat*, No. 11, March 8, 1883, and was prefaced by the editorial note: "After a brief existence *L'Égalité* was unfortunately forced to close. The following has been written to us in this connection." p. 586

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Alexander III (1845-1894)—Emperor of Russia (1881-94).—426

Anaxagoras (c. 500-428 B.C.)—Greek materialist philosopher from Clazomenae (Asia Minor).—285

Anne (1665-1714)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1702-14).—437

Applegarth, Robert (1833-1925)—cabinet-maker, a trade union leader; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the First International (1865, 1868-72); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); one of the Reform League leaders; subsequently left the working-class movement.—571

Arakcheyev, Alexei Andreyevich (1769-1834)—Russian statesman; favourite of Paul I and Alexander I.—512

Arch, Joseph (1826-1919) — British politician, founder of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1872 and its president, Liberal M.P. (1885-86, 1892-1900).—179, 181-82

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Arnims—family of margraves in Prussia, first mentioned in 1204.—144

Atia—mother of Roman Emperor Augustus.—429

Auer, Ignaz (1846-1907)—one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, reformist; saddler; for many years deputy to the Reichstag.—77, 209, 578

Augustus, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (63 B.C.-A.D. 14)—Roman Emperor (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).—429

Aurelle de Paladines, Louis Jean Baptiste d' (1804-1877)—French general; commanded the Army of the Loire during the Franco-Prussian war; Commander of the Paris National Guard (March 1871); deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—528-30

B

Babeuf, François Noël (*Gracchus*) (1760-1797)—French revolutionary, advocate of utopian egalitarian communism, organiser of the "conspiracy of equals".—287

Bacon, Francis, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans (1561-1626)—English philosopher, naturalist, historian and statesman.—299, 569

Badinguet—see *Napoleon III*

Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich (1814-1876)—Russian democrat, journalist, participant in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an ideologist of Narodism (populism) and anarchism in later years; opposed Marxism in the First International, was expelled from it at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—23, 26-28, 34, 37, 45, 72, 77, 174-77, 205, 213-14, 236, 425, 478, 487-526, 584

Balfour, Arthur James Balfour, 1st Earl of (1848-1930)—British statesman and philosopher, M.P. from 1874.—389

Batbie, Anselme-Polycarpe (1828-1887)—French politician, Orleanist, deputy to the National Assembly (1871); Senator (1876-79).—204

Bauer, Bruno (1809-1882)—German idealist philosopher, Young Hegelian; author of works on the history of Christianity; radical; National Liberal after 1866.—427-28, 430, 431, 514

Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German philosopher and journalist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the 1848-49 revolution; editor of the London *Neue Zeit* (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty; Bruno Bauer's brother and associate.—514

Baumann, August—German Social-Democrat; compositor; took part in socialist publications; at the time of the Anti-Socialist Law was deported from Germany; emigrated to the USA.—578

Beaconsfield—see *Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield*

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; turner; member of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag (1871-81 and from 1883); a founder and leader of German Social-Democracy; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 71-73, 77, 214, 240-42, 244, 249, 253-54, 258, 408-09, 500, 523, 525

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist and historian; follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently joined the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the First International (1872).—78

Becker, Hermann Heinrich ("Red Becker") (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused in the Cologne Communist trial (1852), sentenced to five years' imprisonment; member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National Liberal.—138

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; brushmaker; took part in the German and Swiss democratic movement in the 1830s and 1840s and in the 1848-49 revolution; prominent figure in the First International in the 1860s, delegate to all its congresses; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—231

Becker, Oskar (1839-1868)—student of Leipzig University; in 1861 made an attempt on William I's life; sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; amnestied in 1866.—244

Beckx, Pierre Jean (1795-1887)—Belgian clergyman; head of the Order of Jesuits (1853-84).—575

Benoiston de Châteauneuf, Louis François (1776-1856)—French economist and statistician; member of the editorial board of the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

Berezowski, Antoni (1847-c. 1916)—Polish revolutionary, took part in the 1863-64 uprising; emigrated after its suppression; in 1867 made an attempt on Alexander II's life in Paris; sentenced to 20 years of hard labour by a French court.—5

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—German Social-Democrat from 1872; editor of *Der Sozialdemokrat* (1881-90); after Engels' death came out with the revision of Marxism.—254, 257-66, 269

Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich (pseudonym *N. Flerovsky*) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; enlightener and democrat; author of *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*.—44

Bessemer, Sir Henry (1813-1898)—British inventor of a new economical way of converting pig-iron into steel.—276, 556

Bignami, Enrico (1844-1921)—Italian journalist; took part in the national liberation struggle in Italy headed by Garibaldi; member of the First International; founder and editor of *La Plebe* (1868-83).—172-73

Binz, Karl (1832-1913)—German physician and pharmacologist; professor at Bonn University where he founded the Institute of Pharmacology in 1869.—115

Bismarck (or *Bismarck-Schönhausen*), *Otto, Prince von* (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71) and Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—10, 16, 22, 53, 59, 66, 73, 89-90, 125, 133, 203, 211, 230-32, 238, 240, 246, 248, 250-52, 260-62, 265, 272, 274-77, 280, 318, 391, 404, 407-09, 447-48, 488, 493, 496, 500, 505-06, 508-13, 515, 522-23, 526, 574, 575, 578-79

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; emigrated to England in August 1848; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—514

Blanqui, Jérôme Adolphe (1798-1854)—French political economist; brother of Louis Auguste Blanqui.—326

Blanqui, Louis Auguste (1805-1881)—French revolutionary, utopian communist; organised several secret societies and plots; active participant in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; leader of the proletarian movement in France; sentenced to imprisonment several times; in 1871, was elected member of the Paris Commune in his absence while in prison.—13-14, 58, 336

Bleichröder, Gerson von (1822-1893)—German financier; head of a big banking house in Berlin; Bismarck's private banker and unofficial adviser on financial questions.—274, 277

Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German democratic journalist; active participant in the revolutionary movement in Baden in 1848-49; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National Liberal in the 1860s.—244, 270-71

Blos, Wilhelm (1849-1927)—German journalist and politician; member of the Social-Democratic Party (from 1872); deputy to the Reichstag (1877-1918, with short intervals); Minister-President of the Württemberg government (1918-20).—209

Blume, Karl Wilhelm Hermann von (1835-1919)—Prussian general and military writer; took part in the

Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—530

Böckh, Philipp August (1785-1867)—German philologist and historian of antiquity; professor and for a number of years rector of Berlin University.—556

Bonaparte, Louis—see *Napoleon III*

Bonaparte, Napoléon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph (1856-1879)—son of Napoleon III, got the title of Imperial Prince at his birth.—222

Bonaparte, Prince Napoléon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-1891)—son of Jérôme Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III; known under the nicknames of Plon-Plon and Red Prince.—189, 270

Boon, Martin James—British mechanic; prominent figure in the British working-class movement; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72); Secretary of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—571

Borchardt, Louis (1820-1883)—German physician, liberal; sentenced to imprisonment for his participation in the 1848-49 revolution; being released he emigrated to Bradford, then to Manchester; private doctor of Wilhelm Wolff; Engels' acquaintance.—170-71

Bornstedt, Adalbert von (1808-1851)—German journalist; founder and editor of the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (1847-48); member of the Communist League, expelled from it in March 1848; as it turned out later he had contacts with the Prussian police.—336

Bourbons—royal dynasty in France (1589-1792, 1814-15, 1815-30), in Spain (1700-1808, 1814-68, 1874-1931 and since 1975) and in a number of Italian states.—488, 512

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder (1869) and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag (1877-79).—20, 69, 73, 77-78, 174, 209, 253, 269

Bradnick, Frederick—member of the General Council of the First International (1870-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm, Count von (1792-1850)—Prussian general and statesman, head of the counter-revolutionary ministry (from November 1848 to November 1850).—161

Bright, John (1811-1889)—British manufacturer and politician, one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (from 1843); leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts.—179, 403, 412

Brutus (*Marcus Junius Brutus*) (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician, republican; an initiator of the conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—14-15

Bucher, Lothar (1817-1892)—Prussian official and journalist; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848 and then a refugee in London; subsequently National Liberal and supporter of Bismarck.—230-33

Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin (1796-1865)—French politician, historian, Christian Socialist.—69, 93

Büchner, Georg (1813-1837)—German dramatist and writer; revolutionary democrat; in 1834, an organiser of the secret revolutionary Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte (Society of

Human Rights) in Hesse; author of the address to the Hessian peasants bearing the motto: "Peace to the cabin; war to the palace".—513

Bückler, Johann (1777-1803)—German robber, nicknamed *Schinderhannes* (Hans the skin-flint).—48

Bülow-Cummerow, Ernst Gottfried Georg von (1775-1851)—German journalist and politician; expressed the interests of big landowners.—144

Burns, Lydia (*Lizzy, Lizzie*) (1827-1878)—Irish working woman; Frederick Engels' second wife.—567

Busch, Moritz (1821-1899)—German publicist.—580

Buss, Franz Joseph von (1803-1878)—German lawyer and politician; main representative of political Catholicism; deputy to the National Assembly in Frankfurt am Main (extreme Right wing) and in 1874-76 deputy to the German Reichstag (Centre).—166

Buttery, G. H.—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72).—571

C

Caesar (*Gaius Julius Caesar*) (c. 100-44 B.C.)—Roman general, statesman and writer, author of *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.—350, 365, 429, 442-43

Camphausen, Ludolf (1803-1890)—banker in Cologne; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prime Minister of Prussia (March-June 1848).—107, 183

Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)—British writer, historian and philosopher; supported the Tories; preached views bordering on feudal socialism up to 1848; later a relentless opponent of the working-class movement.—288, 412

Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the Right-wing Republicans; President of the Republic (September 1873-January 1874); deputy to the Cortes after the restoration of monarchy in 1874.—513, 523

Catherine II (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—49, 360, 488

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de (1547-1616)—Spanish writer.—458

Chambord, Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné, comte de (1820-1883)—last representative of the elder line of the Bourbons, grandson of Charles X, pretender to the French throne under the name of Henry V.—222

Charlemagne (*Charles the Great*) (c. 742-814)—King of the Franks (768-800) and Roman Emperor (800-14).—448, 450

Charles II (1630-1685)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1660-85).—436

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic.—23, 199

Cherval, Julien (real name *Joseph Crämer*)—Prussian police spy who had gained entry into the Communist League and led one of the Paris communities belonging to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police; agent provocateur in Switzerland under the name of Nugent (1853-54).—51

Clowes, Norris A.—American journalist; in the early 1880s, the *New-York Star* correspondent in Ireland; acquaintance of Theodor Friedrich Cuno.—410

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, general; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); fought in the US Civil War; member of the First International; Bakuninist; the General Council's correspondent in the USA in the spring of 1870; took part in revolutionary uprisings in Lyons and Marseilles (1870); member of the Paris Commune (1871); emigrated after its defeat.—237

Cobbett, William (c. 1762-1835)—British politician and journalist; from 1802 published *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.*—32

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—British manufacturer and politician; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P. (1841-65).—400-03, 412

Cohen, Ferdinand (c. 1842-1866)—German student, Karl Blind's stepson; made an unsuccessful attempt on Bismarck's life on May 7, 1866.—244

Constantine I (called "*The Great*") (c. 285-337)—Roman Emperor (306-37).—428

Cook, Flavius Josephus (*Joseph*) (1838-1901)—American theologian and preacher; his Boston Monday lectures enjoyed great popularity in the 1870s.—576

Correggio (*Antonio Allegri*) (c. 1489-1534)—Italian painter.—119

Count of Paris—see *Louis Philippe Albert d'Orleans, Count of*

Cournot, Antoine Augustin (1801-1877)—French mathematician, philosopher and economist; forerunner of the mathematical school of political economy; in his *Recherches sur les principes mathématiques de la théorie des richesses* tried to study economic phenomena with the help of mathematical methods.—559

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the English Revolution, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653.—578

Cross, Richard Assheton, first Viscount Cross (1823-1914)—British statesman, Conservative; Home Secretary (1874-80 and 1885-86).—563

Cuff, Christ. R.—English court official.—563

D

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—183

Darwin, Charles Robert (1809-1882)—English naturalist, founder of the theory of natural selection of species.—301, 313, 435, 458, 463, 467

Davis, John Chandler Bancroft (1822-1907)—American lawyer and diplomat; the London *Times* correspondent (1854-61); Under-Secretary of State (1869, 1871 and 1873-74); Ambassador to Germany (1874-77).—571-72

Delahaye, Victor Alfred (1838-1897)—French mechanic; Proudhonist; member of the First International from 1865; took part in the Paris Commune (1871); emigrated to England after the suppression of the Commune; member of the General Council of the International and the British Federal Council (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); returned to France in 1879.—571

Delbrück, Martin Friedrich Rudolf von (1817-1903)—Prussian and German statesman; supporter of Free Trade; one of Bismarck's close advisers up to 1876; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-81).—122, 124

Demmler, Georg Adolf (1804-1886)—German Social-Democrat, deputy to the Reichstag (1877-78).—209

Demosthenes (c. 384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician; champion of democracy in slave-owning society.—548

Demuth, Helene (1820-1890)—housemaid and friend of the Marx family.—476, 568

Deprez, Marcel (1843-1918)—French

physicist and electrician; worked on the problem of electric energy transmission.—468

Descartes, René (in Latin: *Renatus Cartesius*) (1596-1650)—French philosopher, mathematician and naturalist.—298

Deville, Gabriel Pierre (1854-1940)—French socialist, active member of the French Workers' Party, journalist; staff member of *L'Égalité*; author of a popular exposition of Marx's *Capital*; left the working-class movement at the beginning of the 20th century.—586

Dickens, Charles John Huffam (1812-1870)—English novelist.—569

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—298

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth, Baronet (1843-1911)—British politician and writer; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party; Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1880-82) and President of the local government board (1882-85).—389

Dillon, John (1851-1927)—Irish politician; a leader of the Irish National Land League; M.P. in 1880; in the 1880s was arrested several times and imprisoned.—408

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881)—British statesman and author, a Tory leader; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68) and Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—180, 386

Dobrolyubov, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1836-1861)—Russian revolutionary democrat; literary critic and journalist; materialist philosopher; one of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—23

Dolleschall, Laurenz (b. 1790)—police official, in Cologne (1819-47), censor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*.—183

Don Francisco de Asís de Borbón—husband of Isabella II from 1846.—21

Donkin, Horatio Bryan—English physician, doctor of Marx and his family in 1881-83.—476

Dörenberg, E.—German journalist, Social-Democrat; staff member of the *Berliner Freie Presse*, Berlin correspondent of *La Plebe* (1877).—172

Dourlen, Gustave—French physician in Argenteuil, doctor of Marx and his family in 1881-82.—475

Du Barry, Marie Jeanne Bécu, comtesse (1743-1793)—favourite of Louis XV, King of France.—21

Duchâtel, Charles Marie Tanneguy, comte de (1803-1867)—French statesman, Orleanist, Minister of Trade (1834-36), Minister of the Interior (1839, 1840-February 1848); staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*; follower of Malthus.—326

Ducrot, Auguste Alexandre (1817-1882)—French general; deputy to the National Assembly from 1871; as Commander of the 8th Corps (1872-78) took part in monarchist plots against the Republic.—204

Dühring, Eugen Karl (1833-1921)—German eclectic philosopher and economist, petty-bourgeois socialist; lecturer at Berlin University (1863-77).—119, 339, 457

Duméril, Edelestand Pontas (1801-1871)—French philologist and palaeographer; staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

Duncker, Franz Gustav (1822-1888)—German politician and publisher, prominent figure in the Party of Progress; in 1868, together with Max Hirsch, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Duncker unions, which existed until 1933.—189

Dunoyer, Barthélemy Charles Pierre Joseph (1786-1862)—French economist and politician.—326

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1837-1881)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on, lived in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864 to 1872); Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in all the congresses (except for the Basle Congress of 1869) and conferences of the International; member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; associate of Marx and Engels; moved to the USA in 1874.—571

Dušan—see *Stephen Dushan*

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—German tailor and journalist; prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the League of the Just and later of the Communist League; a leader of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72); the Council's General Secretary (1867-71); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; associate of Marx up to 1871, subsequently joined the leaders of the British trade unions.—571

Eichhorn, Johann Albrecht Friedrich (1779-1856)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (1840-48).—151

Engel, Ernst (1821-1896)—German statistician, head of the Royal Prussian Statistical Bureau in Berlin (1860-82).—413

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895).—32, 34, 50, 55, 57, 77, 100, 105-07, 131, 133, 140-41, 165, 170-71, 174, 181-82, 184, 187, 203, 252, 257-60, 262, 268, 269, 312, 318, 326, 335-36, 345, 372, 374, 379, 382, 400, 404, 410, 419-20, 422, 431, 437-38, 457-59, 467, 472-81, 487, 500, 565-67

Epicurus (341-270 B.C.)—Greek atomistic philosopher.—430, 434

Erlach, Franz von (1819-1889)—Swiss army officer and military writer; during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 was an observer at the German General Headquarters.—529

Eulenburg, Botho, Count of (1831-1912)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (1878-81 and 1892-94); Prime Minister (1892-94); took part in the working out of the Anti-Socialist Law and in the persecution of Social-Democrats.—242-49

Eulenburg, Friedrich Albrecht, Count of (1815-1881)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Minister of the Interior (1862-78).—566

Ewald, Georg Heinrich August von (1803-1875)—German orientalist; researcher and critic of the Bible.—430

Eynern, Ernst von (1838-1906)—German politician and businessman; from 1879 member of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies; National Liberal; opposed Social-Democracy.—458

F

Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp (1790-1861)—German historian and traveller.—432

Faucher, Léonard (Léon) Joseph (1803-1854)—French writer and politician, Malthusian economist, Orleanist; staff member of the *Journal des Économistes*; Minister of the Interior (December 1848-May 1849, 1851); later Bonapartist.—326

Favre, Jules Claude Gabriel (1809-1880)—French lawyer and politician; a leader of the bourgeois republican opposition from the late 1850s;

Foreign Minister (1870-71), together with Thiers headed the struggle against the Paris Commune; among others, inspired the struggle against the First International; Senator from 1876.—237, 527

Feuerbach, Ludwig Andreas (1804-1872)—German materialist philosopher.—513

Feugier—French physician in Enghien, Marx's doctor from June to August 1882.—475

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)—German philosopher.—459, 511

Flerovsky, N.—see *Bervi, Vasily Vasilyevich*

Flocon, Ferdinand (1800-1866)—French politician, journalist, democrat, an editor of *La Réforme* (1845); member of the Provisional Government (1848).—187

Flourens, Gustave Paul (1838-1871)—French naturalist and revolutionary, follower of Blanqui; contributed to *La Marseillaise*; one of the leaders of the Paris uprisings on October 31, 1870 and January 22, 1871; member of the Paris Commune and its Military Commission; on April 3, 1871 was killed by the Versaillists.—461

Forckenbeck, Maximilian (Max) Franz August von (1821-1892)—German politician, a founder of the Party of Progress (1861) and National-Liberal Party (1867); Chairman of the Reichstag (1874-79).—240

Forster, William Edward (1818-1886)—British manufacturer and statesman, Liberal M.P.; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1880-82); pursued a policy of brutal suppression of the national liberation movement.—407, 409

Fould, Achille (1800-1867)—French banker and politician, Orleanist, subsequently Bonapartist; Minister of Finance (1849-52, 1861-67); Minister of the Imperial Court (1852-60).—274

Fourier, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—287, 289, 292-93, 313, 316, 459, 508

Francis II (1768-1835)—Holy Roman Emperor (1792-1806); Emperor of Austria as Francis I (1804-35).—9

Francis Joseph I (1830-1916)—Emperor of Austria (1848-1916).—9, 239

Frankel, Leo (1844-1896)—prominent figure in the Hungarian and the international working-class movement; jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary of the General Council of the First International for Austria and Hungary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; a founder of the General Workers' Party of Hungary; associate of Marx and Engels.—105, 571

Frederick II (*the Great*) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—488

Frederick William (1831-1888)—Prussian Crown Prince; married Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa in 1858; German Emperor and King of Prussia under the name of Frederick III (March-June 1888).—582

Frederick William II (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—8

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—183, 318, 343, 511

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—9, 107, 143, 151, 188, 515

Fribourg, Ernest Edouard—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver, later businessman; Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of the First International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; a leader of the Paris section of the International; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; in 1871 published a book, *L'Association internationale des travailleurs*, hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—235

Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm (1825-1905)—a reformist leader of the German Social-Democratic and trade union movement; tobacco-worker; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; one of the founders (1863) and leaders of the General Association of German Workers; follower of Lassalle; joined the Eisenachers in 1869; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1868-71 and 1877-81).—209, 578

G

Gambetta, Léon (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois republican; member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—493, 513, 523, 528-30

Gartman, Lev Nikolayevich (1850-1908)—Russian revolutionary, Narodnik (populist); in 1879 took part in an act of terrorism of the People's Will group against Alexander II, following which emigrated to France; representative of the People's Will group abroad; left London for the USA at the end of 1881.—372

Geib, August (1842-1879)—German bookseller in Hamburg; Social-Democrat; member of the General Association of German Workers; participant in the Eisenach Congress (1869); treasurer of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1872-78); deputy to the Reichstag (1874-77).—77, 214

Geleff, Poul Johansen (1842-1928)—participant in the Danish socialist and working-class movement; a founder of the Danish section of the First International (1871); one of the founders (1876) and leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark; emigrated to the USA in 1877.—219

George I (1660-1727)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1714-27).—437

Gerlach, Carl Johann Heinrich Eduard von (1792-1863)—Prussian politician; chief of the police in Berlin up to 1839; *Regierungspräsident* in Cologne (1839-45).—184

Giffen, Sir Robert (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician; head of the Statistics Department in the Board of Trade (1876-97); author of works on economics and statistics.—323

Gladstone, Robertson (c. 1806-1875)—British trader; a founder (1848) and for a long time President of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, brother of William Ewart Gladstone.—96

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite; leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66), Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—96, 124, 389, 409, 460

Goegg, Amand (1820-1897)—German journalist, democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; emigrated after the revolution; member of the League of Peace and Freedom, and its Vice-President in 1870; member of the Central Committee of the German Workers' Educational Society in Switzerland; member of the German-language section of the First International (1868); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) of the International; member of the Central Committee of the People's Party; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.—70, 524

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-

1832)—German poet.—91, 306, 547, 569

Goltz, Theodor Alexander Georg Ludwig, Freiherr von der (1836-1905)—German scientist, agronomist; author of works on agriculture.—121

Gorchakov (Gorchakoff), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; envoy to Vienna (1854-56); Foreign Minister (1856-82).—507, 508, 511

Grant Duff, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone (1829-1906)—British liberal politician and author, M.P. (1857-81); Under-Secretary of State for India (1868-74); Governor of Madras (1881-86).—580-81

Greiff (Greif), Friedrich Wilhelm (born c. 1819)—one of the chiefs of the Prussian secret service in London in the early 1850s.—51

Grillenberger, Karl (Carl) (1848-1897)—German publisher and editor of Social-Democratic newspapers; member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869); deputy to the German Reichstag (1881-97).—259

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist; follower of Bakunin; an organiser of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the Swiss organisations of the First International from 1868; expelled from it at the Hague Congress (1872) for his splitting activities.—176, 177

Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume (1787-1874)—French historian and statesman, Orleanist; Foreign Minister (1840-48), Prime Minister (1847-48); virtually determined the home and foreign policy of France from 1840 to the February 1848 revolution; expressed the interests of the big financial bourgeoisie.—184

H

Hackenberger, Rudolph—an editor of the *Freie Volksstimme* in Saarbrücken, Social-Democrat.—210

Hales, William—member of the General Council of the First International (1867, 1869-72).—571

Hales, W. K.—publisher of the London *Daily News* (1878-81).—230-31, 374

Hannecken, Karl August Bernhard Hermann von (1810-1886)—Prussian officer and military writer.—528

Hansemann, David Justus Ludwig (1790-1864)—German capitalist, a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Finance Minister (March-September 1848).—183, 274

Harcourt, Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon (1827-1904)—British statesman, Liberal M.P. (1868-80); Home Secretary (1880-85); leader of the Liberal Party (1894-98).—375

Harris, George—active in the British working-class movement; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72); Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—571

Hartmann, Georg Wilhelm—German worker; member of the General Association of German Workers; from 1875, one of the two Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; deputy to the Reichstag (1878-81).—408

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, follower of Lassalle; leather-dresser, journalist; Secretary (from 1866) and President (1871-75) of the General Association of German Workers; one of the two Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party of

Germany (1875-76); member of its leadership (from 1878); deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1869-71, 1874-78, 1879-88).—209, 214, 408

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (1844-1916)—one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1867-71) and *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (1871-76); member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-80); expelled from the party as an anarchist in 1880.—67, 72, 214, 578

Haxthausen, August Franz Ludwig Maria, Freiherr von (1792-1866)—Prussian official and writer; author of works on the agrarian system and the peasant commune in Russia.—45, 196

Hébert, Jacques René (1757-1794)—prominent figure in the French Revolution; leader of the Left wing of the Jacobins, publisher of *Le Père Duchesne* (1790-94).—14

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—German philosopher.—285-86, 293, 298, 302-04, 427, 458-59, 514, 583

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—14, 33, 175, 249, 429

Helldorf-Bedra, Otto Heinrich von (1833-1908)—German politician, member of the Reichstag (1871-74, 1877-81 and 1884-93); a leader of the German Conservative Party.—250

Henry IV (1533-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—237

Heraclitus (c. 540-c. 480 B.C.)—Greek philosopher; one of the founders of dialectics.—299

Herman, Alfred—active in the Belgian working-class movement; sculptor; a founder of sections of the First International in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the Hague Congress joined the anarchist minority.—571

Herodotus (c. 484-c. 424 B.C.)—Greek historian.—548

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher and writer; left Russia in 1847, from 1852 lived in England where he established the Free Russian Press and published the periodical *Polyarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star) (1855-62, 1869) and the newspaper *Kolokol* (The Bell) (1857-67).—43, 45, 196

Hesekiel, Georg Ludwig (1819-1874)—German journalist and man of letters.—580

Hess, Moses (1812-1875)—German radical writer; a "true socialist" in the mid-1840s; member of the Communist League; sided with the separatist Willich-Schapper group; Lassallean in the 1860s; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the First International.—51, 514

Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von (1805-1856)—Prussian official; Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848, President of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—51-53

Hirsch, Carl (Karl) (1841-1900)—German Social-Democrat, journalist, editor of a number of Social-Democratic newspapers; while in Paris in the summer of 1879 he propagated ideas of scientific socialism.—253-54, 257-61

Hirsch, Wilhelm—Hamburg shop assistant, Prussian police agent in London in the early 1850s.—51

Höchberg, Karl (pseudonym *Dr. Ludwig Richter*) (1853-1885)—German social-reformer; son of a rich merchant; in

1876 joined the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; organised and financed a number of newspapers and journals.—253-54, 257-60, 262-67, 269

Hödel (Hoedel), Emil Heinrich Max (1857-1878)—tinner from Leipzig; on May 11, 1878 made an attempt on the life of William I.—231, 237, 243, 245-46, 575

Hohenzollerns—dynasty of Brandenburg Electors (1415-1701), Prussian Kings (1701-1918) and German Emperors (1871-1918).—9

Homer—semi-legendary epic poet of Ancient Greece, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.—24, 34

Howell, George (1833-1910)—reformist leader of the British trade unions; mason; former Chartist; Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of the First International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); participant in the London Conference of the International (1865); Secretary of the Reform League (1864-67) and the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress of Trade Unions (1871-75); opposed revolutionary tactics; Liberal M.P. (1885-95).—234-39

Hubbard, Nicolas Gustave (1828-1888)—French economist and writer.—291

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer and statesman.—585

Humboldt, Alexander (Friedrich Heinrich Alexander), Baron von (1769-1859)—German naturalist, traveller and statesman; between 1830 and 1848 he was frequently sent on diplomatic missions to the court of Louis Philippe.—184, 419, 422

Hurliman—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); delegate from the Swiss Society in London.—571

I

Illingworth, A.—M.P. in 1881.—389

Isabella II (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—21-22

J

Jacoby, Johann (1805-1877)—German radical writer and politician; a leader of the Left wing in the Prussian National Assembly (1848); in the 1870s, was close to the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany.—492, 525

James II (1633-1701)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1685-88).—436

Jhering, Rudolf von (1818-1892)—German jurist; taught Roman law at several universities; headed the "positive" and "practically-dogmatic" trend of the bourgeois school of law.—554, 556

Johannard, Jules Paul (1843-1892)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; lithographer; member of the General Council of the First International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune (1871); was close to the Blanquists; emigrated to London after the suppression of the Commune; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International.—571

Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph (pen-name *Philalethes*) (1801-1873)—Prince of Saxony, King of Saxony (1854-73), translator of Dante.—183

John (Johann) (1782-1859)—Archduke of Austria, field marshal, fought against Napoleon; Imperial Regent from June 1848 to December 1849.—138, 167-68, 188

Jottrand, Lucien Léopold (1804-1877)—Belgian lawyer and writer, democrat, President of the Democratic Association in Brussels (1847).—136-37

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); participant in the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; supported Marx before the Hague Congress of 1872; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; left the working-class movement in the late 1870s.—571

K

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—German philosopher.—293, 301-02, 458-59

Kapell, August (b. 1844)—a founder of the General Association of German Carpenters; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877).—209

Kardorff, Wilhelm von (1828-1907)—German politician, deputy to the Reichstag (1868-1906); a founder of the party of "free Conservatives" ("Imperial party"); protectionist; supported Bismarck's foreign and home policy.—111, 119-20, 122, 124-25

Kaulitz, Harry—an editor of the *Freie Volksstimme* in Saarbrücken; Social-Democrat.—210

Kayser, Max (1853-1888)—German journalist; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany; member of the Reichstag (1878-87), belonged to the right wing of the Social-Democratic group.—258-61

Kératry, Émile, comte de (1832-1905)—French reactionary politician; Prefect of the Paris police (September-October 1870); later supervised the formation of territorial armed forces in Brittany; Prefect of the Haute Garonne Department (1871); in April 1871, suppressed the Commune in Toulouse.—461, 529

Khmelnitsky, Bogdan (Zinovy) (c. 1595-1657)—Ukrainian statesman and general, Hetman of the Ukraine; headed the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Polish domination (1648-54); initiator of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia and advocate of her political autonomy (1654).—502

Kościuszko, Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura (1746-1817)—prominent figure in the Polish national liberation movement in the 1790s; took part in the struggle for the independence of the North American colonies (1776-83); leader of the Polish uprising of 1794.—7, 343

Krengel—mayor of the village of Nessin (Eastern Prussia) in the 1840s.—143

Krüger, Daniel Christian Friedrich (1819-1896)—German lawyer and diplomat; represented Lübeck (from 1868) and Hamburg and Bremen (from 1873) in the Federal Council.—122-23

Krupp, Alfred (1812-1887)—big German steel and ordnance manufacturer, supplying many European states with guns and other weapons.—275-76

Kryński (Krynski), Jan (1811-1890)—Polish revolutionary; participant in the Polish uprising of 1863-64; refugee in London; member of the General Council (1865-67); Secretary of the society called "The Polish People".—5

Kullmann, Eduard (1853-1892)—German cooper, member of a Catholic trade union; on July 13, 1874 made an attempt on Bismarck's life in protest against his policy of restricting the rights of the Catholic Church in

Germany (*Kulturkampf*); died in prison.—244

L

Ladenberg, Adalbert von (1798-1855)—Prussian official; Minister of Religious Worship, Education and Medicine (November 1848-December 1850).—151

Lafargue, Charles Étienne (1868-1872)—son of Laura and Paul Lafargue.—460-61

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)—Karl Marx's second daughter; prominent figure in the French working-class movement; translated many works of Marx and Engels into French; married Paul Lafargue in 1868.—460-61, 585

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International (from 1866); Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the First International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); a founder of the French Workers' Party; follower and associate of Marx and Engels; husband of Laura, Karl Marx's daughter, from 1868.—23, 26-27, 335-36, 345, 457, 460-61, 471, 585

Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis de (1790-1869)—French poet, historian and politician; one of the leaders of the moderate republicans in the 1840s; Minister of Foreign Affairs and virtual head of the Provisional Government in 1848.—107, 187, 480

Lange, Friedrich Albert (1828-1875)—German philosopher and economist; from 1870 professor in Zurich and, from 1872, in Marburg; Neo-Kantian.—91, 531

Lankester, Sir Edwin Ray (1847-1929)—English scientist, professor of biology (from 1874).—471

Laplace, Pierre Simon, marquis de (1749-1827)—French astronomer, mathematician and physicist; independently of Kant, worked out and mathematically substantiated the hypothesis that the solar system developed from gaseous nebula.—302, 458

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German writer and lawyer; participant in the democratic movement in the Rhine Province (1848-49); founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863); an initiator of an opportunist trend within the German working-class movement.—69-70, 72, 78, 83-84, 88-93, 230, 263, 273, 326, 457, 492, 515-16, 522-23, 572, 574, 584

Lavrov, Pyotr (Peter) Lavrovich (1823-1900)—Russian philosopher, sociologist and journalist; an ideologist of revolutionary Narodism (populism); emigrated in 1870; member of the First International; took part in the Paris Commune; editor of the journal *Vperyod!* (Forward!) (1873-76); adherent to the subjective method in sociology.—19-29, 32-34, 36, 469, 473, 477

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England; member of the General Council (June 1867-72) and the Manchester Section of the First International (1872); publisher of *The Secular Chronicle* (1876-79).—571

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician; a leader of the petty-bourgeois democrats; editor of *La Réforme*; Minister of the Interior in the Provisional Government (1848); deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, where he headed the Montagne party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, and lived there until 1870;

deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—270

Lelewel, Joachim (1786-1861)—Polish historian and revolutionary; participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31; a leader of the democratic wing of the Polish refugees in France and, from 1833, in Brussels.—344

Lemke, Gottlieb (c. 1844-1885)—member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—467

Le Moussu, Benjamin Constant (b. 1846)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to London after the suppression of the Commune; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-language sections in the USA (1871-72) and, from May 1872, for all sections of the International there; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—571

Leonhardt, Gerhard Adolf Wilhelm (1815-1880)—German lawyer and statesman; Minister of Justice in Hanover (1865-66) and Prussia (1867-79).—448

Leopold I (1790-1865)—King of Belgium (1831-65).—136-37

Lépine, Jules—Secretary of the Paris branch of the French Workers' Party.—470

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—German dramatist, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—23

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—member of the Communist League; tailor; participant in the 1848-49 revolution; defendant at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); refugee in London from 1856; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864-72); member of the British Federal Council (1872-73); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—105, 345, 471, 571

Le Tailleur, A.—publisher of *L'Égalité*.—586

Levy, Joseph Moses (1812-1888)—English journalist; one of the founders and publisher of *The Daily Telegraph* from 1855.—51

Lewal, Jules Louis (1823-1908)—French general and military theoretician; War Minister of France (1885).—66

Lichnowski, Felix Maria, Prince von (1814-1848)—Silesian landowner, Prussian army officer; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Right wing); killed during the September 1848 uprising in Frankfurt.—144

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and of the First International; deputy to the North German (1867-70) and the German Reichstag from 1874 (with intervals); one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—67, 72-73, 77, 209, 214, 253-57, 408, 470, 492, 500, 521, 525

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)—American statesman; a leader of the Republican Party; President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure from the masses, carried out a number of important bourgeois-democratic reforms, thus making possible the adoption of revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated by a slaveholders' agent in April 1865.—236

Linné, Carl von (1707-1778)—Swedish naturalist; was the first to devise the classification systems for plants and animals.—303

Lissagaray, Prosper Olivier (1838-1901)—French journalist; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Great Britain after its defeat; author of *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (1876); on returning to France (1880), published the newspaper *La Bataille* (1882-83, 1888-93), which opposed the leaders of the French Workers' Party, Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue.—527

Lochner, Georg (born c. 1824)—active member of the working-class movement; joiner; member of the Communist League and of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; member of the General Council of the First International (November 1864-67 and 1871-72); delegate to the London conferences of the International (1865 and 1871); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—471, 571

Locke, John (1632-1704)—English dualist philosopher and economist.—299

Longuet, Charles (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; journalist; Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the First International (1866-67, 1871-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1866); delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune (1871); later joined the Possibilists; in the 1880s-90s was elected to the Paris Municipal Council; in 1872 married Karl Marx's daughter Jenny.—330, 460, 469, 571, 585

Longuet, Edgar (1879-1950)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

Longuet, Henri (1878-1883)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

Longuet, Jean, Frédéric, Laurent (1876-1938)—Marx's grandson, son of Jenny and Charles Longuet.—585

Longuet, Jenny (1844-1883)—Marx's eldest daughter; prominent figure in the international working-class movement; wife of Charles Longuet (from 1872).—460-61, 475, 585

Loria, Achille (1857-1943)—Italian sociologist and economist.—479-80

Louis XIV (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—559

Louis XV (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—21

Louis Bonaparte—see *Napoleon III*

Louis Napoleon—see *Napoleon III*

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—13, 93, 96, 419, 488

Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Count of Paris (1838-1894)—Louis Philippe's grandson; pretender to the French throne.—222

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; furniture-maker; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-71); in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the General Council.—237

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)—German theologian and writer, a leader of the Reformation, founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany, ideologist of the German burghers.—247

M

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de (1709-1785)—French sociologist, proponent of utopian egalitarian communism.—287

McDonnell (MacDonnell), Joseph Patrick (1847-1906)—active member of the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; in 1872 emigrated to the USA where he took part in the American working-class movement.—571

MacIver, D.—British M.P. from Birkenhead (1881).—389

MacMahon, Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice, comte de, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune (1871), President of the Third Republic (1873-79).—577

Maine, Sir Henry James Sumner (1822-1888)—English comparative jurist and historian; as a member of the Governor General's Council for India (1862-69) took an active part in working out local English laws and in the colonial oppression of India.—359, 365

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the First International; took part in the formation of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy (1868); delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866); deputy to the National Assembly (1871); member of the Paris Commune; after its suppression emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland; later, a leader and ideologist of the Possibilists.—12

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—English clergyman and economist, author of a theory of population.—69, 91

Manteuffel, Edwin Hans Karl, Baron von (1809-1885)—German general, general field-marshal from 1873; during the Franco-Prussian war commanded the First Corps, then the First (from October 1870) and South (from January 1871) armies; Commander-in-Chief of the German occupational troops in France (1871-73).—530

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, Minister of the Interior (November 1848-November 1850); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—140-41, 161, 516

Manteuffels—aristocratic family from Pomerania, first mentioned in documents in 1287; in the 14th century settled in Saxony, Sweden and the Baltic area.—144

Marat, Jean Paul (1743-1793)—leading figure in the French Revolution, prominent Jacobin.—582

Maria Alexandrovna, the Grand Duchess (1853-1920)—Alexander II's daughter; wife of Alfred Ernest Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, from January 1874.—5

Martin, Bon Louis Henri (1810-1883)—French historian, Republican; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); Senator (from 1876).—235

Martin, Constant (1839-1906)—French employee, Blanquist; member of the Paris Federal Council of the First International; member of the Paris Commune; after its defeat emigrated to London, member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72); Secretary of the London Conference (1871); after the amnesty in 1880 returned to France.—571

Marx, Edgar (Musch) (1847-1855)—Karl Marx's son.—420, 423

Marx, Eleanor (Tussy) (1855-1898)—Karl Marx's youngest daughter, prominent figure in the British and international working-class movement; married Edward Aveling in 1884.—460-61, 473, 476

Marx, Franziska (1851-1852)—Karl Marx's daughter.—420, 423

Marx, Heinrich Guido (1849-1850)—Karl Marx's son.—420, 423

Marx, Jenny (née *von Westphalen*) (1814-1881)—Karl Marx's wife from June 1843.—184, 419-24, 463, 467, 474, 583, 585

Marx, Karl (1818-1883).—32, 37-38, 51-55, 57, 69-73, 77-78, 81, 87-92, 107, 131, 137, 165, 170-71, 183-84, 187-96, 230-37, 246-47, 249, 253, 268, 269, 305, 307, 308, 315, 326, 327, 332, 335, 336, 345-46, 352-54, 355, 358, 360, 361-62, 364-66, 370-72, 374, 419-20, 422-23, 460-64, 467-80, 487, 492-93, 495, 500, 520-23, 532-37, 549-51, 557, 563-65, 568-85

Massard, Nicolas Émile (1857-1932)—French socialist, journalist; member of the French Workers' Party; staff member of *L'Égalité* in the early 1880s.—586

Maurer, Georg Ludwig (1790-1872)—German historian, studied the social system of ancient and medieval Germany.—46, 350, 366

Mayo, Henry—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872); in the latter he joined the reformist wing; opposed the decisions of the Hague Congress of the International; expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); an organiser of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864 he tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the International; hindered the development of the independent working-class movement in Italy.—217, 583

Merovingians—the first dynasty of Frankish kings that ruled from 457 to 751.—450

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement; printer; an organiser of the First International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought anarchism; one of the first propagandists of Marxism in Spain and a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879); translated works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—105, 470

Metternich-Winneburg, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, Prince von (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; Minister of Foreign Affairs (1809-21) and Chancellor (1821-48); an organiser of the Holy Alliance.—488, 512

Meyer, Rudolph Hermann (1839-1899)—German bourgeois economist and journalist, conservative.—550

Mezentsov, Nikolai Vladimirovich (1827-1878)—Russian statesman; from 1864, chief of staff of the political police corps; in 1876-78, chief of the political police.—245

Mickiewicz, Adam (1798-1855)—Polish poet and leader of the national liberation movement; emigrated in 1829; studied literature, culture and history of the Slav peoples.—497

Mierosławski, Ludwik (1814-1878)—leader of the Polish national liberation movement, took part in the 1830-31 uprising; helped to organise the uprising in Posen in 1846, was arrested; headed the 1848 uprising in Posen; in 1849, commanded the Baden-Palatinate revolutionary army.—58

Mikhailovsky, Nikolai Konstantinovich (1842-1904)—Russian sociologist, journalist and literary critic; an ideologist of Narodism (populism);

an editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (Fatherland's Notes) (1868-84) and *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth) (1892-1904).—196, 199-200

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—British economist and positivist philosopher.—181

Milner, George—participant in the British working-class movement; Irish by birth; tailor; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League, the Land and Labour League, the First International's General Council (1868-72), and the British Federal Council (autumn 1872 to 1873); in the latter opposed the reformist wing; delegate to the London Conference (1871) of the International.—571

Miquel, Johannes (1828-1901)—German lawyer, politician and banker; member of the Communist League up to 1852, later a National Liberal; deputy to the North German and the German Reichstag (1867-77 and 1887-90), Finance Minister (1890-1901).—266

Mirès, Jules Isaac (1809-1871)—French banker, owner of several newspapers.—277

Molière (real name *Jean Baptiste Poquelin*) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—569

Moll, Joseph (1812-1849)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; watchmaker; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Central Authority of the Communist League, President of the Cologne Workers' Association (from July to September 1848), member of the Rhenish District Committee of Democrats; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849, was killed in the battle of the Murg.—138, 566

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard, Count von (1800-1891)—military writer and strategist, ideologist of Prussian militarism, field marshal-general from 1871; Chief of Prussian (1857-71) and Imperial (1871-88) General Staff; virtually commander-in-chief during the Franco-Prussian war.—528-30

Monk, Charles (b. 1824)—British statesman, Liberal Unionist M.P. (1859, 1865-85).—389

Montaigne, Michel de (1533-1592)—French skeptical philosopher.—569

Moore, Samuel (1838-1911)—English lawyer, member of the First International; translated into English Volume One of Marx's *Capital* (in collaboration with Edward Aveling) and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; friend of Marx and Engels.—480

Morago González, Tomás—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of Socialists (September 1877).—216

Morelly (18th cent.)—French advocate of utopian egalitarian communism.—287

Morgan, Lewis Henry (1818-1881)—American ethnographer, archaeologist and historian of primitive society.—350

Most, Johann Joseph (1846-1906)—German anarchist, joined the working-class movement in the 1860s; deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-78); after the promulgation of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878) emigrated to England; founder (1879) and editor of the *Freiheit*; expelled from the German Socialist Workers' Party as an anarchist (in 1880); in 1882 emigrated to the USA and continued anarchist propaganda.—210, 214, 374, 410, 478-79

Motteler, Julius (1838-1907)—German Social-Democrat, a founder of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869), deputy to the Reichstag (1874-78, 1903-07).—209, 214

Mottershead, Thomas G. (c. 1826-1884)—

English weaver, a Chartist; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); member of the British Federal Council; opposed Marx's line in the General Council and the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council of May 30, 1873.—571

Müller, Wilhelm (1820-1892)—historian, professor in Tübingen.—511

Münzer, Thomas (c. 1490-1525)—leader of the urban plebeians and poor peasants during the Reformation and the Peasant War in Germany (1525); advocated egalitarian utopian communism.—287

Muravyov-Apostol, Sergei Ivanovich (1796-1826)—one of the leaders of the Decembrist movement in Russia, republican and opponent of serfdom; executed by Nicholas I together with the other four leaders of the Decembrist uprising of 1825.—501

Muravyov, Mikhail Nikolayevich (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, Minister of State Property (1857-63), opposed the Peasant Reform, Governor General of the North-Western Territory (1863-65); for the brutal suppression of the Polish uprising (1863-64) he was called "hangman".—503

Murray, Charles Joseph—active participant in the British workers' movement; shoemaker; follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist James Bronterre O'Brien, member of the National Reform League and the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the First International (1870-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); follower of Marx and Engels; an active member of the Social-Democratic Federation in the 1880s.—571

N

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—French statesman and general, first Consul of the French Republic (1799-1804); Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—9, 62, 103, 224, 288, 318, 390, 454, 494, 497, 504, 511, 528, 577

Napoleon III (Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (December 1848 to 1851), Emperor of the French (1852-70).—9, 56, 96, 167, 188-89, 221, 224, 271, 412, 504, 511, 525, 578

Napoleon, Prince (Plon-Plon)—see *Bonaparte, Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul*

Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadyevich (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, representative of the extreme adventurist trend of anarchism; as a refugee in Switzerland in 1869-71 he was connected with Bakunin; in August 1869, having returned to Russia for a short time, he formed a secret organisation, Narodnaya rasprava (People's Judgement), in Moscow; used methods impermissible for a revolutionary and did serious harm to the Russian revolutionary movement; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment; died in the SS. Peter and Paul fortress in St. Petersburg.—22, 25-27, 37, 246

Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) (A. D. 37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—432-33

Newton, Sir Isaac (1642-1727)—English physicist, astronomer and mathematician, founder of classical mechanics.—301, 303

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—9, 103, 107-08, 228, 343, 426, 488, 501-03, 512, 515-16

Niebelschütz, Edwin von—German official, editor of the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* in 1876-81.—241

Nobiling, Karl Eduard (1848-1878)—German anarchist; on May 11, 1878 made an attempt on William I's life.—231, 238, 241-46

Noble, John (1827-1892)—British politician, Free Trader, advocate of the Anti-Corn Law League; author of works on finances.—400-03

O

Odger, George (1820-1877)—one of the leaders of the British trade unions; shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1872; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League and the Labour Representation League; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866), opposed revolutionary tactics; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—237

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—a leader of the Fenian movement; publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; amnestied in 1870, emigrated to the USA where he headed the Fenian organisation; retired from political life in the 1880s.—460

Orleans—a branch of the royal dynasty in France (1830-48).—586

Orsini, Felice (1819-1858)—Italian democrat, republican; prominent figure in the struggle for Italy's national liberation and unification, executed for his attempt on the life of Napoleon III.—577

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—287, 289, 294-96, 335, 459

P

Paine, Thomas (1737-1809)—English-born American author, Republican, participant in the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the French Revolution (1789-94).—569

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory at the beginning of his career, Whig from 1830 onwards; Foreign Secretary (1830-41, 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58, 1859-65).—56, 138, 189

Pavía y Albuquerque, Manuel (1827-1895)—Spanish general and politician; in 1873 commanded the Republic's troops against the Carlists and suppressed the cantonalist uprising in Andalusia; Captain-General of New Castile (1873-74); carried out a monarchist coup d'état (January 2-3, 1874) which brought Serrano to power; Senator from 1880.—49

Péreire, Isaac (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, deputy to the Corps législatif; in 1852, together with his brother Émile Péreire, founded the joint-stock bank *Crédit mobilier*, which went bankrupt in 1867 and was liquidated in 1871; author of works on credit.—274, 277

Péreire, Jacob Émile (1800-1875)—French banker, adhered to the Saint-Simonists (1825-31); later a Bonapartist; a founder (1852) and director of the *Crédit mobilier*.—274, 277

Persius (Aulus Persius Flaccus) (A.D. 34-62)—Roman satirist, follower of Stoic philosophy.—433

Pestel, Pavel Ivanovich (1793-1826)—a leader of the Decembrist movement in Russia, founder and leader of the Southern Society.—501

Peter I (the Great) (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721); Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—8, 42, 488, 508

Peter III (1728-1762)—Emperor of Russia (1761-62).—49

Petronius (Gaius Petronius Arbiter) (d. A.D. 66)—Roman satirist, the reputed author of *Satyricon* showing moral degradation of Roman society during Nero's reign.—431

Pfander (Pfänder), Karl (Carl) (c. 1818-1876)—participant in the German and international working-class movement, painter; from 1845, a refugee in London; a leader of the League of the Just; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, of the Communist League's Central Authority and of the General Council of the First International (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—571

Pfuel, Ernst Heinrich Adolf von (1779-1866)—Prussian general; Prime Minister and War Minister (September-October 1848).—138

Philalethes—see *Johann Nepomuk Maria Joseph*

Philo (Philo Judaeus) (21 or 28 B.C.—A.D. 41 or 49)—main representative of the Judaic religious philosophy of Alexandria; greatly influenced the formation of Christian theology.—428-30

Pinder, Julius Hermann (b. 1805)—Prussian official, moderate liberal; *Oberpräsident* of Silesia; deputy to the Prussian National Assembly (Right wing) in 1848.—148

Pio, Louis Albert François (1841-1894)—publisher of the workers' weekly *Socialisten*; actual founder of the International's sections in Denmark (1871); a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); fled to the USA in 1877.—219

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—10, 238

Pi y Margall, Francisco (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, leader of the Left Republicans, utopian socialist; lawyer and writer; took part in the revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74); Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873); President *pro tem* of the republican government (June 11-July 18, 1873).—513

Plato (428 or 427-348 or 347 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—548

Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) (A.D. 23 or 24-79)—Roman scholar, author of *Natural History* in 37 volumes.—548

Pogodin, Mikhail Petrovich (1800-1875)—Russian historian, writer and journalist.—6-7

Pompadour, Jeanne Antoinette Poisson le Normant d'Étioles, marquise de (1721-1764)—mistress of Louis XV of France.—21

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph (1809-1865)—French writer, petty-bourgeois socialist, economist and sociologist; a founder of anarchism.—71, 184, 296, 326-27, 479, 514, 520-21

Puchta, Georg Friedrich (1798-1846)—German lawyer; representative of the historical school of law.—554

Pugachov, Yemelyan Ivanovich (c. 1742-1775)—leader of an anti-feudal peasant and Cossack uprising in Russia (1773-75).—49

R

Racine, Jean (1639-1699)—French dramatist.—569

Rackow, Heinrich—German Social-Democrat; from 1879 a refugee in London; owner of a tobacco shop; member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London.—578

Rau, Karl Heinrich (1792-1870)—German political economist.—532, 537, 540, 543

Reh, Theodor (1801-1868)—German lawyer; in 1848-49, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre), its last President (1849).—167

Reichensperger, August (1808-1895)—Prussian politician and writer on art; deputy to the Second Chamber (1850-63) and to the North German and German Reichstag (1867-92); a leader of the Roman Catholic (Centre) Party.—250

Reimer, O.—follower of Lassalle; deputy to the Reichstag (1874).—214

Reimers, W.—sergeant of the English police (1874).—564

Renan, Ernest (1823-1892)—French historian of religion, Semitist, idealist philosopher.—238, 427

Renard, Andreas, Count (1795-1874)—Silesian landowner; deputy to the Second Chamber (Right wing) in 1849.—151

Reuleaux, Franz (1829-1905)—German scientist, founder of the German school of machine theory; member of the juries of the world exhibitions in Paris (1867), Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876).—275

Reuß (Reuss), Heinrich XXII, Prince von (1846-1902).—172

Reuter, Heinrich Ludwig Christian Fritz (1810-1874)—German humorist writer; for participation in the student movement was sentenced to death (1833) which was commuted to thirty years' imprisonment; amnestied in 1840; began his literary activity in 1852.—133

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—English economist.—69, 382, 534, 551

Richter, Ludwig—see *Höchberg, Karl*

Rittinghausen, Moritz (1814-1890)—prominent figure in the German working-class movement; staff member of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49; deputy to the German Reichstag (1877-78 and 1881-84).—209

Roach, Thomas John—member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council, belonged to its reformist wing (1872); expelled from the International by the General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—571

Robespierre, Maximilien François Marie Isidore de (1758-1794)—leader of the Jacobins in the French Revolution; head of the revolutionary government (1793-94).—18, 176, 514

Rochat, Charles Michel (b. 1844)—member of the Paris Federal Council, took part in the Paris Commune; Corresponding Secretary of the International's General Council for Holland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871); in 1872 emigrated to Belgium.—571

Rochefort, Henri, marquis de Rochefort-Luçay (c. 1831-1913)—French journalist and politician, Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal *La Lanterne* (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the revolution of September 4, 1870 until October 31, member of the Government of National Defence; after the suppression of the Paris Commune was exiled to New Caledonia; monarchist from the end of the 1880s.—460, 584

Rodbertus (Rodbertus-Jagetzow), Johann Karl (1805-1875)—German economist; leader of the Left Centre in the

Prussian National Assembly in 1848; subsequently theoretician of "state socialism".—531, 544-47, 549-51

Rost, Valentin Christian Friedrich (1790-1862)—German philologist.—548

Rousseau, Jean Jacques (1712-1778)—French philosopher and writer of the Enlightenment.—82, 286, 288, 298

Rubichon, Maurice (1766-1849)—French economist, royalist, contributed to the *Journal des Économistes*.—326

Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880)—German radical journalist and philosopher, Young Hegelian; published, jointly with Marx, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; Marx's ideological opponent after 1844; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848; leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in England in the 1850s; National Liberal after 1866.—184, 335

Rühl, J.—German worker, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London and of the General Council of the First International (1870-72).—571

Rutenberg, Adolf (1808-1869)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; member of the editorial board of the *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842); National Liberal after 1866.—233

S

Sadler, Michael Thomas—participant in the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the First International (1871-72).—571

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—287, 289-92, 302, 459, 514, 521

Saltykov (Saltykov-Shchedrin), Mikhail Yevgrafovich (pseudonym *N. Shchedrin*) (1826-1889)—Russian satirical writer; in the 1840s took a great interest in the ideas of Saint-Simon and Fourier and was exiled to Vyatka "for harmful thoughts" (1848); Vice-Governor of Ryazan, then of Tver (1858-62); member of the editorial board of *Sovremennik* (1862-64); co-editor and shareholder of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski* (1868-84). Thanks to him these journals became the main tribune of the Russian democrats.—196

Schäffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich (1831-1903)—German economist and sociologist; propagated abstention from the class struggle.—531, 533, 536-37, 547, 553

Schapper, Karl (c. 1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; a leader of the League of the Just, member of the Communist League's Central Authority; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League (1850); again drew close to Marx in 1856; member of the General Council of the First International (1865), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—52, 336, 565

Scheele, Alfred—head of the imperial railway office (1873-74).—278

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German poet, dramatist, historian and philosopher.—14, 18, 127

Schinderhannes—see *Bückler, Johann*

Schneider, Adam—German carpenter, took part in an attempt on the life of Prince William (subsequently William I) on June 12, 1849.—244

Schorlemmer, Carl (1834-1892)—German organic chemist, dialectical materialist, professor in Manchester; member of the First International and of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party; member of scientific societies in Great Britain, USA and Germany; friend of Marx and Engels.—471

Schouvaloff—see *Shuvalov, Pyotr Andreyevich*

Schramm, Carl (Karl) August (1830-1905)—German Social-Democrat; reformist; an editor of the *Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*; criticised Marxism in the second half of the 1870s; withdrew from the working-class movement in the 1880s.—257-59, 262-67, 269

Schulze, Ernst—German philologist, author of the *Gothisches Glossar.*—548

Schwarzenberg, Felix, Prince zu (1800-1852)—Austrian conservative statesman and diplomat; after the suppression of the Vienna uprising in October 1848 Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (November 1848-52).—516

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle, editor of *Der Social-Demokrat* (1864-67); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy; fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; was expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—263

Sefeloge, Maximilian Joseph (1820-1859)—Prussian retired non-commissioned officer; made an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV on May 22, 1850; died in a lunatic asylum.—244

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (c. 4 B.C.—A.D. 65)—Roman stoic philosopher, writer and statesman.—429-33

Serraillier, Auguste (1840-1878)—prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker; member of the First International (from 1864) and of its General Council (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, Holland and Spain (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872); member of the International's British Federal Council (1873-74); supporter of Marx and Engels.—571

Serrano y Domínguez, Francisco, conde de San Antonio, duque de la Torre (1810-1885)—Spanish general and statesman, War Minister (1843); took part in the coup d'état of 1856; Foreign Minister (1862-63), head of the Provisional Government (1868-69), Regent of the Kingdom (1869-71), Prime Minister (1871 and 1872), President (1874), Ambassador to France (1883-84).—22

Seton—English house-owner.—564

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—72, 237, 569

Shuvalov (Schouvaloff), Pyotr Andreyevich, Count (1827-1889)—Russian general and diplomat; chief of gendarmes and head of the Third Department of the Imperial Office (1866-74); Ambassador to Great Britain (1874-79).—239

Sieber, Nikolai Ivanovich (1844-1888)—Russian economist, one of the first popularisers and supporters of Marx's economic theories in Russia.—534

Singer, Paul (1844-1911)—prominent leader of the German working-class movement and the Social-Democratic group of the Reichstag, member of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (from 1869), deputy to the Reichstag (1884-1911).—254, 257

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Slagg, J.—member of the British Parliament from Manchester (1881).—389

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—534

Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.)—Greek philosopher.—583

Sorge, Friedrich Adolph (*Adolf*) (1828-1906)—German teacher, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; emigrated to the USA (1852), organised the First International's sections there; Secretary of the General Council, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), General Secretary of the General Council in New York (1872-74); took part in organising the Socialist Workers' Party of North America (1876-77); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—472, 478

Soriano, Trinidad—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of the Socialists (September 1877).—216

Spartacus (d. 71 B.C.)—leader of the greatest slave revolt in Ancient Rome (73-71 B.C.).—432

Speyer, Karl (b. 1845)—Secretary of the German Workers' Educational Society in London in the 1860s; carpenter; member of the General Council of the First International in London from 1870 and then in New York.—105

Spinoza, Baruch (or *Benedictus*) *de* (1632-1677)—Dutch philosopher.—298

Stenzel, Gustav Adolph Harald (1792-1854)—German historian; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing, later Right Centre) in 1848.—164

Stephen Dushan (c. 1308-1355)—King of Serbia (from 1331), Tsar (from 1346); after long wars with Byzantium, annexed Macedonia (1345), Albania, Epir and Fessalia (1348) to Serbia and created a vast Greco-Serbian kingdom.—497, 500

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the Reform League, member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; member of the British Federal Council (1872).—571

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of and chief witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); together with Wermuth wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—51, 53, 135

Stirner, Max (real name *Schmidt, Johann Caspar*) (1806-1856)—German Young Hegelian philosopher, an ideologist of individualism and anarchism.—514, 521

Stolberg-Wernigerode, Otto, Graf zu (from 1890 *Fürst zu*) (1837-1896)—German statesman and politician, deputy to the Reichstag (1871-78), Vice-Chancellor of the German Empire (1878-81); Conservative.—240, 250

Stosch, Albrecht von (1818-1896)—German general; during the Franco-Prussian war, Chief of the Commissariat of the German armies and later Chief of Staff of German occupational troops in France (1871); Navy Minister (1872-83).—242

Strauss, David Friedrich (1808-1874)—German Young Hegelian philosopher and writer; author of *Das Leben Jesu*; National Liberal after 1866.—428

Strousberg, Bethel Henry (real name *Baruch Hirsch Strausberg*) (1823-1884)—British railway industrialist, German by birth; went bankrupt in 1875.—266

Swinton, John (1830-1901)—Scottish-born American journalist, editor of several influential New York newspapers, *The Sun* (1875-83) included; founder and editor of *John Swinton's Paper* (1883-87).—583-85

Sybel, Heinrich von (1817-1895)—German historian and politician, representative of the "Prussian school" of German historians; member of the North German Reichstag (1867); National Liberal; director of the Prussian State Archives (1875-95).—458

T

Tacitus, Cornelius (c. 55-120)—Roman historian, orator and politician.—350, 365, 432, 443-44

Tamerlane (or *Timur*) (1336-1405)—Gentral Asian soldier and conqueror, Emir (1370-1405), founder of a vast state in Asia with its capital in Samarkand.—510

Taylor, Alfred—British worker; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73).—571

Tessendorff, Hermann Ernst Christian (1831-1895)—Prussian public prosecutor, member of the Berlin Municipal Court (1873-79); from 1885 President of the Criminal Senate of the Supreme Court in Berlin; organised persecutions of Social-Democrats.—173, 566

Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-1863)—English writer.—569

Thadden-Trieglaff, Adolf von (1796-1882)—Prussian landowner in Pomerania, reactionary; member of the first United Diet (1847).—144

Thaler, Karl von (b. 1836)—Austrian writer and journalist; opposed the First International; editor of and contributor to the *Neue Freie Presse* (1865-70 and 1873).—20-21, 26

Thiers, Louis Adolph (1797-1877)—French historian and statesman, Prime Minister (1836 and 1840); head of the Orleanists after 1848; Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871); suppressed the Paris Commune (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73).—222, 224, 492-93, 527

Thompson, Thomas Perronet (1783-1869)—British politician and economist, Free Trader.—403

Tiberius (*Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar*) (42 B.C.—A.D. 37)—Roman Emperor (14-37).—432

Tkachov (*Tkatschoff*), *Pyotr* (*Peter*) *Nikitich* (1844-1886)—Russian revolutionary, journalist, ideologist of the Blanquist trend in the Narodnik movement; in the 1860s was several times arrested for participation in student unrest and revolutionary propaganda among students; fled abroad from exile (1873); contributed to Lavrov's journal *Vperyod!* in Zurich; after break with him (1874) worked in the Blanquist newspaper *Ni Dieu, ni Maître* (1880).—21-43, 45-49, 100

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement; engraver; Proudhonist; member of the First Paris Bureau and Paris section of the First International, delegate to all congresses and conferences of the International in 1865-69; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); during the Paris Commune went over to the side of the Versaillists and was expelled from the International (1871); Senator during the Third Republic.—235

Tooke, Thomas (1774-1858)—English economist, adherent of the classical school in political economy, criticised Ricardo's theory of money.—556

Townshend, William—British worker; member of the General Council of the First International (1869-72), took part in the socialist movement in the 1880s.—571

Treitschke, Heinrich von (1834-1896)—German historian and journalist, editor of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* (1866-69); deputy to the German Reichstag (1871-88) where he first joined the Right wing of the National Liberals and from the late 1870s supported conservatives.—54, 458

Trochu, Louis Jules (1815-1896)—French general and politician, Orleanist; took part in the conquest of Algeria (1830s-40s); head of the Government of National Defence; Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Paris (September 1870-January 1871); sabotaged the city's defence; deputy to the National Assembly (1871).—527, 530

Tschech, Heinrich Ludwig (1789-1844)—Prussian official, democrat, burgomaster of Storkow in 1832-41, executed for an attempt on the life of Frederick William IV.—244

Tussy—see *Marx, Eleanor* (*Tussy*)

U

Uhland, Johann Ludwig (1787-1862)—German romantic poet; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left Centre) in 1848-49.—168

Urquhart, David (1805-1877)—British diplomat, writer and politician, Turcophile, went on diplomatic missions to Turkey in the 1830s; Tory M. P. (1847-52), exposed the foreign policy of Palmerston and the Whigs; founder and editor of *The Free Press* (1855-77), which appeared under the heading *Diplomatic Review* from 1866.—230

V

Vahlteich, Carl Julius (1839-1915)—German shoemaker and editor; a founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), set up the Dresden section of the First International (1867), one of the founders of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (1869); deputy to the German Reichstag (1874-76 and 1878-81); emigrated to the USA (1881).—214

Vaillant, Marie Édouard (1840-1915)—French engineer, naturalist and physician, Blanquist; delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) and the London Conference (1871) of the First International; member of the Paris Commune, of the National Guard's Central Committee and of the General Council of the International (1871-72); after the Hague Congress (1872) withdrew from the International.—18, 571

Van Patten, Philipp—American bourgeois, joined the socialist movement; National Secretary of the Labor Party of the USA (from 1876) and of the Socialist Labor Party of the USA (from 1877 to 1883); later became a government official.—477

Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph (1845-1878)—French petty-bourgeois journalist, participant in the republican movement; during the Paris Commune (1871) published the newspaper *Le Père Duchêne*; after the suppression of the Commune emigrated to England where he published *Vermersch-Journal* and *Qui Vive?* attacking the International and the General Council.—14-15

Victor Emmanuel (*Vittorio Emanuele*) *II* (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—271

Victoria (1819-1901)—Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (1837-1901).—295, 563

Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa (1840-1901)—Queen Victoria's elder daughter; from 1858 wife of the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William.—580-82

Viereck, Louis (1851-1921)—German publisher and journalist; during the Anti-Socialist Law a leader of the Right wing of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; member of the Reichstag (1884-87); discharged from all responsible party posts by decision of the St. Gallen Congress (1887); in 1896 emigrated to the USA and withdrew from the socialist movement.—254, 257, 260-62

Viñas, José García—Bakuninist, delegate to the Ghent Congress of the Socialists (September 1877).—216

Vogt, Auguste—Karl Vogt's younger sister.—168

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German naturalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (Left wing) in 1848-49; one of the five Imperial regents (June 1849); emigrated to Switzerland in 1849; received subsidies from Napoleon III in the 1850s and 1860s, slandered proletarian revolutionaries; exposed by Marx in his pamphlet *Herr Vogt.*—167-68, 189

Voigts-Rhetz, Julius von (1822-1904)—Prussian general, participant in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), major general and Director of the General War Department (1873); later General Inspector of Artillery.—64

Voltaire (*François Marie Arouet*) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—433, 569

W

Wagner, Adolph (1835-1917)—German bourgeois economist and politician, professor of political economy and finance; a founder of the socio-legal school in political economy; academic (Katheder) socialist.—531-59

Washington, George (1732-1799)—American statesman, Commander-in-Chief of the North American Army in the War of Independence (1775-83), First President of the USA (1789-97).—343

Weitling, Wilhelm (1808-1871)—one of the early leaders of the working-class movement in Germany; tailor; member of the League of the Just; a theoretician of utopian egalitarian communism; emigrated to the USA in 1849.—297, 565

Wenceslas IV (1361-1419)—King of Bohemia (1378-1419), Holy Roman Emperor (1378-1400).—500

Wermuth, Carl Georg Ludwig (c. 1803-1867)—chief of police in Hanover, an organiser of and witness for the prosecution at the Cologne Communist trial (1852); together with Stieber wrote the book *Die Communisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.*—135

Weston, John—prominent figure in the British working-class movement; carpenter, follower of Owen; member of the General Council of the First International (1864-72), delegate to the London Conference (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League; member of the British Federal Council.—571

Westphalen, Johann Ludwig von (1770-1842)—Jenny Marx's father, Privy Councillor in Trier.—419, 422

Wilke, Christian Gottlob (1786-1854)—German theologian, first Protestant, then Catholic; engaged in the philological-historical studies of the Bible.—428

William I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—172, 212, 239, 241, 372, 408-09, 577

William III (1650-1702)—Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672-1702), King of Great Britain and Ireland (1689-1702).—436

William IV (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—563

Williams, J.—sergeant of the British police (1874).—564

Willich, Johann August Ernst (1810-1878)—Prussian officer, retired from the army on account of his political views; member of the Communist League, participant in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; a leader of the separatist group that split away from the Communist League in 1850; emigrated to the USA in 1853, took part in the US Civil War on the side of the Northerners.—52, 336

Wolff, Bernhard (1811-1879)—German journalist, owner of the Berlin newspaper *National-Zeitung* from 1848; founder of the first telegraphic agency in Germany (1849).—241

Wolff, Johanna Christiane (d. 1846)—younger sister of Wilhelm Wolff.—132

Wolff, Johann Friedrich (d. 1835)—Wilhelm Wolff's father.—132

Wolff, Marie Rosine—Wilhelm Wolff's mother.—132

Wolff, Wilhelm (*Lupus*) (1809-1864)—German teacher, proletarian revolutionary; the son of a Silesian serf peasant; participant in the student movement; was imprisoned in Prussia (1834-39); from 1846 member of the Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee; from March 1848 member of the Central Authority of the Communist League; took an active part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; in 1849 deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left wing); emigrated to Switzerland in summer 1849 and to England in 1851; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—129-71

Woodhull, Victoria Claflin (1838-1927)—U.S. feminist, headed Section No. 12 which included bourgeois and petty-bourgeois members; was expelled from the International (1872).—575

Wrangel, Friedrich Heinrich Ernst, Count von (1784-1877)—Prussian general; took part in the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Berlin and in dispersing the Prussian National Assembly in November 1848; from 1856, field marshal-general.—138

Wróblewski, Walery (1836-1908)—Polish revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish liberation uprising of 1863-64; general of the Paris Commune, after its defeat emigrated to London; sentenced to death in his absence; member of the General Council of the First International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); fought Bakuninists; headed the Polish People revolutionary society in London (1872); propagated the idea of a Russian-Polish revolutionary alliance; after amnesty returned to France; maintained contacts with Marx and Engels.—5, 571

Würth, Carl Otto (1803-1884)—lawyer, petty-bourgeois democrat, deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly (extreme Left wing).—168

Y

Yelenev, Fyodor Pavlovich (pseudonym *Skaldin*) (1827-1902)—Russian writer, journalist, liberal; Secretary of the Editorial Commissions for the Preparation of the Peasant Reform of 1861 (1859-61); author of essays *In the Backwoods and in the Capital*; in 1868-96 member of the Council for the Press Affairs and simultaneously, from 1890, member of the Council of the Ministry of the Interior; from the 1870s took a reactionary stand.—47

Z

Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (1849-1919)—participant in the Narodnik (from 1868) and later in the Social-Democratic movement in Russia; a founder (1883) and active member of the Emancipation of Labour group.—245, 346, 361, 364, 370-71

Zévy, Maurice—member of the General Council of the First International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71); tailor.—571

Zhukovsky, Yuly Galaktionovich (1833-1907)—Russian economist, journalist, sociologist, eclectic; manager of the State Bank, senator; author of the article "Karl Marx and His Book on Capital", which slandered Marxism.—196

Ziemann, Adolf (1807-1842)—German philologist, author of works on the history of the German language.—548

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Apollo—Greek god of the arts.—429

Christ, Jesus (Bib.).—428, 431

Don Quixote—the title character in Cervantes' novel.—458

Eckart—hero of German medieval legends, loyal guard. In the Tannhäuser legend he guards the mountain of Venus, warning those who approach it of the danger of Venus' charms.—25

Falstaff, Sir John—a fat, merry, ribald and boastful knight in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *King Henry IV*.—237

Faust or *Faustus*—hero of a medieval German legend, the title character in Goethe's tragedy and Marlowe's play *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.—306, 550

Hamlet—the title character in Shakespeare's tragedy.—14

Jacob (Bib.)—traditional ancestor of the people of Israel.—430, 514

Jahveh (*Jehovah*) (Bib.).—430

John, Saint (*the Apostle*)—according to the New Testament, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, author of one of the Gospels and the Revelation of John (Apocalypse).—430, 434

Karlchen Mießnick—a half-taught person and mother's darling in the books of German humorist David Kalisch.—18, 24, 29, 33, 35

Lazarus (Bib.).—433

Mammon—wealth or the idol of wealth among some ancient peoples; in Christian ecclesiastical texts evil spirit, idol, personifying money-loving and money-grubbing.—417

Mary (Bib.).—15

Möros—character in Schiller's ballad *Bürgschaft*.—14

Nemesis (Gr. Myth.)—goddess of retributive justice.—26

Paul, the Apostle (Bib.).—238

Peter, the Apostle (Bib.).—559

Prometheus (Gr. Myth.)—a Titan who stole fire from the gods and gave it to men; was chained by Zeus to a rock.—315

Sancho Panza (*Pansa*)—a character in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.—458

Vulcan—the Roman god of fire, the deity of smiths.—315

Zeus (Gr. Myth.)—the supreme god in classical times.—432

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Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung—a weekly published by German petty-bourgeois refugees in New York from 1852 to 1911. In 1853 the paper printed articles libelling Marx and other proletarian revolutionaries associated with him.—51

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The Chicago Tribune—a newspaper founded in 1847, a Republican organ in 1855-99.—568

The Commonwealth—a weekly of the General Council of the International published in London from February 1866 to July 1867 as the successor of *The Workman's Advocate;* Eccarius was its editor in February and March 1866; Marx was on the Board of Directors till June 1866; because of the growing influence of the trade unionists on the board, from June 1866 the newspaper virtually became an organ of bourgeois radicals.—236

The Daily News—a liberal daily of the British industrial bourgeoisie published in London from 1846 to 1930.—230-33, 237, 374, 407, 473

Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung—a newspaper founded by the German refugees in Brussels and published from January 1847 to February 1848 twice a week. From September 1847 Marx and Engels regularly contributed to the newspaper and under their influence it became an organ of revolutionary communist propaganda.—136, 187, 336, 468

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher—a German-language yearly published in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge; only the first issue, a double one, appeared in February 1844. It carried a number of works by Marx and Engels.—184, 335

L'Égalité—a French socialist paper founded in 1877 by Jules Guesde; from 1880 to 1883 it was published in Paris as the organ of the French Workers' Party. It appeared in six series. The first three series were published weekly (113 issues), the fourth and fifth—daily (56 issues). Of the sixth series only one issue appeared, in 1886. The series differed by subtitles.—326, 340, 586

Le Figaro—a French conservative newspaper published in Paris since 1854; from 1866 it appeared daily; was connected with the government of the Second Empire.—577

Forward—see *Впередъ!*

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a German democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—68

Freie Presse—see *Neue Freie Presse*

Freiheit—a German weekly, organ of the anarchist group of Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann; published in London (1879-82) and in New York (1882-1908).—258, 374, 410, 478

Jahrbuch für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik—a German-language journal of the social-reformist trend, published in Zurich from 1879 to 1881 by Karl Höchberg (pseudonym Dr. Ludwig Richter); three volumes appeared.—253, 262-66, 269

Journal des Économistes. Revue mensuelle de l'économie politique et des questions agricoles, manufacturières et commerciales—a liberal monthly published in Paris from December 1841 to 1943.—326

La Justice—a French daily, organ of the Radical Party published in Paris from 1880 to 1930. In 1880-96, under the leadership of its founder Georges Clémenceau, the paper was the organ of the Left-wing radicals, advocating a programme of democratic and social reforms and expressing the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie. In 1880 Charles Longuet entered the editorial board of the paper.—460, 464

Kölnische Zeitung—a German daily, organ of the liberal bourgeoisie, published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945.—65, 111, 123, 183

Колоколъ (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper; it was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogaryov from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French under the title *Kolokol (La Cloche)* with supplements in Russian; until 1865, it was published in London, then in Geneva.—425

Königlich-Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger—a daily newspaper of the Prussian government published in Berlin under this title from 1851 to 1871.—142, 230, 232, 233

Kreuz-Zeitung—see *Neue Preußische Zeitung*

The Labour Standard. An Organ of Industry—a weekly organ of the trade unions published in London from 1881 to 1885. In 1881 Frederick Engels contributed to it.—378, 382, 394, 400, 418

Die Laterne—a Social-Democratic satirical weekly; published in Brussels from December 1878 to June 1879 under the editorship of Carl Hirsch.—254, 259, 262

La Marseillaise—a daily newspaper, organ of the Left republicans, published in Paris from December 1869 to September 1870; the paper carried material on the activity of the International and the working-class movement.—460

Народна воља (People's Will)—a democratic paper published in Smederevo (Serbia) from December 1875 to June 1876.—219

National-Zeitung—a German daily published in Berlin from 1848 to 1915; it voiced liberal views in the 1850s.—230

Neue Freie Presse—a liberal daily which appeared in Vienna from 1864 to 1939.—20-21, 26, 578

Die Neue Gesellschaft. Monatsschrift für Socialwissenschaft—a reformist newspaper published in Zurich from October 1877 to March 1880.—268

Neue Preußische Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from June 1848 to 1939; organ of the Prussian Junkers and Court circles; it was also known as the *Kreuz-Zeitung* because the heading contained a cross bearing the slogan "Forward with God for King and Fatherland!"—188, 241

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848); organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. Engels was among its editors.—103, 107, 137, 139-64, 168, 187-88, 336, 468

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue—a journal published by Marx and Engels from December 1849 to November 1850, theoretical organ of the Communist League.—336

The New Moral World—see *The New Moral World; and Gazette of the Rational Society*

The New Moral World; and Gazette of the Rational Society—English weekly founded by Robert Owen, published from 1834 to 1846, first in Leeds, then in London; Engels contributed to it from November 1843 to May 1845.—335

New-York Daily Tribune—a newspaper founded by Horace Greeley in 1841 and published until 1924; organ of the Left wing of the American Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party. It voiced progressive views and opposed Negro slavery in the 1840s and 1850s. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—189, 468, 583

New-Yorker Volkszeitung. Den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet—a German-language socialist daily published from 1878 to 1932.—462, 472

The New-York Star.—410

The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review—an English liberal review published under this title in London from 1877 to 1900.—234-39

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918, an official organ of the Bismarck government in the 1860s-80s.—65-66, 90, 232, 245

Norddeutsche Zeitung—see *Zeitung für Norddeutschland*

The Northern Star—an English weekly, central organ of the Chartists, published from 1837 to 1852, first in Leeds, from November 1844 in London. Its founder and editor was Feargus O'Connor, George Harney being one of its co-editors. Engels contributed to the paper from 1843 to 1850.—335

Nuova Antologia di scienze, lettere ed arti—an Italian liberal magazine; published in Florence from 1866 to 1878 once a month, and in Rome from 1878 to 1943 twice monthly.—479

Otechestvenniye Zapiski (Fatherland's Notes)—a literary and socio-political monthly published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to 1884 under the editorship of N. A. Nekrasov (till 1877), M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin, G. Z. Yeliseyev and N. K. Mikhailovsky (after 1877). It was the literary mouthpiece of the Russian democrats and, in essence, an illegal organ of the underground revolutionaries; it was closed down by the government in 1884.—196

Le Père Duchêne—a French daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from March 6 to May 22, 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—14

Le Père Duchesne—a newspaper published in Paris from 1790 to 1794 by Jacques Hébert; it expressed the views of the urban semi-proletarian masses during the French Revolution.—14

La Plebe—an Italian monthly published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in 1868-75 now in Lodi, now in Milan; from 1875 to 1883—irregularly, only in Milan; up to the early 1870s it was a bourgeois-democratic organ, then an organ of the socialist working-class movement. Engels contributed to it from late 1871. In 1872-74, as an organ of the Italian section of the International Working Men's Association, *La Plebe* pursued the line of the General Council, published articles by Marx and Engels, and the documents of the International.—106, 176-78

O Protesto—a Portuguese socialist weekly published in Lisbon from 1875 to January 1878.—217

La Revue socialiste—a French monthly founded by Benoît Malon as a republican-socialist organ, then it became a syndicalist and co-operative organ; it was published from 1880 in Lyons and Paris, from 1885 to 1914 in Paris. In the 1880s Marx and Engels contributed to the magazine.—335, 457

Reynolds's Newspaper. A Weekly Journal of Politics, History, Literature and General Intelligence—a radical weekly published by George Reynolds in London from 1850; it was connected with the labour movement; in 1871 it came out in defence of the Paris Commune.—5

Rheinische Zeitung—see *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*

Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe—a German daily founded on January 1, 1842, as an organ of the Rhenish bourgeois opposition, and published in Cologne till March 31, 1843. When edited by Marx (from October 15, 1842 to March 17, 1843), the paper became a mouthpiece of revolutionary-democratic ideas, which led to its suppression. Engels was one of its contributors.—183-84, 419, 422, 468

Le Siècle—a daily published in Paris from 1836 to 1939. In the 1840s it was an oppositional organ which demanded electoral and other reforms; moderate republican in the 1850s.—235

Der Social-Demokrat. Organ des Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeitervereins—a German Lassallean newspaper published under this title in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871 (in 1864 weekly and from 1865 three times a week). Johann Baptist Schweitzer was its editor in 1864-67. Under the title *Neuer Social-*

Demokrat it was published from 1871 to 1876. Marx and Engels contributed to the paper for a short time but ceased to do so in February 1865, since they disagreed with the political line of the editors.—327

Der Sozialdemokrat. Organ der Sozialdemokratie deutscher Zunge—a German weekly, central organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany; published in Zurich from September 1879 to September 1888 and in London from October 1888 to September 27, 1890. In 1879-80 the paper was edited by Georg von Vollmar, and from 1881 to 1890 by Eduard Bernstein; Marx and Engels contributed to it.—457, 467, 473-74, 481

Staats-Anzeiger—see *Königlich-Preußischer Staats-Anzeiger*

The Sun—an American progressive bourgeois-democratic paper published in New York from 1833 to 1950.—583

Die Tagwacht—a German-language Social-Democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73, an organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—29

The Times—a daily founded in London in 1785 under the title of *Daily Universal Register;* appears as *The Times* since 1788.—577

Voice of the People—a weekly of the Socialist Workers' Party of North America published in New York from early 1883.—479

Das Volk—a German-language weekly published in London from May 7 to August 20, 1859; it was founded as the official organ of the German Workers' Educational Society in London; Marx took part in its publications beginning with issue No. 2, and in early July he virtually became its editor and manager.—189

Der Volksstaat—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876 first twice a week and from July 1873, three times a week.—29-32, 68, 78, 100, 336, 524-25, 565

Der Vorbote. Organ der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation—a monthly of the German sections of the International in Switzerland published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871 under the editorship of Johann Philipp Becker; on the whole, it upheld the line pursued by Marx and the General Council of the International by regularly publishing documents of the International and information about its activity in various countries.—230-31

Vorwärts. Central-Organ der Socialdemokratie Deutschlands—a newspaper published in Leipzig from October 1876 to October 1878. It appeared as a result of the merger of *Neuer Sozialdemokrat* and the *Volksstaat.* Marx and Engels constantly helped its editorial board. The publication was stopped, when the Anti-Socialist Law was issued.—241, 245, 261, 336, 339

Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Zeitschrift—a German-language newspaper published in Paris twice a week from January to December 1844; at first it was the organ of the moderate section of German emigrants and from May 1844 of their radical and democratic section. Marx and Engels, who collaborated in the production of this paper, strengthened its revolutionary tendencies. When Marx and several other contributors were expelled from France by the Guizot Government the paper ceased publication.—468

Впередъ! Неперіодическое обозрѣніе (*Vperyod*—Forward)—a Russian magazine published from 1873 to 1877 first in Zurich, then in London; only five issues appeared; from 1873 to 1876 its publisher was Pyotr Lavrov. It published a lot of material concerning the working-class movement in the West and the activities of the International.—19-29, 32-34, 36, 100

Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft—a liberal politico-economic review published, with intervals, in Tübingen in 1844-48.—544, 549

Zeitung für Norddeutschland—a liberal newspaper published in Hanover from 1848 to 1872.—575

Die Zukunft. Socialistische Revue—a socio-reformist magazine published in Berlin from October 1877 to November 1878.—268

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GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES*

Barmen-Elberfeld	Wuppertal
Breslau	Wrocław
Constantinople	Istanbul
Crakau	Kraków
Danzig	Gdańsk
Düppel	Dybböl
Dürkheim	Bad Dürkheim
Elberfeld	Wuppertal
Elberfeld-Barmen	Wuppertal
Frankenstein	Ząbkowice Śląskie
Karlsbad	Karlovy Vary
Kolberg	Kolobrzeg (Kołobrzeg)
Königsberg	Kaliningrad
Laurahütte	Laura Huta
Lower Silesia	Dolny Śląsk
Moravia	Morava (Moravskoslezská země)
Maina	Mani
Nessin	Nieżyn
Nimwegen	Nijmegen
Olmütz	Olomouc
Peloponnes	Peloponnesus, also Morea, Peloponnesos, Peloponnese
Persia	Iran
Posen	Poznań
Reval	Tallinn
St. Petersburg	Leningrad
Silesia	Śląsk, Siezsko
Schweidnitz	Świdnica
Silberberg	Srebrna Góra
Stettin	Szczecin
Upper Silesia	Górny Śląsk
Tarnau	Tarnów
Wilna	Vilnius

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* This glossary includes geographical names occurring in Marx's and Engels' works in the form customary in the press of the time but differing from the national names or from those given on modern maps. The left column gives geographical names as used in the original (when they differ from the national names of the time, the latter are given in brackets); the right column gives corresponding names as used on modern maps and in modern literature.—*Ed.*